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THE
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SEPTEMBER, 1850.

ART. I.—*Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey.* By AUBREY DE VERE. Two vols., 8vo. London: Bentley, 1850.

WHEN Dr. Johnson was consulted by Boswell as to the propriety of publishing an account of his travels on the continent, he told Boswell that “most travellers in Europe who had published their travels had been laughed at, and that he would be sorry to see Boswell’s name added to the number.” The modern books of travel, as a class, are of a far higher order than those to which Dr. Johnson alluded; nevertheless from the very excess to which they have multiplied, the careless haste with which they are compiled, the egotism which they too frequently display, and the recklessness with which they upset each other in their descriptions of almost every object which is worthy of description, there is still a large proportion of them of which the Doctor’s stricture is literally true.

The art of travel-writing, indeed, within the memory of the present literary generation, has run through a complete cycle. For a while its operations were suspended altogether. The interruption of our intercourse with the continent during the early years of this century, diverted the activity of literary aspirants into a different channel. But its re-opening at the return of peace amply compensated for the temporary suspension, and a regular tide of books of travel, of every class and every character, has not failed since that period to pour without interruption into the literary market.

First in order came works of the classical school. It would be endless to enumerate them;—travels in the track of Alexander and of Xenophon; conjectural plates of Hannibal's passage of the Alps, and of the Grecian operations before the city of Troy; tours in Greece; tours in Italy; in the Islands; in Asia Minor; in Egypt; and wherever else the ancient world had left a trace of its footsteps. There was hardly a classic city of note which did not appear "restored" in their descriptions; hardly a battle of the classic times which was not fought over again in their pages. Each tour was sure to contain an elaborate comparison of whatever had been written or recorded by ancient authors concerning the country under notice, with actual results of the tourist's own observation, careful measurements of distances, and conjectures about routes, ground-plans, diagrams of elevations, and outlines of substructions; diameters of columns, and proportions of porticoes, dissertations upon the probable sites of edifices known to have existed, but no longer recognizable, and hypotheses as to the probable destination of existing but unidentified ruins; in a word, every curious, every useful, and every amusing detail of classical antiquarianism, illustrations of classical history and classical topography, became quite a mania with the travellers of the time. The whole range of the Roman classics was opened by the tourists of Italy; the Greek poets, philosophers, and historians, from Homer downwards, were put under contribution by the visitors of the Levant, and even the higher attractions of Palestine, with all its religious recollections, would hardly wile away the eastern traveller from the classical associations of Herodotus.

Such was travelling in the days of Eustace, Leake, Hoare, Gell, and many minor imitators. And the very excess to which it was carried naturally produced an opposite reaction. After a while it became the fashion to ignore the classic times altogether; and a school of practical tourists arose, who proposed to themselves, exclusively, or almost exclusively, the illustration of the modern world, its manners, its literature, its resources, and its institutions, religious, social, and political. Graphic pictures of everyday life, lively anecdotes of individuals or of classes, descriptions of the actual usages, the manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, the occupations and amusements of the people, took the place with these writers of the learned dis-

quisitions which had formed the staple of their predecessors ; and for the graver and more serious class of readers, sketches of the present political condition of the country, criticisms of its government, and speculations as to the stability or the effectiveness of its institutions, were substituted for the dissertations upon the peculiar functions of the archon or the curule edile, or the critical essays on the precise limits of the jurisdiction of the Areopagus, or the distinction between the consular and the prætorian courts, in which the classic tourist so loved to revel.

Then came a rapid succession of political tourists, with "Revelations of Russia," "Revelations of Spain," and gloomy forebodings from the Danube and the Black Sea ; of statist and economists, like Raumer and Kohl, with endless pages of figures and returns, criminal, commercial, and agricultural ; of religious pilgrims, some in a kindly spirit, like Faber and Allies ; some blind to everything that did not tally with foregone conclusions, like Rae Wilson, Vicary, Percy, and Seymour ; of mere sight-seers and sketchers, like Russell and Willis, who did not look below the surface, and whose only object was to produce a lively and brilliant picture ; of caricaturists, like Mrs. Trollope, who held every consideration light, provided they could but make the reader laugh ; and of humourists, like Dickens and Thackeray, hardly less reprehensible, despite their many great and estimable qualities, looking at every object from within their own narrow circle, estimating the fitness of things by the notions which their own national habits have made familiar ; and so habituated to the laughing mood, and that alone, as to be almost incapable of restraining their tendency towards the grotesque even in the presence of the most impressive scenes, whether of nature, of religion, or of art.

But through all these varieties, most of them verifying, in a greater or less degree, the character of Dr. Johnson, it would seem that the literature of travel in these eminently practical days, has to some extent partaken of the utilitarian spirit, which is the great characteristic of the time. Notwithstanding the different lines which they have taken, it is hard to find a single tourist of a few years' standing, who has not written with some specific practical object, and whose book is not constructed to illustrate some particular view, to which every combination of circumstances is, directly or indirectly, made subservient.

It was a relief, therefore, when within the last year or two the current was partially diverted towards sketches and illustrations of wild scenery, and savage or semi-savage life. It was pleasant to turn from the eternal practicalisms of European tourists, to those fresh and startling pictures from the Highlands of Ethiopia, or the islands of the Indian Archipelago; the dashing sketches of the rude manners of the Cape colonists, or the denizens of the Bush, or the still more stirring scenes of life in California, in the Rocky Mountains, or among the lawless and migratory subjects of the Western Republics of America, which the more recent fashion has introduced. The late revolutionary movements upon the continent have given a new direction to the current. Sketches of the campaigns in Italy and Hungary,—accounts of the various tribes and races into which the motley population of the Austrian empire is divided, and personal narratives of Italian or Hungarian refugees, form the staple of the tourist literature of the present season; and the interest which the Hungarian struggle has created in England, and the curiosity which it has aroused, appear likely to furnish new ground enough, even to the most adventurous of our travellers, to supply the book-market for a year or two yet to come.

We must confess, however, that we have always, partly perhaps from constitution, partly from early association, entertained a partiality for the good old school of classical tourists. And it is with no little pleasure that we see an indication of the revival of the taste in the very agreeable and instructive volumes now before us. With the mere antiquarian details of classical travel we have little sympathy, except in so far as they are available as illustrations of history. But there is a far higher view of which the study is susceptible,—that of the relations of the ancient world to the modern one, and those of its social, political, and religious principles and institutions, not alone to those of modern nations, but to the general history of the destinies of the great human family. It is pleasant to find these topics treated, not in the mere spirit of dry and unprofitable scholarship, but with a due appreciation of their true bearings upon general history. Those who are acquainted with the researches of modern German authors, will recollect the vast difference between the very idea of classical scholarship as it exists now and as it was in the

past generation, how much more enlarged its views, how infinitely more practical its investigations. But it has too often happened that the speculations of German scholars upon these subjects display but little consideration for their bearing upon the great principles of revealed, or even of natural religion. There are not many among them who have treated the great questions of the Egyptian, or the Greek, or the Roman religion, in the same reverent and philosophical spirit which distinguishes the speculations of the elder Schlegel; and on the contrary there are but too large a number who, in these and all similar investigations, make it a special point to ignore the existence, not to say the truth, of Jewish and Christian revelations altogether.

It is the knowledge of the unhappy frequency of this spirit, that makes us prize still more the tone in which Mr. de Vere has adverted to these and similar topics, as they occasionally present themselves, in his volume upon Greece. To those who are acquainted with his former publications, it is unnecessary to say that the style and manner of his "*Picturesque Sketches*" are eminently pleasant and graceful. From what we have already said it will, we trust, be inferred, in these utilitarian days, that we value them for a far higher quality than the mere literary excellence which distinguishes them, or the mere travelled information which they contain. But even considered solely under this relation, the work is entitled to very high praise. His sketches of character and scenery are uniformly not only eminently vivid and truthful, but many of them display a solid and extensive knowledge of men and things, which no mere student of books can command, accompanied by an ease, a brilliancy of colouring, and a delicacy of touch, which mere scholars seldom possess. There is no display of erudition; no ostentation of acquaintance with Greek literature or history; above all, no parade of authorities for the authority's sake; but it is nevertheless perfectly apparent, that the historical associations which pervade every description, the allusions which arise out of every scene and every incident, and the thoroughly classical tone which breathes through the entire work, are the spontaneous fruits of a solid and ready scholarship, guided by sound judgment and correct and cultivated taste.

The "*Picturesque Sketches*," are the record of a tour beginning in the Adriatic and ending in the Dardanelles,

and comprising a visit to all the most remarkable islands, to Athens and the other points of interest on the mainland, to Smyrna, and finally to the city of the Sultan itself. This, it will be seen, is but the beaten route of every sight-seer who undertakes the tour of Greece; and it is no ordinary praise, that even in so hackneyed a subject, he has contrived to throw around many of his descriptions an air of novelty, and has imparted new attractions to many scenes whose interest had seemed to be lost in their familiarity.

The work, indeed, is rather a series of sketches connected by a slender thread of narrative, than a regular record of a tour; and therefore we shall not think it necessary to follow the author in his wanderings, nor even to confine ourselves to any particular order in the selection of the subjects which are incidentally discussed in his pages. We may say, however, once for all, that the reader will find no information on the subject which in the affairs of Greece so lately occupied every mind—the disputed claims of Don Pacifico and the British residents, and the conduct of the British and French ambassadors in the negotiation. For Greek politics generally, Mr. de Vere would appear to have but little concern.

“I took but little interest when at Athens in those petty disputes and jealousies of the ‘Russian party,’ the ‘English party,’ and the ‘French party,’ which are dignified by the name of Greek politics. I saw no reason to imagine that Greece had yet graduated sufficiently in that severely practical thing—a political education—to possess any politics: I doubted even whether her parties were quite worthy of the name of parties, and I felt pretty well convinced that the petty lore of her factions was much too complex for a foreigner to understand. This circumstance is fortunate for you as it was for me. Having picked up no gossip I have none to retail. If you want the last report or the most recent scandal, you will find them best and freshest in a newspaper. Greek politics are stale in a week, for no large principles are involved in them. If you do not drink the milk warm from the cow, you must have a credulous palate to enjoy it.”—p. 247-48.

We shall proceed, therefore, at once to that part of the work in which Mr. de Vere’s peculiarities of mind and manner, are most displayed. One would have thought that little remained now to be said about Athens; and yet without any professed attempt at regular description, he has contrived to produce a more vivid and life-like image of

its antiquities, so often and so elaborately described already, than we ever remember to have received from any former traveller. There is a mixture of what the author saw, of the description, and of his speculations as to the characters and events which are associated with its past history, in the following sketch of the Areopagus, which is so extremely pleasing, and so unlike what one meets in everyday classical sketches, that although the passage is a very long one, we have not the heart to curtail it.

“A little to the right of the Propylea, and on a platform slightly elevated, stands another Temple, that of the ‘Wingless Victory,’ released from darkness, like a captive set free, since the conclusion of the war. Pericles built this small but exquisite structure on the Acropolis, to intimate that the most wandering of the divinities had taken her permanent stand on that spot. A boast is commonly made better in spoken words than in written, and should, least of all, be written in a material so intractable and unchangeable as marble: notwithstanding, Pericles, if he were called to account, would be able to make a good defence: for Athens succeeded in raising an empire, the only terrestrial one which has proved permanent, and one which daily pushes its frontiers further out—that of Mind. The wingless Victory enjoyed a prospect which might have atoned to her for the loss of her plumes. She gazed right over the bay of Salamis, where, some forty years before, she had touched the fleet of Xerxes, in passing, with a flying hand; and she beheld the Island of Egina, in the caverns of which the Athenians had hidden their wives and children when they abandoned their capital. Contented she may have been; and yet when a wind much less rough as a wooer than that which carried off Orithyia, blew from the purple mountains of the Morea, and made the ‘wine-black’ sea flash in the sun, the Goddess must sometimes have longed for her wings again, that she might cast herself upon it. Wheeler and Spon saw this temple in the seventeenth century. At the time of Stuart it had so completely disappeared, that men doubted whether it had existed in modern times. The Archæological Society succeeded in ascertaining the exact spot specified by Pausanias, and, removing the rubbish, found almost every part of the temple perfect. It had been thrown down to make way for a Turkish battery; but no injury had been done to the fragments, and after a careful study of the plan, no difficulty was experienced in restoring the building. It consists of a small but beautifully proportioned cella, graced with four Ionic pillars at each end. Its frieze was decorated with sculptures commemorative of the battle of Marathon.

“Leaving this temple to the right, I continued to advance, ascending along the ancient ground of the Acropolis, which is now

laid bare. On I strayed among fallen capitals and fragments of columns bathed in the sunshine, many of them so large, that I could but just see over them, and not a few embossed with sculpture or covered with inscriptions. All around lay triglyphs and metopes, trunks of centaurs, heads of horses, manes of lions, and among them the workers of the ruin—flattened cannon-balls, and splinters of Turkish shells. In a few moments I stood before the Parthenon. Its western front, the first part on which my eye rested, is almost wholly uninjured. The pillars are perfect, the architrave and cornice equally so; and a few of the sculptures between the triglyphs still remain. The pediment has sustained but little damage, and still retains possession of the two colossal statues which resisted all Lord Elgin's efforts to remove them. They formed a part of that great composition in which Phidias represented the contest of Minerva and Neptune for Athens,—a contest probably symbolical of a question which may one day have divided Athenian statesmen, namely, whether the state which they moulded ought to seek her supremacy at sea or by land. The group within the eastern pediment represented the birth of Minerva; and the ninety-two compartments of the frieze, which surrounded the temple, illustrated her achievements, and those of the early Athenian heroes whom she had guided and inspired. The character of Minerva was certainly the noblest conception of Greek religion. Whether we consider her mystical birth, as the glorious apparition proceeded all-perfect and mature from the head of the Father of gods and men, her virgin estate, her serene valour resisting all aggression, or her sacred and practical wisdom, we trace in this mythic idea a faint approximation to one yet more exalted, that of the christian church as contemplated by the mind of early christendom. That the Athenians should have chosen for their patroness a divinity with whose austere sanctitude they had, perhaps, less in common than with any other of the deities, is a remarkable instance of the fact that men admire most the qualities in which they are most deficient. Such, however, was the case. The Parthenon was so called from the gooddess to whom Athens and all it contained was dedicated, and means 'the Temple of the Virgin.'

"Passing under the peristyle, you reach the cella or body of the temple, in the west end of which, the Athenian treasury was kept; while in the eastern end, or sanctuary, the colossal statue of the goddess, wrought by Phidias in ivory and gold, was enshrined. It was around this cella that the most beautiful of relievos, the Panathenaic procession, was ranged. Though we possess in the British Museum so large a part of it, another portion still holds its ground where it has a better right to be, and the western end of the cella, at least, continues undefrauded and inviolate. The members of the frieze which remain are exactly the same in spirit as those on which your eye rests every day that you are at home; and the hospitality

which you had afforded to those strangers 'from a far countree' made me feel, when I saw their companions, as if I were meeting old friends. There they stood as in the days of old, when their placid aspect tranquillised many a heart disquieted by the last news from the Peloponnesian war;—priests walking in procession with steps attuned to harmonies unheard by us;—venerable elders, and beautiful matrons seated in attributes of sedate repose, yet incapable of lassitude, calmly observant of the ceremonial, or engaged in slow but earnest converse;—warriors holding horses by the head, or balanced on them with a pliant grace, as though man and horse had constituted 'Like the feigned Centaur, but one animal;'—youths dragging forward bulls that plant their feet resolutely before them, as if they smelt their own blood on the ground, and low against the skies;—little boys, modest, tractable, and orderly, who console themselves apparently for an unusual constraint, by a deep conviction that on their discretion, the success of the rite mainly depends;—and here and there

‘Shaggy goats that eye the mountain top
Askance, and riot with reluctant horn.’

“I was interested by observing on the walls, in many places, the remains of the paint with which they were once adorned. It was at one time the fashion to extol the ancients for the purity of their taste in contemning the coloured decorations which we moderns rejoice in. The fact has turned out, on more minute enquiry, to have been far otherwise. The Greeks were by no means purists; and though of course nothing that they produced was tawdry in effect, the greater portion of their temples was painted, both within and without, with a large variety of colours. Their idol-statues (those to which they attached peculiar religious honours at least) were also coloured in the hair, the eyes, and the dress. Such colouring however was, assuredly, no barbarous imitation of life, but aimed at an ideal effect; and probably, without being out of harmony with nature, it invested the image with a supernatural character, and struck the beholder with awe.”—vol. i. pp. 75–82.

Mr. de Vere's visit to the ancient Eleusis, affords an opportunity for speculations of a character more interesting than are usually met in a travelling sketch. The description of the ceremonies themselves, contains nothing that is new; but there is a good deal of originality in the reflections by which this description is accompanied.

“The Eleusinian mysteries being intended especially as pledges of immortality, were not unnaturally connected with the worship of the venerable and beneficent daughter of Saturn and Vesta. Her attribute, the blade of corn, (the illustration used by St. Paul), was expressly held forth to the votary as a symbol, in its burial, its

decay, and its regermination, of immortality. Still more strongly was the second life shadowed forth in the tale of Proserpine, daughter of Ceres, who, though snatched to the kingdom of Shades, was yet, through Jove's permission, restored annually to her mother, and allowed to breathe, during half the year, the upper air. In such close connection with Proserpine was Ceres contemplated in these mysteries, that the only name she bore in them was that of *Αχθεία*, or *the Mourner*. I know not whether in any other part of Greek religion there was so close a recognition of the divinity of Sorrow. In every part of these mysteries with which we are acquainted we find marvellous traces of that Sibylline insight possessed by the ancient world, which the early doctors of the Church regarded as an inferior sort of inspiration, accorded in order to prepare the pagan mind for the truth. The most remarkable of the allegories which belonged to the Eleusinian worship was assuredly that of the broken earthen vessels and the wine poured out in oblation, especially if we call to mind Bacon's exposition of the earthen vessel in which Hercules was said to have crossed the sea,—an allusion (as our great inductive philosopher asserts) to that frail mansion of the flesh, the 'body prepared' for one who in the more terrestrial aspect of his sacred deeds and sufferings was prefigured by the divine hero, warrior, and deliverer of antiquity.

"There were countless significant allusions in these mysteries, or rather in that slight portion of them with which we are acquainted, which might indeed challenge a deep attention. The sacred mysteries were recited to the initiated after their purification, from a book called *Πετρῶμα*, because it was made of two stones fitly joined together. After this instruction certain enquiries were catechetically made of every man, to which he returned answers. The chief Hierophant called out with a loud voice, commanding the profane to depart, the whole company standing at this time in the vestibule of the temple. The glorious spectacle in the interior of the temple, which was flooded with light, and in which the Eleusinian philosophy of heaven and earth was exhibited in vision before the eyes of men whose brows the priests had bound with myrtle, in allusion to the bowers of the Blessed, was called by the name of *Αυτοψία*, or *Intuition*. During the celebration of the mysteries it was forbidden to arrest a debtor or to present any petition. In order to abolish on this occasion all distinction between the rich and the poor, Lycurgus pronounced it unlawful for any one to make his approach to Eleusis in a chariot. The votaries were not allowed to draw nigh unto the shrine of the Mourner, kind to man, and to whom they owed the gift of their daily bread, without having under their feet the *Διὸς κώδιον*, or *Jupiter's Skin*, that is, the skin of a victim offered to the supreme God. Not a little remarkable is it that the highest and purest doctrines of Greek mythology should thus, in connection with its loftiest hopes, and its most stringent moral precepts, have been revealed to the purified, in the

temple, common and indivisible, of those two divinities, who, interpreted in their elemental or physical relations, signify Bread and Wine."—vol. i., p. 225-8.

"How are we to account for the extraordinary analogies between truth and fiction—between the guesses of the pagan intelligence and the Christian Revelation? That is too long and too grave a question to be discussed here: one observation, however, is so closely connected with the Eleusinia, that it need not be suppressed. There are persons who object to many things in the ceremonial, the discipline, or the government of the Christian Church, on the ground that they are analogous to much in the pagan rites, and, therefore, probably proceed from the same cravings of the unregenerate imagination. Such matters may or may not be objectionable; but this argument against them, too often inadvertently used, is one which would undermine Christianity itself. It is not to Christian Rites only that we find analogies in ancient religion, but to Christian Doctrines likewise, and to many of the doctrines included in the Creed itself. 'If the Rites are but plagiarisms,' the sceptic will say, 'why not the Doctrines too? You disclaim the Eleusinian lustration, and scorn the successive priesthood; are you prepared to reject also the doctrines emblemized in the broken vessels and the wine shed abroad?' In all these matters there is but one question for a reflecting mind, namely, was the later religion a patchwork of those which had preceded it; or were the early religions of the world, on the contrary, attempts to feel after a truth congruous with man's nature, and intended from the first to be revealed to him? On all grounds of philosophic reasoning, the latter solution seems to be the true one; while the former, if fairly analysed, is about as reasonable as the Epicurean notion that the world derived its being from a concurrence of atoms existing from all time. That Religion from the first intended for man, was necessarily in harmony with man's nature, and the object of man's desire. Whatever was deepest in the human heart, and highest in the human mind, sympathized with, and aspired after, that Religion, which, (human only because Divine) is the legitimate supplement of human nature, as well as its crown. To infer that Christianity is but a combination of human inventions, because it satisfies the more elevated human instincts, is about as reasonable as a moral philosophy would be which accounted for the maternal affection by concluding it to arise from a recollection of the pleasure the child had found in her doll, or which supposed that human politics had resulted from a minute observation of the Ant-hill and the Bee-hive. That surely is not a sound philosophy, which, like a concave mirror, inverts the objects placed before it, confusing type and antitype, and assuming that whatever came first in the order of time, comes first also in the order of thought and moral reason.

"Whence, then, arose those anticipations, as might seem, of many Christian doctrines and practices? Are they to be considered simply as the noblest exertions of the human intellect inspired by that moral sense which, however inadequate to support our feeble will, has yet been able to maintain itself, and, so far as it goes, runs, in its smaller circle, parallel with Revelation? Or are they traditions—broken fragments of that patriarchal religion which preceded the Jewish, and was connected by it, as by an isthmus, with the Christian? No doubt they are to be referred to both sources. We find remarkable traces in the Eleusinian mysteries of traditions later than the patriarchal, especially in the history of their supposed founder. He lived about a century after the great Hebrew legislator."—p. 230-3.

The classical amateur too often has no eyes for any except objects of classic interest, and no capacity for other than classical associations. But it is not so with Mr. de Vere. There is a union of the scholar and the Christian in the following passage upon the Areopagus, which every devout mind must appreciate.

"There is one spot alone at Athens, which claims a deeper reverence even than the cave which is associated with the last days of Socrates—the hill of the Areopagus. It is appropriately situated between the Pnyx, and the Acropolis; Justice thus standing with Religion at her right hand, and the place of political deliberation at her left. The Areopagus was guarded by yet another local sanction. Not far from it was the sacred enclosure where, shadowed over by rocks, and veiled in a grove of dusky trees, stood once the awful shrine of the Eumenides, who were led thither from the Areopagus after their impeachment of Orestes. No memorial of the venerable goddess remains. On the hill of the Areopagus we still trace the rocky steps, by which the judges made their midnight ascent. Their deliberations were conducted in the dark, lest their judgment should be swayed by the aspect or gestures of the person tried; a singular illustration of the degree in which the susceptible temperament of the south is influenced by visible objects. Their ears were as abstinent as their eyes; and they allowed no species of oratory to be introduced into the pleadings before them. It is also an illustration of the character of Athenian laws that, among the offences tried by them, idleness, which no doubt they accounted the 'root of all evil,' was one. At Athens it was those only who had pre-eminently deserved well of their country, not the idle, or the improvident, who were maintained at the public charge and at the Prytaneum.

"The period during which this court held its sessions on the 'Hill of Mars' was long indeed, if, as the Athenians asserted, it had

continued from the time of Cecrops. It was Pericles himself who diminished its authority, and indirectly relaxed the severity of its morals; an injury greater, it is probable, than that which he did his countrymen by involving them in the Peloponnesian war, and one which justifies the well-known aphorism, that the greatest statesmen, next to those who build up their country's institutions, are commonly those who undermine them. One cannot help regretting that it was not before that court, though in his time it was probably much corrupted, instead of before the Bouleuterion, that Socrates was tried. A greater than he however stood up before this tribunal. Who can visit the spot and not call to mind the day when St. Paul lifted up his hand there, and pointed to the altar of the 'unknown God?' Nothing can more pointedly mark the comprehensive and piercing intelligence of the Athenians, than the fact that in their city alone such an altar stood: nothing can show how incompetent an organ of religious truth is intellect alone, than the fact that while the gospel took root in Rome itself, the most corrupt city in the world at that time, and while Apostolic epistles were addressed to Corinth, and to the cities of Asia Minor, Athens, the keen, the versatile, and the *tolerant*, let it pass by. As I stood on that spot I remembered a discussion which I had heard years before among some young men, most of whom were enthusiastic admirers of Athens. 'It was not,' they remarked, 'in art and science only that the Athenians excelled; they were also the most charitable of men, the most tolerant, and the most zealous in the discovery of truth. They never stoned the prophets like the Jews, nor threw apostles to wild beasts like the Romans. When St. Paul had propounded to them his doctrine, they were at once willing to consider it, and answered, We will hear thee again on this matter.' 'Yes,' remarked a young student who was present, 'but you will find it stated a little further on, that they missed their opportunity. St. Paul left them and returned no more.' The wind 'bloweth where it listeth,' and not where man lists."—vol. i. pp. 157–161.

So also in this brief description of Delphi, the natural wildness and beauty of its scenery is turned into a pleasing commentary on its past associations, religious and historical.

"An hour after we had entered the glen we arrived at the village of Castri, built in the neighbourhood, if not on the site of Delphi. The ancient city breaks up here and there through the new village like round stones in a road gradually displacing the gravel with which they had been covered, or some indestructible religion forcing its way back through younger superstitions. Wandering among its narrow streets I frequently came upon a gigantic capital pointing its polished traceries through the weeds that had

grown over it, or a fragment of a cornice carved as delicately as if it had been an altar. In many places indeed the houses were half new and half old; the lower portions of the walls, or at least the foundations, consisting of the ancient masonry, upon which was piled a modern superstructure of pebbles, mud, wood, and straw. The effect was singular, and reminded me that thus also the whole of the domestic and social system of Greece had apparently rested upon the foundation of its great religious ideas—a circumstance, however, by no means peculiar to the Grecian, or, indeed, to any ancient polity. The situation of Castri thus nested high among its rocks much resembles that of a Swiss village seated on some aerial elevation, amid its grey ledges and its grassy slopes. The difference, however, is as striking as the similarity, and consists in that marvellous union of luxuriance with sublimity which characterises Greek scenery. Around Castri, in place of orchards white with apple blossoms and rough with knotted sprays, was the green and golden lemon-grove, with pale yellow fruit, and smooth leaves, the younger of them translucent. The little lawns amid the cliffs were waving with anemones, (the thinnest floral texture almost that can sustain the weight of colour,) not set in orderly array with flax and peas. The breeze, heavy from the orange bower, was met by the healthier sea-scented gale, which snatched a blossom from the almond tree, or dropped a feather from an eagle's wing upon the breast of the myrtle thicket.

“A very short distance further on is the sacred cleft, close to which stood the oracular shrine, and out of which issued that intoxicating vapour upon which Appollo once scattered, as was deemed, the might of inspiration. The cleft is a narrow chasm in the rocks, which in this place very nearly approach each other, and are quite smooth. Its length is considerable; gradually its breadth diminishes; and it is so lofty, that the sky seen above it looks like a strip of purple ribbon. Adjoining this cleft, was the temple of Apollo; the face of the rock, at right angles with the chasm, was the inner wall of that temple, and not only retains the mark of the chisel, but is also different in colour from the rest. Its vast tablet is still sacred from weather-stains and from vegetation; but its summit and its edges are fringed with yellow flowers, of a kind which I have not seen elsewhere, and of which I carried away a handful as relics.

“No other trace of the oracular temple remains. It is gone, with all its sacred treasures and mysteries. We look in vain for the mystic tripod, from which the Pythia, who had breathed the inspiring vapour, flung abroad her prophecies in agonistic ecstasies that terrified the priests who beheld her, and sometimes deprived her of life. Its shrine no longer contains the gifts of kings, Asiatic and European, or the trembling elliptical stone, supposed to have been the centre of the earth, the spot at which met the two doves which Jupiter had loosed from the opposite extremities of the world.

As vainly do we look for the triple serpent of brass, found in the Persian camp after the battle of Marathon, and deposited here for centuries. Yet Delphi has still its memorials, though when you seek the oracular temple (the heart of the Greek religion), you find, as on the site of the Eleusinian mysteries, a blank. Such a blank is perhaps not to be regretted: the ardent desire that a visible memorial existed, is in itself a spiritual memorial; and the chief sanctuaries of ancient religion, if obliterated, have at least escaped a worse profanation. That fane, the opening of whose gates each spring shook the ancient world with hope and fear, and sent a tremor of expectation through the hearts of kings, fell, and no one knows when:—it slid from its basis into oblivion without a sound, like the nest of the bird that built amid its eaves. The treasury of Cræsus, memorable for his piety as for his wealth, is gone also; and we look in vain for the three thousand statues, brazen, golden, and marble, which once adorned the streets of Delphi. The hall of the Amphictyonic Council, the political centre of Greece, and the body whose decrees every Hellenic state had vowed to enforce by arms, has also disappeared. Some traces of an ancient stadium are still visible, as well as many fragments of the city walls. The chief memorial, however, of classic times and mythic dreams, is one which nature created and which nature maintains, renewing it momentarily as it fleets away,—the Castalian fount. Fed from above by the Parnassian snows, it sparkles and chimes in the basin hewn for it out of the rock; and falling from the lofty region on which Delphi stood into the ravine which we had tracked on our path thither, mingles its waters with the river Pleistæus; after which, receiving some tributary streams on its way, it winds through the plain of Cirrha, and finds rest in the waters of the Crissean bay. I drank of it, and washed both face and hands in it. Whether it still confers the gift of poetic inspiration, as when the muses danced around it, I cannot say: I can assert, however, that purer or fresher water is not to be found.”—vol. ii. pp. 22-7.

Nor are Mr. de Vere's perceptions of moral beauty less lively than those which he exhibits of beauty in nature or in art. We have seldom read a more pleasing scene than the following—a school at Athens.

“I visited, with equal surprise and satisfaction, an Athenian school which contained 700 pupils, taken from every class of society. The poorer classes were gratuitously instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic, and the girls in needlework likewise. The progress which the children had made was very remarkable; but what particularly pleased me was that air of bright alertness, and good-humoured energy, which belonged to them, and which made every task appear a pleasure, not a toil. The greatest punishment which can be inflicted on an Athenian child is exclusion from

school, though but for a day. About seventy of the children belonged to the higher classes, and were instructed in music, drawing, the modern languages, the ancient Greek, and geography. Most of them were at the moment reading Herodotus and Homer. I have never seen children approaching them in beauty; and was much struck by their oriental cast of countenance, their dark complexions, their flashing eyes, and that expression at once apprehensive and meditative which is so much more remarkable in children than in those of a more mature age.

"The singularity of the spectacle was increased by the mingled character of enjoyment and decorum that belonged to it. The dresses of the children, many of which were of the national costume, looked as spotless as their pale radiant faces, and as carefully arranged as their hair, which was almost always dark, and glistening in its heavy masses. Their gestures were eager at once and graceful, and their demeanour was full of reverence. Never have I seen such brows, and such nobly-shaped heads. These are, perhaps, the highest characteristics of Greek beauty; but they are especially observable in children, and give them a certain rapt and inspired air. As I walked among them, I could hardly help asking 'Which is to be the future Pindar? That girl, does she not come from Tanagra: does she not boast that Thermodon is clearer than Ilissus; and is not her name Corinna? Many of these children spoke English, and conversed eagerly about their studies. One of them in particular, a beautiful orphan from Crete, adopted by an American lady, to whom the Athenians owe much, expatiated, with brightening eyes, and a fairer dawn of intelligence on her brow, about the pleasure she had had in reading Plato! Some of their drawings seemed to me to indicate much genius; and there is no branch of their education which they enjoy so much. Their singing master was an old Greek, who had passed many years in Germany, but who abated nothing of his vivacity on that account. If he was as dry as a cricket, he was as merry likewise. This old man seemed, indeed, to have gathered a double portion of his country's vivacity from the abundance of youthful life around him, and was never tired of singing among his pupils, whose confidence he had plainly won, and who clustered about him like birds upon a sunny old fruit-tree half bare.

"I was asked to come again on Sunday evening, and attend their devotions, which are of a very musical character—an invitation that I did not require to be repeated. Before I had reached the threshold, a loud, clear chant from the upper part of the building struck upon my ear. Guided by the sound, I made my way easily to the 'upper chamber,' which they used as their chapel. A little girl advanced to meet me, with a frank courtesy, and placed in my hand, with a ready smile of a child's hospitality, a Greek prayer-book, open at the place where they were engaged. It was a prayer from one of those old Greek Liturgies, which rank

among the grandest of human compositions. The prayer concluded, the infantine congregation rose and chanted in Greek the whole of the *Te Deum*. If the legend be true which attributes to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine that hymn which so marvellously combines the Creed, the Psalm, and the Prayer:—if it be true that, at the baptism of the latter, the two saints were seized with a common impulse, and recited that hymn, composing it as they proceeded, in alternate verses—they might have recognised an exultation not less fervent than that which they had themselves felt, if they had heard it chaunted by that youthful and jubilant choir. The passion of the south is a glorious thing when it is worthily directed:—it is then a light that illumines the intellect, and a searching heat that makes purity more pure. I well understood, on that occasion, why it is that in those lands where, commonly, pleasure is too eagerly pursued, sanctity has also reached its highest elevation; building, like the eagle, its nest on the summit of the mountain-walls whose base is hidden in myrtles.

“Impassioned exultation was the chief characteristic of the song carolled by those dark-eyed cherubs. The nightingales in the mystic groves of Colonos, which allayed the heart and sounded the requiem of the blind king, about to find rest at last in the shades, had neither so impetuous nor so solemn a note. Certainly those children sang to God, and not merely ‘to the praise and glory of God, part of the 119th Psalm.’ In this respect their anthem illustrated what everything in Greece reminds us of, the extreme objectivity of the Greek character. Nothing human however is perfect, and I must add that there was occasionally not a little harshness in the music, owing to its extreme loudness, and to the fact that those youthful voices were not mellowed by the intermixture of any graver tones.”—vol. i. pp. 249–254.

Mr. de Vere devotes a chapter to a general summary of the reflections which are suggested by a comparison of the geography and physical characteristics of Greece, with her actual history. It is undoubtedly difficult for a traveller, passing and repassing within a few hours the petty boundaries of the little provinces which once filled so large a space in the world’s history, to realize the moral idea with which that history has familiarized him.

“It is when travelling in Greece that we practically recognise the marvellously minute scale upon which that country was moulded, the moral influences of which were destined to extend all over the world. You may look at the map and forget this circumstance; but it is brought effectually home to you when during a few days’ ride you visit one after another a series of rival States, which in their politics, their social character, and their histories,

were as distinct as the various kingdoms of Europe now are. It was not till I had sailed for a few miles from Lutrarki, and observed the greater clearness with which the Parnassian ranges came out, that I realised the fact that Corinth and Delphi, two cities as morally opposed to each other as Washington and Mecca, were yet physically so close that the laughter of the midnight revellers might almost have met the hymns of the priests midway on the waters. What, again, could be more different than the character of Bœotia, sacerdotal, traditionary, unchanging, the Hellenic Austria, and that of the inventive and mercurial Attica? And yet from the same ridge of Parnes the shepherd descried the capitals of both. How remote from each other in character were Sparta, in which the whole life of man was one perpetual military discipline, and Athens, in which every one went on his own business after his own fashion. Yet the mariner ran across, in perhaps a day's sail, from the one territory to the other, passing on his way communities equally unlike both. How contrasted were the various States of the Peloponnesus, for century after century at war; and yet from the summits of Mænalus, the wandering rhapsodist, placed immediately above Pallantium, the city of Pallas and Evander, and the mother of Rome herself, beheld them all, or nearly all—the maritime cities of the Achaian league—the sacred plain of Elis, in which Greece celebrated its heroic games—pastoral and musical Arcadia, the Tyrol of Greece—the valleys dear to liberty of the much-suffering Messenians, its Switzerland—the walled territory and unvalled city of Sparta—Epidaurus, the sanctuary of the sick—Argolis, the most venerable of all in its associations, and its monuments, on which the Greek looked as we look on our Roman or Druidical remains. If, crossing the gulf of Lepanto, he passed from the Parnassian to the Pindan range, and Cæta, the mountain of Hercules, he looked down, at the one side on the Thessalian valleys, on Dolopia and Phthiotis, on Doris and Phocis, and the plains of the Locrians; and, at the other, on the valleys of Epirus, on Ætolia and Acharnania:—he might have seen Thermopylæ, the gate of Greece, and Delphi, its secret shrine: far off he might have discerned Actium and Pharsalia, on which the destinies of the Roman world were to be decided; and more near, those quiet vales refreshed by the winding waters of the Achelous and Aous, and Arachthus, of Enipeus, and Peneus and Haliacmon, and a hundred streams besides, famous in ancient song.

“We are too apt to connect the idea of greatness with that of extent. Unwieldy vastness, on the contrary, is a source of weakness, and the most enormous empires have lain inert and barren for centuries, their mind being, as it were, insufficient to wield the huge and cumbrous body through which it was languidly diffused. The same confinement which is required to give explosive force to gunpowder, is equally necessary to realise the might of human energies, which, without such compression, commonly run to waste.

Concentration is always force; and the mere number of men needed in order to produce the most wonderful results is inconsiderable. We can easily indeed observe various modes in which the greatness of the Grecian States was eminently promoted by the narrow limits of each. A population comparatively dense made it necessary that government should be strong; while at the same time among races so enlightened it was equally necessary that the strong government should be just and liberal. To prevent that population from becoming excessive, much of prudence, of forethought, and of self-command must have been needed in forming the ties of life, as well as much of industry in agriculture and commerce, and much of enterprise in colonisation. A moral and political education thus ever advanced side by side. Once more, races kept apart by mighty ranges of mountains necessarily became rivals; but it was their propinquity to each other which realised that rivalry, and stimulated their advancing energies from day to day. The wars between state and state, moreover, were by no means like ordinary border warfare;—they were humanised by a common Hellenism, and had no tendency to barbarise. Neither did they resemble civil wars;—on the contrary, in each community, the distinct integrity of which was commonly guaranteed by its geographical situation, a close political organisation and strong social sympathies, far from suffering any disruption or distraction, were rendered yet more necessary by a common danger, and a glory in which each man had his part. It is always in conjunction with military virtues, moral energies, and political duties, that the mental and imaginative powers receive their best development. So it was in Greece; and the rival states, like forest trees, acquired a loftier stature because they had not room to spread.

“How wonderful was the variety of polities exhibited in that narrow compass! As if Greece, in its political relations, had been intended to present an epitome of Europe, as Europe does of the world, there exists no form of government, theocratical, monarchical, or republican, aristocratic, democratic, or military, of which her little states did not furnish examples. As if also the history of Greece had been destined to constitute a compendium of all history, these various forms of government were now allowed a gradual development, now brought into sudden antagonism, and now suffered to change into each other, or to combine their several elements in the most various proportions. Not only was Greece providentially built up into a university in which all nations were to be trained in scientific lore, and an academy in which the arts were to find a perpetual asylum, but it became also a theatre in which human society rehearsed all its parts, and a treasure-house in which history was to preserve its archives and store its lessons. To be familiar with the annals of Greece is to understand the philosophy of history. Compared with it the records of most other communities are but a chronicle of accidents. In it is contained

essentially the inner history of each. On that history we look down as on a map ; and it becomes intelligible to us, because it lies in a narrow limit, and is illuminated by a wide and steady light. All that can take place intellectually or morally on the globe is but an expansion of the struggles that may take place in a single breast. The history of a man is the history of a race : the history of a race is the history of a world : but in proportion as the horizon is widened, our eyes are bewildered, and clouds obscure the scene. The history of human society, epitomised in that of Greece, is instructive to us because it is condensed, and because in shaking off the sophism of prolixity and the perplexities of detail, it stands before us idealised. Greece, considered politically and morally, is like the tent in the eastern tale, which, when folded, could be carried on a man's shoulder, and, when opened, could shelter an army."—Vol. ii. pp. 55—62.

On the subject of the analogies so often traced between the political constitutions of the Grecian States and those of modern nations, and of the applicability of the same principles in both cases, he subjoins with great truth and justice,—

"The small size of the Greek states is a matter of paramount importance, though one often overlooked, when their example is cited with respect to forms of government, and in vindication of the republican principle. It is chiefly where a large country is concerned that the principle of order needs for its support that gradation of ranks of which monarchy is the natural apex. Where the territory is so narrow and the population so small that every man is, as it were, before the eye of the public, there, on the other hand, we may expect most often to meet with that diffusion of public principle and sense of duty which are the first requisites in republics. In a large and populous nation every man has the benefit or the temptations of an incognito. In a small country, public matters come home to the whole community, and whoever discharges public functions is obliged to walk in the light. Greece is often cited as a precedent in favour of democratic institutions. Many of the Greek republics were far enough from being democratic : let us however take the case of Athens, whose institutions were pre-eminently of a popular character. In one sense Athens was a democracy, but hardly in the modern sense. The Athenian freemen were few in comparison of those inhabitants of Attica who had no political privileges whatever. To the latter class belonged some ten thousand strangers and about four hundred thousand slaves. Among these the Athenian citizens ranged, a small and select body ; how small we may imagine when we recollect that Attica was about the size of an English county, that half of it con-

sisted of barren mountain, and the rest of soil by no means fertile. In the enjoyment of ample leisure, (the hard work of the country being performed by their slaves,) the small minority received the highest intellectual culture then existing, from literature, from the fine arts, from social intercourse, and from the drama. To such a height was mental refinement carried among them, that the tragedies and the orations listened to by what we call the Athenian populace, are too severe and stately wholly to please the literary classes in modern society. Athens might as justly be called an academy as a nation, and the Athenian government was as far from being a democracy as an aristocracy in the modern sense of the word. Where the territory is small, where every man is educated and redeemed from servile labour, and where external relations are such as to cause at once emulation and anxiety, there upon each citizen his country has set her seal, and he may fitly be entrusted with the charge of her safety."—Vol. ii. pp. 67—69.

It is time, however, to give the reader a specimen of the lighter portion of the Sketches. But lest, by the contrast, we should break the charm which hangs round the solemn memories of the classic land of Greece, we shall draw upon the chapters which he has given to life in Constantinople. It would be difficult to select a more characteristic sketch than the following,—

"I was not long at Constantinople before I came in for what is of very frequent occurrence there, namely, a fire. Indeed, I believe, that as a storm is said to be always going on in some part of the sea, so a conflagration, larger or smaller, is always raging in some part of the narrow wooden streets of Stamboul. The people have few public amusements, and this is considered one of the best, if I may judge by the demeanour of the crowds whose singular bearing was to me more interesting than the spectacle I witnessed in common with them. At first I knew not what it meant. I had observed that vast multitudes were moving, with what for a Turk is haste, toward the court of one of their mosques, and stationing themselves, as soon as they had reached it, on the steps, balustrades, and every spot whence a view was commanded. Joining their company I discovered the cause of the assembly in a whole street from which clouds of smoke were rising, and from which it was every moment expected that the flames would burst. Nothing could exceed the business-like alacrity of those who struggled for a place in the balconies, or the placid enjoyment of those who had attained one. In expectation of the event piles of carpets, pillows, and cushions had been already brought from the neighbouring houses, and placed wherever room could be found. On those comfortable seats the multitudes had established themselves, the men in one part,

sedately smoking, the women in another, now looking on and now playing with their children. In a moment refreshments of all sorts were provided—sweetmeats, confectionery, and sherbet, by a number of rival purveyors, who advanced with unalarmed alacrity amid the smoke and falling sparks, plainly considering the scene of destruction a sort of ‘benefit’ got up for their especial behoof, and unceremoniously elbowing to one side the police, who rushed with pails of water on their head to the rescue of the burning houses.

“In a few minutes more the flames burst out with a loud crash, mounting high into the heavens, and flinging an exciting and pleasurable heat into the face of the crowds who, without ever removing their pipes (except to drink), gazed with silent, but impassioned, interest on a scene which, to them, was no more a matter of surprise than a street-preacher would be in Edinburgh, a ‘Funzione’ at Rome, or Punchinello at Naples. Among the calm crowd of spectators were the proprietors of the burning houses, smoking, like their neighbours, and well assured that their loss had been determined by Allah long before the prophet was born. In one sense they were right enough. Doubtless, it has been predestined that fires should be frequent among them, as long as their houses are built of wood; and, indeed, I could not help thinking that they would never become rare until an opera is established at Constantinople, or the exhibitions of ‘howling dervises’ become more numerous.

“A Frenchman, near whom I found myself, whispered to me that the Turks were a jealous people, and that if they suspected that I was gazing with satisfaction at their calamity, they would feel anything but contentment; for which reason he exhorted me to assume an ‘air bien triste.’ I soon discovered that he was right, warned by occasional knocks in the ribs, sufficiently emphatic to dispel any immoderate gleams of satisfaction which might appear on my face. Certainly, if I had smiled at a people who, entirely indifferent about their own loss of property, were moved only by a stranger’s sharing that indifference, I might have stood excused. I soon discovered, however, that it was no laughing matter; although, by changing my place as soon as the portion of the crowd, in the midst of which I stood, had apparently seen enough of me, I contrived to remain a witness of this most characteristic scene.”—vol. ii. pp. 149–153.

Indeed the whole aspect of life in this strange city, is illustrative of the character of the singular race who are its present masters.

“The bearing of the people as you pass them in the streets of Constantinople is in strange harmony with the city, and must have been yet more striking before the late sultan had commenced his

unfortunate and ill-advised reform of costume. The women, who glide past you, beside fountain and garden-wall, in their long white robes and veils, which allow no part of the face to appear but the dark and mournful eyes, might be almost taken for ghosts revisiting the scenes of past delights. Not less singular is the effect when those of a higher rank and more splendid attire drive slowly by in a carriage, at least as like a hearse as a Venetian gondola is like a coffin, consisting, as it does, of a shallow open body, richly gilded, without springs, and mantled by a canopy, sometimes of black cloth, and sometimes of a less gloomy colour. The slow and heavy oxen that commonly draw these carriages, do not differ more from the agile horses of Attica than do the Turks from the Athenians, a contrast by which I was, no doubt, the more impressed on account of my recent residence at Athens. In place of the merry laugh, the flashing eye, and the elastic gait, there was in each Turk whom I met an expression of melancholy self-possession, which could hardly have been more pronounced had he been invariably under the influence of opium. In place of billiards or dice, or any active game, the everlasting pipe, long or short, crooked or straight, was the resource of those who had no other occupation, and of many who had. Buying and selling, bargaining and conversing, seemed to be carried on in a state of somnambulism. Pleasure itself seemed a serious thing, and conserve of roses was handed to the customer with an air of heavy sedateness. 'Eat,' seemed the silent address of the mussulman, 'eat, O true believer, before you die.'—vol. ii. pp. 127-9.

So again, even in the motley groups who form the ship's company of the crowded steam-boats on the "Golden Horn," the same apparent insensibility still is the leading characteristic.

"We had on board a goodly array of Orientals from all parts of the east, who were far too dignified to take any interest in the objects we passed by. One of these was an interesting being, a Turkish woman unprotected, and probably nearly as much troubled at finding herself thus separated from her wonted seclusion, and divulged to the world, as if she had been a nun. Two children were her sole companions; and in looking after her charge, she did not always find it easy to keep the veil muffled with its customary closeness about her pale, smooth, and beautifully-shaped face. Her dark and slow eyes stared alarmed disapprobation at the wonders of the deep; while those of her children, equally dark, and almost equally languid, rested quiescent upon whatever trifle chanced to be near them. Not a word did she speak of any European language; but she consoled herself by talking incessantly to her infant, who was so young that, if he understood her better than

the rest of the ship's company, he was yet equally unable to make any clear reply. Not far from her sat two little Greek girls, apparently about ten or eleven years old. After casting many a dubious glance toward her, they rose at last, with a common impulse, went to her, and notwithstanding their ignorance of her language, and their detestation of her race and religion, insisted upon taking possession of her eldest child, whom they carried about, without opposition on his part, for the rest of the voyage. The poor mother, 'silent as a woman fearing blame,' resisted stoutly at first, and looked after them uneasily for a long time afterwards; but apparently she reconciled herself to the abduction at last, perceiving perhaps that her child was in safe hands, and remembering, at all events, that nothing could happen to him which had not been decreed from the hour of his birth, nay, from the creation of the world,—two important epochs, no doubt, in her chronology. As for the Greek girls, wherever one went the other went, and whatever one looked at the other looked at also; so that one might have fancied they had but one soul between them, if it had not been for the art with which they alternately supplanted each other in the possession of their captive, whom they carried about with them, up stairs and down stairs, in and out, and all over the ship. Wherever they went, the young Turk went also. They were as inseparably connected as a divinity and his attribute in a mythological print."—vol. ii. pp. 104–6.

But the most amusing chapter in the book, is the history of Mr. De Vere's "Adventure in a Harem." For the rare opportunity of making acquaintance with the interior of one of those jealously guarded retreats, he was indebted to the assistance of a nondescript French adventurer, half philosopher, half juggler, whose acquaintance he formed during his residence in Constantinople. This singular youth had established such a reputation as a conjuror, as even to have attracted the notice of the Sultan, and frequently had the honour to exhibit in his presence. Nothing came amiss to him; and if the history of his own powers which he gave to Mr. de Vere was not a gross exaggeration, he need never fear to want the means of subsistence. Among his other accomplishments he was a finished pickpocket, and, as an example of his skill, he told that on one occasion, dining in a numerous company, he contrived to pick the pocket of every person present, abstracting watches, purses, handkerchiefs, gloves, &c., till the whole circle was completed. A scene of violent excitement ensued, which he soon managed to turn into mutual suspicion and recrimination on the part of the

company, and at last the police were called in to search for the stolen property; when to the amazement of all present, and of the police officers more than all the rest together, the missing articles were all found in their own pockets!

He had improved the notion publicly entertained of his powers as a conjuror, into a profitable trade in the discovery of stolen goods, and the unravelment of other domestic mysteries; and one day he called upon Mr. de Vere to apprise him that a wealthy Turk had applied to him to assist in the discovery of a precious ring, which had been lost by his favourite wife, and was supposed to have been stolen by some of the other members of his seraglio, under the influence of jealousy; and to propose that Mr. de Vere should accompany him in the capacity of his assistant. The offer, though not without its risks, was gladly accepted, and carrying with them the necessary apparatus, which consisted of the Frenchman's conjuring dress, and a portable electric machine, they repaired to the house, where they were received with great gravity by the host, "a tall, handsome, and rather youthful man." The conjuror, of course declined the host's proposal that he should proceed with his prophetic investigations, unless in the presence of the ladies of the household.

"At this startling proposition even the oriental sedateness of our majestic host gave way, and he allowed his astonishment and displeasure to become visible. 'Who ever heard,' he demanded, 'of the wives of a true believer being shown to a stranger, and that stranger an infidel and a Frank?' As much astonished in our turn, we demanded, 'When a magician had ever been heard of, who could discover a stolen treasure without being confronted either with the person who had lost or the person who had appropriated it?' For at least two hours, though relieved by intervals of silence, the battle was carried on with much occasional vehemence on his part, and on ours with an assumption of perfect indifference. Our host at last, perceiving that our obstinacy was equal to the decrees of fate, retired, as we were informed, to consult his mother on the subject. In a few minutes he returned, and assured us that our proposition was ridiculous; upon which we rose with much dignified displeasure, and moved toward the door, stating that our beards had been made little of. A grave-looking man who belonged to the household of our host, and occupied apparently a sort of semi ecclesiastical position, now interposed, and after some consultation it was agreed that as we were not mere men, but prophets, and infidel saints, an exception might be made

in our favour without violation of the Mussulman law ; not, indeed, to the extent of allowing us to profane the inner sanctuary of the harem with our presence, but so far as to admit us into an apartment adjoining it, where the women would be summoned to attend us.

“Accordingly, we passed through a long suite of rooms, and at last found ourselves in a chamber lofty and large, fanned by a breeze from the Bosphorus, over which its lattices were suspended, skirted by a low divan, covered with carpets and cushions, and ‘invested with perpureal gleams’ by the splendid hangings through which the light feebly strove. Among a confused heap of crimson pillows and orange drapery, at the remote end of the apartment, sat, or rather reclined, the mother of our reluctant host. I could observe only that she was aged, and lay there as still as if she had belonged to the vegetable, not the human world. Usually she was half-veiled by the smoke of her long pipe ; but when its wreaths chanced to float aside or grow thin, her dark eyes were fixed upon us with an expression half indifferent and half averse.

“Presently a murmur of light feet was heard in an adjoining chamber :—on it moved along the floor of the gallery ; and in trooped the company of wives and female slaves. They laughed softly and musically as they entered, but seemed frightened also ; and at once raising their shawls and drawing down their veils, they glided simultaneously into a semicircle and stood there with hands folded on their breasts. I sat opposite to them, drinking coffee and smoking, or pretending to smoke a pipe eight feet long : at one side stood the Mollah and some male members of the household : at the other, stood the handsome husband, apparently but little contented with the course matters had taken ; and my friend, the magician, moved about among the implements of his art clad in a black gown, spangled with flame-coloured devices, strange enough to strike a bold heart with awe. Beyond the semicircle stood two children, a boy and a girl, holding in their hands twisted rods of barley-sugar about a yard long each, which they sucked assiduously the whole time of our visit. There they stood, mute and still as statues, with dark eyes fixed, now on us, and now on the extremity of their sugar wands.

“My companion commenced operations by displaying a number of conjuring tricks intended to impress all present with the loftiest opinion of his powers, and stopped every now and then to make his dragoman explain that it would prove in vain to endeavour to deceive a being endowed with such gifts. To these expositions the women apparently paid but little attention ; but the conjuring feats delighted them ; and again and again they laughed until, literally, the head of each dropped on her neighbour’s shoulder. After a time the husband, who alone had never appeared the least entertained, interposed, and asked the conjuror whether he had yet discovered the guilty party. With the utmost coolness my friend

replied, 'Certainly not: how could he while his highness's wives continued veiled?' This new demand created new confusion and a long debate: I thought, however, that the women seemed rather to advocate our cause. The husband, the Mollah, and the mother again consulted; and in another moment the veils had dropped, and the beauty of many an eastern nation stood before us revealed.

"Four of those unveiled orientals were, as we were informed, wives, and six were slaves. The former were beautiful indeed, though beautiful in different degrees and in various styles of beauty: of the latter two only. They were, all of them, tall, slender, and dark-eyed, 'shadowing high beauty in their airy brows,' and uniting a mystical with a luxurious expression, like that of Sibyls who had been feasting with Cleopatra. There was something to me strange as well as lovely in their aspect—as strange as their condition, which seems a state half-way between marriage and widowhood. They see no man except their husband; and a visit from him (except in the case of the favourite) is a rare and marvellous occurrence, like an eclipse of the sun. Their bearing toward each other was that of sisters: in their movements I remarked an extraordinary sympathy, which was the more striking on account of their rapid transitions from the extreme of alarm to child-like wonder, and again to boundless mirth.

"The favourite wife was a Circassian, and a fairer vision it would not be easy to see. Intellectual in expression she could hardly be called; yet she was full of dignity, as well as of pliant grace and of sweetness. Her large black eyes, beaming with a soft and stealthy radiance, seemed as if they would have yielded light in the darkness; and the heavy waves of her hair, which, in the excitement of the tumultuous scene, she carelessly flung over her shoulders, gleamed like a mirror. Her complexion was the most exquisite I have ever seen, its smooth and pearly purity being tinged with a colour, unlike that of flower or of fruit, of bud or of berry, but which reminded me of the vivid and delicate tints which sometimes streak the inside of a shell. Though tall, she seemed as light as if she had been an embodied cloud, hovering over the rich carpets like a child that does not feel the weight of its body; and though stately in the intervals of rest, her mirth was a sort of rapture."—vol. ii. pp. 208, 214.

This juggling, however, although highly entertaining to the ladies, led to no practical result; and it became necessary, after a trial of his powers of persuasion, to have recourse to a further process.

"Resolved to use more formidable weapons, he began to arrange an electrical machine, when the Mollah, after glancing at it two or

three times, approached and asked him whether that instrument also was supernatural. The quick-witted Frenchman replied at once, 'By no means ; it is a mere scientific toy.' Then, turning to me, he added in a low voice, 'He has seen it before—probably, he has travelled.' In a few minutes the women were ranged in a ring, and linked hand in hand. He then informed them, through our interpreter, that if a discovery was not immediately made, each person should receive, at the same moment, a blow from an invisible hand ; that, the second time, the admonition would be yet severer ; and that, the third time, if his warning was still despised, the culprit would drop down dead. This announcement was heard with much gravity, but no confession followed it : the shock was given, and the lovely circle was speedily dislinked, 'with shrieks and laughter.' Again the shock was given, and with the same effect ; but this time the laughter was more subdued. Before making his last essay, the magician addressed them in a long speech, telling them that he had already discovered the secret, that if the culprit confessed, he would make intercession for her, but that, if she did not, she must take the consequences. Still no confession was made. For the first time, my confident friend looked downcast. 'It will not do,' he said to me ; 'the ring cannot be recovered : they know nothing about it : probably it was lost. We cannot fulfil our engagement ; and, indeed, I wish,' he added, 'that we were well out of all this.'

"I confess I wished the same, especially when I glanced at the master of the household, who stood apart, gloomy as a thunder-cloud, and with the look of a man who thinks himself in a decidedly false position. The easterns do not understand a jest, especially in a harem ; and not being addicted to irony (that great safety-valve for enthusiasm), they pass rapidly from immoveability to very significant and sometimes disagreeable action. Speaking little, they deliver their souls by acting. I should have been glad to hear our host talk, even though in a stormy voice : on the whole, however, I trusted much to the self-possession and address of my associate. Nor was I deceived. 'Do as you see me do,' he said to me and the dragoman ; and then, immediately after giving the third shock, which was as ineffectual as those that preceded it, he advanced to our grim host with a face radiant with satisfaction, and congratulated him vehemently. 'You are a happy man,' he said. 'Your household has not a flaw in it. Fortunate it was that you sent for the wise man : I have discovered the matter.' 'What have you discovered ?' 'The fate of the ring. It has never been stolen : if it had, I would have restored it to you. Fear nothing ; your household is trustworthy and virtuous. I know where the ring is ; but I should deceive you if I bade you hope ever to find it again. This is a great mystery, and the happy consummation surpasses even my hopes. Adieu. The matter has turned out just as you see. You were born under a lucky star.

Happy is the man whose household is trustworthy, and who, when his faith is tried, finds a faithful counsellor. I forbid you henceforth and for ever, to distrust any one of your wives.'"—vol. ii. pp. 215-219.

With this conclusion, more happy than for a time they had anticipated, they were fain to withdraw, and so terminated this adventurous, and perhaps somewhat questionable experiment.

We shall not attempt to follow Mr. De Vere into what may be called the mere sight-seeing portion of his pages, though, indeed, his book contains but little which, in these days of "Hand-books," may well be left to the professional literary cicerone. We shall pass over, therefore, his observations on the Bazaar, on St. Sophia's, and the other mosques, the Burned Pillar, Theodosius's Obelisk, and the far-famed Subterranean Cisterns. These are topics which every tourist considers himself privileged to handle. But Mr. De Vere has devoted a chapter to a subject on which he is specially qualified to write—a description of the walls of this wonderful city, the New Rome of the Eastern Empire, which, like the walls of its western rival, contain a monumental epitome of their history.

We would gladly follow him in this interesting sketch. There is not an invasion of the city which is not chronicled in these silent records—that of the Goths in 378, of the Bulgarians in 559, of the Persians in 626, of the Arabs in 668, and again in 718, of the Russians in 865, and again on three several occasions, 904, 941, and 1043,—the repeated sieges of the Latin troops during the wars of the crusaders, its fall and recovery, and the final destruction of the Eastern Empire in 1453. On all these Mr. De Vere has written with a beautiful and scholar-like hand, and has given to the description almost all the interest, and certainly all the instruction which could be derived from the actual examination of the details.

But for this and many other most interesting particulars we must refer to the volumes themselves. We trust they are but a prelude to many other "Picturesque Sketches" from the same graceful pen.

ART. II.—*The Life of John Calvin.* Compiled from authentic Sources, and particularly from his Correspondence. By THOMAS H. DYER. With a Portrait. 8vo. London: Murray, 1850.

THE biographies of Calvin have been, with hardly an exception, compiled in accordance with his own fundamental theory of Absolute Decrees, and furnish a practical example of the Calvinistic doctrine of election and reprobation, in its application to historical literature. To one set of biographers Calvin is a saint, to another a cast-away; by the first his memory has been “predestined to glory,” by the second to shame and reprobation: and if the election has not been, in both cases, absolutely anterior to the consideration of his own merits or demerits, and independent thereof, there can be no doubt that he is indebted for a large proportion of both his merit and his demerit to the preconceived views of the several writers. If Theodore Beza resolved to canonize the memory of his great leader, and to see nothing in his principles, his motives, or his life, but what beseemed a saint and servant of God, Jerome Bolsec closed his eyes with almost equal obstinacy against all but the darkest and most repulsive shadows of his character: these contemporary memoirs have formed the basis and the text of a double series of biographies extending to the present time;—the one distinguished by extravagant laudation, the other by unmitigated censure: and until a very recent period, it could hardly be said that any serious attempt had been made to strike the balance impartially between them. Indeed, even the most recent biographies of Calvin will be found to fall in with either type, in a greater or less degree. A very flagrant specimen of the laudatory class has been for some years enjoying an extensive circulation, not only in these countries, but also in America;—M. Merle D’Aubigné’s sketch of the biography of Calvin, in his well-known History of the Reformation. This History has been published in the most popular forms, and circulated at a price little more than nominal; and if we may judge from the extravagant encomiums which it has received from the entire of the evangelical press, it has taken the place of a standard authority on this and all other topics connected with the history of the Reformers. We must say that we know very few books

which possess less claim to the character of serious history: its vague and declamatory tone—the wild rhapsodies which form the staple of its descriptions—the undisguised partisanship which is apparent in every page, might, at first sight, seem sufficient to disentitle it to credit with all impartial readers; but there seems little reason, nevertheless, to doubt that the ever-ready prejudices of party have accepted even its most loose and inaccurate statements without difficulty and almost without investigation; and we have had frequent occasion to observe M. D'Aubigné's testimony put forward as conclusive, upon points on which no partisan, unsupported by collateral evidence, should be received as an authority.

The work of M. Audin,* although far more profound and more trustworthy, nevertheless could hardly be expected to escape the imputation of an undue leaning to the opposite side. His view of the character of Calvin is supported with great ability, and by an array of facts for which he is careful always to rely exclusively, if not on Calvinist, at least on uncatholic authorities; but with the knowledge that he was a Catholic, and far from an admirer of the subject of his biography, it could hardly be hoped that his opinions, however solidly established, would possess much weight with the Protestant public in England or in America. Although, therefore, we welcomed with much satisfaction the English translation of his *Life of Calvin*, as well as of his *Life of Luther*, we felt that, with English readers, the former could never take the place of a popular work, and could not be expected to counteract the effect of the impressions already made by publications of an opposite tendency.

A *Life of Calvin*, with far more pretensions to originality and research, was published by a learned German, Dr. Paul Henry, (1835—44).† In many particulars of the history, Dr. Henry's work is much more candid and impartial than any of its predecessors upon the Protestant side. But it is, nevertheless, as we shall see, tinged throughout

* Translated into English and published in America,—*History of the Life, Works, and Doctrines of John Calvin*, from the French of J. M. V. Audin. Translated by the Rev. John Mac Gill. Louisville, B. J. Webb.

† *Das Leben J. Calvins, des grossen Reformators.* 3 vols. 8vo.

with a strong party colouring, and in some instances is refuted even by the materials which are supplied in its own appendices and illustrative notes.

The English translation of this life by Dr. Stebbing notwithstanding, could not but be regarded as a valuable accession to the scanty materials for an estimate of the character of Calvin which lay within the reach of the English reader. But the retrenchment of a large proportion of the notes and illustrations, containing the text of the authorities upon which Dr. Henry's biography is based, deprived Dr. Stebbing's translation of much of the value which it would otherwise have had, especially as, from the desultory and unconnected character of the narrative in the original, the work being ill adapted for popular use, must rather be considered in the light of materials for history, than of actual history itself. Considered in this light too, the retrenchment of the appendices still more detracts from the utility of Dr. Henry's *Life of Calvin* in its English form.

Mr. Dyer's work, which stands at the head of these pages, has had the advantage of the copious materials collected by his industrious predecessors. Dr. Henry, in the biography just referred to; Ruchat, in his *General History of the Reformation in Switzerland*, Kirchhofer, Schlosser, even Audin, (though his name does not appear in Mr. Dyer's preface and very seldom in his notes,) have all been placed under contribution by him; and the authorities which these writers have embodied in their several works, have been carefully, and, we must add, judiciously, elaborated into a narrative far more orderly and connected than any which had previously been published.

Mr. Dyer's work is an attempt to maintain in the history of Calvin, a middle view between the absolute hero-worship of his professed admirers, and the bitter hostility with which his memory is regarded, not only by Catholic historians, but by many among the Reformers themselves. It is only justice to say, that we have met few English biographies of the leading Reformers, and indeed few historical works upon any of the great events of that period, conceived in a more impartial spirit.

Other Protestant historians of an earlier epoch, as for example, Hurter, Voigt, Bowden, Maitland, have evinced a more lively appreciation of Catholic principles and Catholic institutions. With these principles Mr.

Dyer not only appears to have no sympathy, but writes as if he ignored their existence and their influence altogether. On the contrary, he is a steadfast follower of the Reformation, the "great and manifold blessings" of which he gratefully recognises. But the impartiality and candour for which we would give him credit, consist in his, nevertheless, not being insensible to the fact that these supposed blessings "were not unalloyed by serious evils;" and his having the courage to avow, or the wisdom not to attempt to conceal, that, whatever may have been its beneficial effects, the active principle of the Reformation, Private Judgment, became the fruitful parent of "a variety of sects, of some of which the tenets were dangerous alike to civil government and to those principles of order which are the foundation of society." It is no part of Mr. Dyer's orthodoxy to disguise or to deny the wild theories and extravagant excesses of these sects, and the crimes and follies of their individual members; although he feels that "they threw discredit upon the Reformation; furnished the Papists with their stock of arguments against it, and produced distrust and intolerance among the Protestants themselves."

As regards Calvin himself, the same principle appears to pervade the narrative. There is an occasional indication of a tendency to soften the darker shades of his character, and, where his motives are susceptible of a good, or even of a doubtful construction, to lean towards the less unfavourable side. But whatever of such partiality there may be, we can well believe to be unconscious; and, at all events, it falls far short in this respect of the tone of former Protestant biographies of Calvin, and even of the most recent, and by far the most learned of them all, that of Dr. Paul Henry.

We can hardly predict, nevertheless, for Mr. Dyer's *Life of Calvin* any very extensive or marked popularity. It is too much the book of a student to suit the taste of the great mass of the reading public. Indeed, the whole history of this Reformer, and of that period of the movement to which he belongs, possesses far less interest than that of the earlier years of the Reformation; and even the interest which it does possess, is of a more sober and unexciting character. The career of Luther has a double phase, the destructive and the restorative. The former of these, by far the more dramatic, is wanting in the history of Calvin.

The work of destruction was over at Geneva before he appeared upon the scene. He had but to organize and consolidate the revolution which he found ready made to his hand; and although the task was not accomplished without long and determined opposition, the opposition itself, and the arms with which he encountered, and eventually overcame it, were not of a nature to furnish materials for a picturesque history. The sphere of his action, too, was limited, and comparatively obscure. His influence, in so far as it extended beyond Geneva, was the influence of the writer rather than that of the man. Although he was consulted as to the progress of the Reformation elsewhere, he had but little personal share therein. In Scotland and the Low Countries, the work which was to be done needed sturdier and more resolute hands than his. In England, his influence only reached so far as to procure for his peculiar views a doubtful and unrecognised toleration. Even France, his native country, though he there maintained an active and continued correspondence with many of his co-religionists, received little from him beyond his counsel, and the sympathy, which, at the very time when he himself was burning Servetus, he expressed for the persecuted brethren of that kingdom. Unlike his daring rival, the German Reformer, he was timid and cautious, even to pusillanimity. He loved to do his work, whenever it involved risk or responsibility, by other hands than his own. He delighted in concealment. His disguises are so numerous as almost to have embarrassed his biographers. No less than seven pseudonyms are ascertained to have been adopted by him at different times. In addition to the anagram of his real name, *Alcuin*, under which he published the second edition of his *Institutio*, he called himself by the motley appellations of D'Espeville, Lucanius, Depercan, Posselius, Calphurnius, and even De Bonneville. His first effort as an innovator or reformer was made not in his own person, but through the mouth of the newly-elected rector of the Sorbonne, Nicholas Cop, for whom he prepared an inaugural address brimful of heresy, taking care to "make himself safe" the moment the affair began to look serious. In fact, the history of Calvin is the history of his books and his correspondence, rather than of himself. It is, unquestionably, even on this account, a very extraordinary history, and, as a psychological phenomenon, well deserving of attentive study. But it possesses

hardly anything of that romance which makes biography interesting for its own sake. Hence, in our opinion, Mr. Dyer has treated it wisely, in treating it without pretension. The attempt to make it popular, and to give it a dramatic interest, by seizing upon its leading and most characteristic events, would have been injudicious, and must have proved a failure. Even villany, when accompanied by courage, or perhaps daring, may seem respectable to some: but there is no amount of dramatic power which could invest, even with that questionable dignity which is essential to make it interesting, such scenes as those which the secret history of Calvin discloses,—a great Reformer commencing his career by slipping out of a window to escape the consequences of the heresy which he had gotten another to preach, or writing crafty letters, to be copied and transmitted in another name to the Inquisition of Vienne, in order, while he seemed to keep his own hands clear, to secure, through the instrumentality of that tribunal, the execution of a more daring innovator, whom he feared even more than he detested.

In all this, however, we are speaking rather of the personal history of Calvin than of the history of his time, which undoubtedly was most momentous in its consequences, in so far as they determined the tendency of the Reformation. And although Calvin's own celebrity as an original Reformer, and as a man of action, even when he did take a share in the work, will bear no comparison with that either of Luther or of Zwingli, yet Mr. Dyer is well justified in saying, "that a success so extensive gives to his history a claim upon our attention scarcely smaller than theirs;" and that "if his life does not offer such striking passages of personal adventure; if his part was not acted on so large and conspicuous a theatre as Luther's was, and does not present that boldness of action which distinguished Zwingli, as well as the German Reformer; yet if it be viewed with regard to the consistent and successful pursuit of one great object, it may safely challenge a comparison with that of any other Reformer."

We do not mean, nevertheless, to enter into a formal biography of Calvin, or even a regular summary of the leading events of his life. It will be more satisfactory to examine a few points carefully, than to offer a superficial sketch of all. The views, too, which we might express of his conduct or principles, and even the outline of the facts

which we might put forward, would naturally be open to the suspicion of being biassed by our supposed estimate of his character. We think it far better, therefore, to allow Mr. Dyer, an unsuspected witness, to speak as far as possible for himself; and particularly on those details of the history of Calvin which have excited most controversy, and on which our own views might be held most liable to the suspicion of party-bias. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with such a general summary, as may serve to connect, at least by a slender thread of narrative, the leading events of the Reformer's life, and shall confine ourselves to a few of the more important epochs, as far as Mr. Dyer's researches and the labours of his predecessors have served to throw new light upon them. Among these the celebrated case of Servetus, must occupy a very prominent place.

The general results of the influence which Calvin exercised upon the Reformation, are well estimated by Mr. Dyer.

“The same principle that produced these excrescences, though not pushed to such extravagant results, ultimately divided the Protestant Church into the three main denominations of Lutherans, Anglicans, and Calvinists. It was, indeed, impossible that the spirit of the Reformation should be bounded by the views of Luther. Notwithstanding his personal boldness, in matters of doctrine and discipline Luther was a timid and cautious innovator. Several years after 1517, when he first began to preach against indulgences, we find him still tolerating the invocation of saints, and addressing his prayers to the Virgin Mary. The establishment of his doctrine of justification seems to have been at first his only object. Step by step he was led to further reforms; but at the outset of his career, he appears to have formed no clear and definite notion of the extent to which he should push them; and in one important article—that of the local Presence in the eucharist—though he slightly modified the Romish doctrine, he never, as is well known, entirely departed from it.

“Before Luther began his career, another Reformer had already started up in Switzerland, possessing bolder views, and a more philosophical method. Zwingli began by laying down the abstract general principle, that the Scriptures contain the sole rule of faith and practice, and that whatsoever is not found in them is either false or superfluous. When his auditors were become familiar with this doctrine, it was easy for him to proceed to its legitimate consequences, and to prove the fallacy of the mass, of the invocation of

saints, of the worship of images, and of the other countless abuses of Popery.

"The rejection, however, of the grand Romish dogma of the Real Presence was first publicly advocated by one of Luther's own followers. That dogma had, indeed, been questioned in private circles before Carlostadt began to preach against it; but Zwingli himself had not yet ventured to impugn it openly. Carlostadt's conference on this subject with Luther, at the Black Bear at Jena, only served to inflame the controversy between them; and the former found it expedient to retire to Strasburgh, and thence to Basle, where he published some books in defence of his opinion. These were at first proscribed: but Zwingli, though differing with Carlostadt as to the sense to be affixed to the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, warmly espoused his main view, advocated it in several treatises, and made it an article of faith in the church which he had founded at Zurich. Hence the Protestants were early divided into two great parties, which regarded each other with an hostility even more bitter than that which they mutually bore to the Romish Church. The followers of Zwingli called themselves the Reformed Church, in contradistinction to the Lutherans; whilst the latter, as well as the Roman Catholics, branded the Zwinglians with the name of Sacramentaries.

"Out of these two Churches were developed the Anglican and the Calvinistic: the former, under the auspices of Cranmer, at length inclining towards the tenets of Zwingli, but without adopting his ascetic discipline. Calvin, on the other hand, pushing both the doctrine and practice of Zwingli, though with some modifications of his own, to a rigid extreme, succeeded nevertheless in incorporating the Zwinglian Church with his own by the Zurich '*Consensus*.' Finally, we find his system, which he had built up with much learning, and great power of logic, and pushed with indomitable energy, prevailing not only at Geneva, and among that part of the French people which had embraced the Reformation, but also in Scotland and Holland."—pp. 2-4.

The author of this remarkable revolution was born at Noyon in Picardy, July 10, 1509. His family name was Cauvin, or Caulvin, which, from its latinized form, he changed into that by which he is commonly known. His father, Gerard Cauvin, was a notary of the ecclesiastical court of Noyon, and secretary of the bishop. He had four sons and two daughters. One of the sons died early. The eldest, Charles, entered the Church; but he was suspected of heterodox opinions, and on his deathbed refused to receive the sacraments of the Church. The second, John, is the subject of Mr. Dyer's biography; and the third, Anthony, who also embraced the ecclesiastical

state, openly adopted the tenets of the Reformation, and followed his brother to Geneva. Of their two sisters, one also followed the same course; so that of the entire family only one, the youngest sister, remained faithful to the creed of their forefathers, although both parents died in the profession of the Catholic faith.

John Calvin, in common with his brothers, was early destined by his father for the ecclesiastical state. His preparatory studies were made partly in his native town, partly in Paris, where he was instructed by the celebrated Mathurin Cordier, better known under the appellation Corderius, so familiar to every schoolboy; and, at the early age of twelve, by one of those abuses which disgraced the French Church of that period, he was appointed (1519) to a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon; and this was followed by a further appointment at Marteville in 1527, which he exchanged in 1529 for a living at Pont l'Eveque. Notwithstanding his tenure of these benefices, however, he never received holy orders, and on the contrary abandoned, at his father's desire, the career of an ecclesiastic for the more profitable and at that time more distinguished study of the law. With this view he went to Orleans; and, it is not unworthy of remark, that, during his residence there, he was one of those whose opinion was asked and obtained by the emissaries of Henry VIII. of England, in favour of the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine. In 1530, he went to Bourges for the completion of his legal studies; and there under the influence of Melchior Wolmar, the Greek professor of the University, he was indoctrinated in the new opinions, although, like many others in France at the same period, he continued to retain his livings in the Catholic Church, even while he was cautiously, but yet assiduously, preaching the doctrines of the Reformers among the villagers in the vicinity of Bourges.

Mr. Dyer's account of the origin and progress of the Reformation in France is elaborate, and on the whole, although unfavourable to Catholicity, very far from the unenquiring bigotry of most writers of his school. But it would carry us away from our purpose to enter into any discussion of his views on this subject; but among the influences which he enumerates as having tended very materially to assist its progress, one of the most important is that of the celebrated Margaret of Navarre; and we

cannot help briefly adverting to his sketch of her character.

“Athwart these dark scenes of bigotry and persecution, Francis’s sister, Margaret de Valois, afterwards Queen of Navarre, beamed like an angel of light sent to mitigate their gloom and horror. Margaret’s character was a curiously compounded one. Plato’s divine and earthly love never met more conspicuously in a human being. The feelings inspired by the former found expression in her ‘*Miroir de l’Ame pécheresse* :’ to the latter she dedicated her ‘*Heptameron*,’ the more than equivocal tales of which are all said to have been founded on real occurrences. Whether the mind can dwell upon such incidents, and even commit them to paper, without contamination, we shall leave to casuists.

‘Crede mihi, distant mores a carmine nostri ;
Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa mihi—’

is an excuse as old at least as Ovid, and which a poet of the same period as Margaret, and of more pretensions to sanctity than she, even Beza himself, found it convenient to allege. Great allowance must be made for the grossness of the age, as well as for literary fashion. Boccaccio’s ‘*Decamerone*’ had just been translated into French, of which the ‘*Heptameron*’ is a professed imitation. Brantôme was the first to attack the reputation of the Queen of Navarre, which seems not to have been impeached during her life ; and the character of her writings, as well as her poetical coquetry with Clement Marot, her *valet de chambre*, doubtless lent a colour to the attacks of that filthy old scandal-monger. Margaret’s preface to her tales—a strange portico to such a building—would lead us to suppose that she herself thought no harm in them. There, under the name of Dame Oisille, she describes her religious exercises : how she reads the Bible the first thing after getting up, and then recites some psalms ; how she retires before supper to feed her soul with study and meditation ; and how in the evening she recalls the events of each day, asking pardon for faults, and giving thanks for mercies. Is this the language of the shameless and abandoned ? No ; let us rather think that her true woman’s heart was as pure as it was kind.”—pp. 17—19.

If the defence of Margaret of Navarre is to rest upon such precedents as those of Ovid or of Beza, we fear it will need more credulity than even those who are most prejudiced in her favour can command, to adopt Mr. Dyer’s verdict. When he alleges the example of the *Decamerone*, too, he appears to forget that, even in the worst times, it has always been regarded as an abnormal book, admired for its classic elegance, but condemned and interdicted

for its grossness and immorality. There is not a spiritual writer of, or before, the period of which Mr. Dyer speaks, who has alluded to the subject of evil reading, without an especial and most condemnatory caution against the *Decameron*; and indeed we cannot conceal our surprise that any one who has even glanced into the imitation of it to which Margaret did not blush to attach her name, could for a moment believe that the reading, much less the authorship of such a book, might be compatible with the purity of "a true woman's heart."

In 1532, Calvin went to Paris, and commenced, though in a very reserved and secret manner, to preach to the private congregations of the Reformed in that city. His first overt act, however, was made in such a way as to secure himself against its consequences.

"Calvin, however, was not endowed with the masculine and indomitable courage of Luther, and was more inclined to propagate his doctrines by stealth, and at a safe distance, than to risk his life in maintaining them. Thus, though he was continually exhorting others to behave like martyrs, he was himself always disposed to fly at the first appearance of danger. His first great public essay at Paris was made in the person of another. According to custom, Nicholas Cop, the newly-elected rector of the Sorbonne, was to deliver a sermon on the festival of All Saints. Though thus raised to the very pinnacle of orthodoxy, Cop had imbibed the tenets of the Reformation, and accepted Calvin's offer to compose his sermon. Great was the astonishment of the doctors of the Sorbonne, when, instead of upholding, as usual, the tenets of the Romish Church, Cop insisted on the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and referred to the gospel as the sole standard of religious truth! The attack was too audacious to be overlooked. Cop was denounced to the Parliament of Paris, who sent their officers to apprehend him. A timely notice from a friend enabled him to escape to Basle, his native town. The storm now fell upon Calvin, whose share in the sermon seems to have got wind. Jean Morin, the lieutenant of police, repaired to his lodgings for the purpose of seizing him; but Calvin had also received a private warning, and saved himself by flight. The manner of his escape is differently narrated. According to some writers, he let himself down from his window by means of his sheets into the Rue des Bernardins, whence, having gained the Fauxbourg St. Victor, he sought the house of a vine-dresser, whom he knew; and, putting on the man's frock, with a wallet of white cloth, and a hoe upon his shoulders, took the road to Noyon. These romantic details are not found in the narrative of Beza, who tells us that Calvin was saved by the interposition of the Queen of

Navarre, who sent for him to the palace, where he was honourably received. His letters and papers fell into the hands of the police, and thus the safety of several of his friends was seriously compromised."—pp. 25, 26.

The notoriety thus occasioned, rendered it impossible for him to pursue any longer the disguise hitherto maintained. Accordingly he remained at his native town only so long as enabled him to sell one of his livings, and, (by a very questionable proceeding on the part of a Reformer,) to resign the other in favour of a cousin, "whose morals were any thing but pure." Mr. Dyer, in referring to this transaction, takes occasion, in a note, to protest against the well-known revolting charge against the Reformer's own morality, which has been so frequently put forward. It rests upon the authority of Bolsec, a bitter and unscrupulous enemy of Calvin; and it must be admitted that the apologists of the Reformer have sufficiently established its uncertainty, not to say improbability.*

After some wanderings, he returned to Paris in the end of 1533, and in the following year he received a challenge from Servetus, with whose after history his name has been so dishonourably associated, to dispute upon the new opinions which Servetus had been putting forward; a discussion, however, which did not take place. The rigorous measures adopted soon after in France against the Reformers, rendered it unsafe for him to continue his residence in Paris; and, in company with the celebrated Pierre Olivetan, Marot, Caroli, Du Tillet, and others, he fled from France in 1534. He, with his friend Du Tillet, took up his residence at Basle, where, in his twenty-sixth year, he completed and published the first edition of the work since so celebrated, his "*Institutes of the Christian Religion*." This edition, however, was but a mere outline of what the work grew into in subsequent editions, by enlargements which it is unnecessary to specify. The only change which need be noticed, is the suppression in the later editions, of the tolerant opinions on the punishment of heretics, which occupied a prominent place in the work as it first appeared. The history of Servetus would have been an awkward commentary on these opinions as they appear in the early text of the "*Institutes*."

* See Bayle Dict. Critique. Art. Bolsec, i., 635. Also D'Aubigné, vol. iii., Preface.

After a short visit to Ferrara, he reached Geneva in the end of the summer of 1536; and, at the pressing instance of the great Genevese Reformer, Farel, he was induced to settle in that city. The political condition of Geneva is so intimately connected with that religious revolution in which it played so active a part, that we shall extract a portion of Mr. Dyer's very lucid exposition of the political history and constitution of the state of Geneva.

"Geneva, though nominally a fief of the German empire, had in reality been governed for several centuries by a bishop, whose temporal authority was, however, controlled by certain lay assessors, as well as by the citizens, without whose consent, in general assembly, he could do nothing. The bishop acknowledged the Count of Geneva, or rather of the Genevois, as his feudal lord; and an officer called the Vidomne (*vice-dominus*) administered the law in the bishop's name, but as the representative of the count. The house of Savoy, having acquired the rights of the Counts of Geneva by the cession of Odon de Villars in 1401, endeavoured also to get possession of the temporal rights of the bishop. No serious attempts, however, appear to have been made on the independence of Geneva, till the time of Charles III, who, in 1504, succeeded to the just Duke Philibert. Charles found a willing tool in Bishop John, a natural son of Francis of Savoy. This prelate ceded all his temporal rights to the Duke of Savoy; but the general assembly having annulled his proceeding, a bitter and bloody persecution ensued. The city was divided into two factions; that of the *Mamelukes*, which espoused the pretensions of Savoy; and that of the patriots, distinguished by the name of *Eidgenossen*. In order to shelter themselves from the aggressions of the duke, who frequently sought to attain his object by force of arms, the Genevese concluded a treaty of alliance and fellow-citizenship with Friburgh; to which, in 1526, they added another with Berne. In the latter of these cities the Reformation had already been established through the exertions of Berthold Haller, who began to preach there in 1522; and it was this connexion with Berne which laid the foundation of the Reformation at Geneva. But before giving an account of its progress there, it will be better to anticipate a little, and shortly to relate the issue of the struggle with the house of Savoy.

"Charles continuing to annoy Geneva, Berne and Friburgh took the field in 1530, in defence of their ally. The duke was compelled to sue for a peace, the articles of which, however, he contrived to evade. A few years afterwards, the progress of the Reformation among the Genevese not only deprived them of the alliance of Friburgh, but increased the displeasure of Charles; and in 1535 the abolition of Popery at Geneva, and formal suppression of the bishopric, roused him to still more vigorous attacks. For some time

the Genevese had to bear the brunt of war unaided ; but early in 1536 Berne sent an army of 7000 men to their assistance, which over-ran the Pays de Vaud, and in eleven days appeared before the gates of Geneva. The Savoyards fled without striking a blow ; but the success of the victors was much facilitated by the circumstance of France having, at the very same time, declared war against Savoy. Francis I. had eagerly laid hold on the hesitation of Charles to allow the French troops to pass through his dominions as a pretext—which he had been long seeking—for making war upon him. In two months the duke was completely stripped of his dominions, which he never regained, but died in exile in 1553 ; and thus Geneva was finally delivered from all apprehensions from that quarter.”—pp. 39—41.

Hence it will be seen that in the Reformation contests of Geneva, as elsewhere, political discontents played no secondary or unimportant part. The Reformers here, as in other countries, availed themselves very dexterously of the opportunity ; and Farel, especially, enlisted in his cause, what were represented as the national feelings of the Genevese, and their natural love of independence. The contest was protracted for a time, but it was easy to foresee which side must eventually triumph ; and on the tenth of August 1535, Popery was formally abolished in Geneva. Here, too, as elsewhere, the progress of the party was marked by the most violent and arbitrary proceedings.

“ But Farel's zeal was accompanied with intolerance. In April, 1536, he summoned to Geneva the priests of the surrounding villages, and required them to make an immediate renunciation of Popery. An aged priest, as spokesman for the rest, remarked with sense and dignity on the hardship of being required to repudiate, at a moment's notice, a system of religion which had lasted for so many ages ; and that, too, before any attempt had been made to convince them of its falsehood. ‘ Send teachers,’ he said, ‘ to instruct us wherein we err, and when we are convinced, we will follow you.’ In this reply Farel saw only a spirit of obstinate resistance ; but Bonnivard, who had recently been released from his long imprisonment, was for giving the country clergy time ; and pointed out that so forced and sudden a conversion could never be sincere. In consequence of his representations a month was allowed them for consideration. This, however, was but a short space in which to get rid of the habits and prejudices of a life ; and though at the expiration of it the greater part of the rural clergy gave in their adherence to Protestantism, it is not surprising that many instances of apostacy should have subsequently occurred.”—pp. 59, 60.

Such was the community in which the lot of Calvin had been cast. It would carry us far beyond our limits to enter into the particulars of his life during this part of his residence in Geneva. One of the most remarkable events was an accusation of Arianism, which was made against him and his friend Farel. It is impossible to acquit him of the charge of unduly temporizing with this error; but Mr. Dyer shows very clearly that although "his conduct was amenable to the charge, not only of obstinacy and self-will, but of duplicity," his orthodoxy in this particular, nevertheless, was unjustly impeached.

The crisis, however, of the difficulties which beset his career, was brought about by the severity and intolerable rigour of the discipline which he and Farel attempted to introduce. After a protracted contest, Calvin and his friend were compelled to fly from Geneva in 1538. He repaired first to Basle, and afterwards to Strasburg, where he entered into the ministry, and in the capacity of one of the Reformed representatives, attended at the well-known conferences held at Ratisbon, by desire of the Emperor, Charles V. One of his adversaries in those conferences, was the celebrated Dr. Eck, the most formidable of the early champions of the faith against Luther, and the one on whom the fury of the German Reformer's tongue fell most heavily. Calvin is hardly inferior to him in bitterness, if he be in foulness of mouth. He calls Eck a "beast," (a favourite appellation with him, by the way, occasionally varied by that of "ape," "devil," &c.) and expresses his regret that he had not fallen a victim to an illness which attacked him during the course of these conferences. (p. 111.)

A more curious and amusing event of this portion of Calvin's life is his marriage. It is told with a good deal of quiet humour by Mr. Dyer; but indeed it would be impossible to exaggerate its strangeness.

"Yet in spite of the distressed state of his pecuniary affairs, Calvin was at this time looking for a wife to help him to bear his burthens. Calvin in love is indeed a peculiar phase of his history. He had now arrived at the sufficiently mature age of thirty; and as his imagination had never been very susceptible, so, in the business of choosing a helpmate, he was guided wholly by motives of prudence and convenience. In fact he left the matter entirely to his friends, just as one would buy a horse or any other thing; giving them instructions as to the sort of article he wanted. Writing

to Farel on the 19th of May, 1539, he says ; 'I will now speak more plainly about marriage. I know not if any one mentioned to you her whom I wrote about before the departure of Michael ; but I beseech you ever to bear in mind what I seek for in a wife. I am not one of your mad kind of lovers who doat even upon faults when once they are taken by beauty of person. The only beauty that entices me is that she be chaste, obedient, humble, economical, patient ; and that there be hopes that she will be solicitous about my health. If therefore you think it expedient that I should marry, bestir yourself, lest somebody else anticipate you. But if you think otherwise, let us drop the subject altogether.' In fact Calvin's wretched health, even at this period of his life, led him to seek for a nurse rather than a wife. From another letter to Farel, dated the 6th of February, 1540, it appears that a young German lady, rich, and of noble birth, had been proposed to him. Both the brother of the lady and his wife were anxious that Calvin should espouse her. The latter, however, scrupled on two grounds ; because the lady was unacquainted with French, and because he was afraid that she might think too much of her birth and education. If the marriage was to take place he insisted that his bride should learn French ; but on her requiring time to consider of this, Calvin dispatched his brother and a friend to fetch him home another lady, and congratulates himself on the escape he has had. He speaks in high terms of his fresh choice. Matters had gone so far that he invited Farel to come and officiate at his wedding, which was to take place before the 10th of the following March. It appears, however, from another letter to the same friend, dated on the 21st of June, 1540, that this match, of which he had thought so highly, was also broken off. His brother Anthony and another friend had actually arranged the marriage ; but a few days after their return to Strasburgh, Calvin heard some particulars regarding the lady which induced him to send his brother back to cancel the contract. After these failures Calvin expresses a doubt whether he should prosecute his matrimonial project any further. Soon afterwards, however, by the advice of Bucer, he married Odelette or Idelette de Bures, the widow of an Anabaptist at Strasburgh, whom he had converted. Idelette is represented as a fine woman ; but it does not appear whether she brought her husband any money. According to the customs of the times Calvin wished his wedding to be celebrated with all possible solemnity. He invited the consistories of Neufchâtel and Valengin, who sent deputies. Idelette had several children by her former marriage, in whom Calvin seems to have taken some interest. By Calvin she had only one child ; a son, who died shortly after his birth."—pp. 99—101.

This singular matrimonial transaction forms a curious episode in the life of Calvin. It occurred during his residence at Strasburg, which continued until 1541. His

enemies at Geneva gradually became less influential, and in the early part of this year, Calvin was invited back on terms highly honourable. He held out for a considerable time, perhaps with a view of being able thus to come back with stronger hands; but he yielded eventually; and in September, 1541, he returned to his old charge, fully established in that iron rule which continued with little interruption to his death.. Of the nature of his influence, and the spirit in which it was employed, Mr. Dyer speaks in very impartial terms.

“The respect and submission exacted by Calvin far exceeded that claimed by other spiritual guides; and was anything but compatible with the meekness and humility inculcated by the Gospel. The most trifling slights and insults, such as most men would have overlooked with contempt, Calvin pursued with bitterness and acrimony. The Registers of Geneva abound with instances, which grew more frequent and more severe as his power became more consolidated. In 1551 we find Berthelier excommunicated by the consistory because he would not allow that he had done wrong in asserting that he was as good a man as Calvin. Three men who had laughed during a sermon of his, were imprisoned for three days and condemned to ask pardon of the consistory. Such proceedings are very numerous, and in the two years 1558 and 1559, alone, 414 of them are recorded! To impugn Calvin's doctrine, or the proceedings of the consistory, endangered life. For such an offence a Ferrarese lady, named Copa, was condemned, in 1559, to beg pardon of God and the magistrates, and to leave the city in twenty-four hours, on pain of being beheaded. Calvin carried this system almost to a pitch of blasphemy; so that he sometimes dared to justify the harshest and most unchristian-like conduct and words by the example of the apostles, and even of Christ himself! Thus, in his tract against Westphal, he says; ‘If I am to be called abusive because I have held up the mirror to master Joachim, who is too much blinded by his vices, in order that he might at length begin to be ashamed of himself, he ought to address the same reproach to the prophets, the apostles, and even to Christ himself, who have not scrupled to reproach with bitterness the adversaries of the true doctrine. We are agreed, on both sides, that abusive words and jests by no means become Christians. But since the prophets themselves do not altogether abstain from using scurrilities, and Christ in taxing deceivers and false doctors uses sharp terms, and the Holy Ghost everywhere attacks such people, crying out and sparing nothing: it is a foolish and inconsiderate question to ask whether we are at liberty to reprehend severely, roughly, and to good purpose, those who expose themselves to blame and infamy.’ Even a modern biographer of Calvin, who has

embraced his cause with great warmth, cannot help pointing out the impropriety of his using the term *bitterness*, with reference to the Holy Spirit, and his presumption in putting himself on a level with Christ and the Apostles. 'Throughout,' he observes, 'great presumption prevails in his manner, mixed with a supercilious raillery which one cannot term Christian, and still less compare with the holy anger of our Lord.'"—pp. 143—5.

A singular example of this unbounded claim of authority over private conduct, occurred in the year 1546—the case of the wife of Pierre Ameaux, one of the Council of Two Hundred.

"The wife of Ameaux belonged to the spiritual Libertines : and such was the liberality of her principles, that, interpreting the doctrine of the communion of saints to mean that we should have all things in common, she not only included houses and lands in the precept, but even her own person. Her husband, however, was so far from partaking in these sentiments, that he sought and obtained a divorce from his wife, who was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But, though averse to the principles of the Libertines, Ameaux was no friend of Calvin's. After a supper given at his own house, at which a good many persons were present, including Henri de la Mar and Aimé Maigret, two of the ministers of Geneva, Ameaux, who had drunk rather freely, was imprudent enough to declare that Calvin preached a false doctrine, was a very bad man, and nothing but a Picard. It appears that he had been led to utter these words in consequence of a violent quarrel which had occurred, a little previously, between Calvin and Ami Perrin, which it had required the interference of the council to appease. Some of the company, after enjoying Ameaux's good cheer, carried his words to the council, who caused him to be imprisoned and tried for them. Whilst yet in prison, and before his sentence had been pronounced, Henri de la Mar, in a conversation with one Benedict Tixier, related what had passed at the supper. the substance of which was given by Tixier in a deposition before the council on the 12th of March. Tixier had asked whether Ameaux had said any thing directly against God or man ; to which De la Mar replied : ' I think he said something against Calvin ; nevertheless, if there be anything wrong, and if he has committed himself, it was after drinking.' Of Calvin himself De la Mar said : ' I have always known him to be a good and virtuous man, and of great intellect. But he is somewhat governed by his passions ; impatient, full of hatred, and vindictive : and if he once takes a spite against a man, he never forgives.' This conversation cost De la Mar his place ; who, together with Maigret, was deposed from the ministry, as having sided with Calvin's enemies. Before the council pronounced their sentence on Ameaux, they summoned before them all the ministers, with the

exception of the two just named, and also the elders, and examined them as to Calvin's character, and the truth of Ameaux's charges ; all of whom bore testimony to Calvin's piety and charity, and the perfect congruity of his doctrine with the word of God : in which doctrine they professed that they wished to live and die, and to have no schism among them. Ameaux made an apology, in which he retracted his words, declaring that he had not all his senses about him at the time, and that henceforward he would treat Calvin with proper respect. The council, nevertheless, condemned him in a fine of sixty dollars ; a tolerably large sum in those days, and quite adequate, one would think, to the offence, seeing that it had been committed in his own house, at an unguarded moment,—that Ameaux had amply retracted it, and that he had suffered two months' imprisonment on account of it. But Calvin, whose charity had just been vouched by the recorded testimony of his colleagues, was not satisfied. He appeared before the council, accompanied by the other ministers and elders, complained of the mildness of the judges, and demanded that the sentence should be quashed. Hereupon the trial was renewed. By a second sentence Ameaux was condemned to the degrading punishment called the *amende honorable* ; namely, to parade the town in his shirt, with bare head, and a lighted torch in his hand, and to finish by making on his knees a public acknowledgment of his contrition. A striking instance of Calvin's power ! when we find him making the chief judicial and legislative body of the state thus stultify its decision at his pleasure. Besides being deposed from the ministry, Henri de la Mar was also imprisoned for some days for the part he had taken in this affair." —pp. 201-3.

Nor was he, it is to be feared, above the disreputable use of secret arts, sometimes of a very questionable character, in order to enlarge or maintain this authority.

"It was in the autumn of this year that he endeavoured to subjugate their minds by a method which, in one so remarkably free from superstition as Calvin, has all the appearance of priestcraft. The affair alluded to—the pretended carrying off of a man by the devil—is noted in the Registers under the date of the 15th of October, 1546, and is described by Calvin himself in a letter to Viret dated on the 14th of November. A labourer, who lived at a little distance from Geneva, after losing his wife and four children by the plague, had himself been seized with the same disorder. Calvin describes him as a man of an evil and profligate life ; a drunkard and frequenter of taverns, a brawler and blasphemer, and an open contemner of God. When his neighbours called to him to account for going so seldom to church, I have heard, says Calvin, that he was accustomed to say : ' What ! have I hired myself to Calvin to go and hear him preach ? ' When the disorder had reduced him to

such weakness that he could scarce lift up his hand, he was suddenly seized with a frenzy in the night, and endeavoured to leap out of bed, but was restrained by his mother and the servant. Meanwhile, his discourse ran wholly on the devil, and on his being a desperate sinner and reprobate, and the destined prey of Satan; and when exhorted to pray to God, he said it was of no use, that he was given over to the devil, and that God was no more to him than the vilest part of an old shoe. About seven in the morning, as his mother was sitting at the door of the cottage, he suddenly flew over her head, as if he had been carried away; and in spite of the efforts both of herself and the servant to hold him, was borne to a distance with wonderful swiftness and force. In his course lay a broad road, with a hedge and ditch on both sides, neither of which he could have jumped over without breaking his limbs; yet over these obstacles the women asserted that they beheld him carried like a whirlwind, into a vineyard on the other side of the road. They pointed out the very spot where he had vanished from their sight; and where his cap had been found on the banks of the Rhone; but some boatmen were employed in vain to search the river for his body.

“Such was the story, which admits of no difficult solution. The man, in his frenzy, had rushed out of doors, and flung himself into the Rhone: the supernatural incidents alleged to have accompanied the act were merely the exaggerations suggested by the terrified imaginations of the old women. Such, in fact, was the interpretation put upon the story by the sober part of the population of Geneva, who were only inclined to laugh at it: at which levity, however, Calvin was highly offended. His own name had been mixed up in the affair: and, among other sins, the victim of Satan had neglected to attend his sermons, and had even indulged himself in a sneer at them: a point on which Calvin was particularly sensitive. After a discussion among the ministers, it was resolved that the matter deserved inquiry, and Calvin was deputed to bring it under the notice of the council. He accordingly addressed that body in a long speech, in which he insisted on the necessity of discovering the truth, in order that, if the story was a fable, it might be refuted by public authority; but that if it was true, so signal a judgment of God might not be buried in oblivion. He remarked that he saw many who tried to dismiss the affair with a joke; but he admonished them that there never was so plain a miracle which Satan did not endeavour to obscure. In consequence of these representations, the four syndics, the greater part of the council, the lieutenant of police and his court, together with Calvin himself, repaired to the spot, and examined the women. ‘Though the matter was so plain,’ says Calvin, ‘yet some of our chief men were guilty of the most impudent tergiversation. Hereupon I exclaimed with a loud voice, “If you believe there are any devils, you here clearly behold the devil’s power.” They who have not faith in God deserve

to be blind in open day." On the next Sunday Calvin, by the advice of his brethren, inveighed severely in his sermon against those who treated, or pretended to treat, a well-authenticated fact as a fable. He even went so far as to testify that he had demanded death with the most ardent vows more than twenty times during those two days, when he beheld them surveying the judgment of God with such brazen fronts! 'For,' he adds, 'the impiety of our people was never so openly detected. A few only verbally assented, but I know not if a single one believed in his heart. I added two other instances which had recently occurred, though not equally remarkable. A man who had gone into a wine cellar on a Sunday, during the sermon, to indulge in his potations, happened to fall on his sword, which had slipped out of its scabbard, and was carried out dying. Another who, in the preceding September, on communion-day, had endeavoured to climb up to the window of his mistress, had a terrible fall, and broke several of his bones. At length I concluded: till hell absorbs you, with your whole families, you will not believe when God stretches forth His hand!' Such was the use which Calvin sometimes made of the casualties of the day, to enforce his spiritual authority."—pp. 205–7.

There needed some such devices as these to maintain a power such as that claimed by Calvin, and exercised with a rigour so unsparing. The mere examination of some of his enactments will account for any amount of opposition which they could have encountered.

"As his power increased, he gradually enhanced the rigour of the laws. Before his return to Geneva adultery had been punished only with a short imprisonment and a trifling fine; Calvin, as we have said, made it death, at least after a second offence. Spon, in his History of Geneva, recounts the two following instances which occurred in the year 1560, and which he compares with the severe virtue of ancient Rome. The council having ordered a citizen to be whipped for the crime of adultery, he appealed to the Two Hundred, who, he hoped, would absolve him. But, on revising his process, that body finding that he had already been once reprov'd for the same offence, to the great surprise of the criminal, condemned him to death. Shortly afterwards a banker was executed for the same crime, who died with great repentance, and blessing God that justice was so well maintained. We have already adverted to the severity with which Calvin pursued all offences against religion and against his own personal authority, as well as that of the consistory; instances of which will present themselves in the sequel of this narrative. He would have carried these severities much further, but the council of Two Hundred sometimes stepped in and prevented him. He left the old laws against heresy on the statute-book, as

well as the punishment of burning for witchcraft, and the barbarous custom of torture.

“That Calvin had to deal with a perverse and corrupt people must be admitted; but it may be doubted whether he took the best method of reforming them. Education and example would have done more to effect this object than all these atrocious severities, and these precise and vexatious regulations, which only caused the evil-disposed to add hypocrisy to their other vices. A recent Genevese writer has remarked: ‘To those who imagine that Calvin did nothing but good, I could produce our registers, covered with records of illegitimate children, which were exposed in all parts of the town and country; hideous trials for obscenity; wills, in which fathers and mothers accuse their children not only of errors but of crimes; agreements before notaries between young women and their lovers, in which the latter, even in the presence of the parents of their paramours, make them an allowance for the education of their illegitimate offspring; I could instance multitudes of forced marriages, in which the delinquents were conducted from the prison to the church; mothers who abandoned their children to the hospital, whilst they themselves lived in abundance with a second husband; bundles of law-suits between brothers; heaps of secret negotiations; men and women burnt for witchcraft; sentences of death in frightful numbers; and all these things among the generation nourished by the mystic manna of Calvin.’ ”—pp. 152, 53.

From the closing lines of this extract we infer how bitter were the fruits of the gospel so much vaunted by him: and this melancholy picture of Reformed Geneva, may be added to the series of similar histories of all the other countries in which the Reformation obtained a footing, and whose moral, social, and religious condition it had the effect of deteriorating, collected by Dr. Döllinger in his admirable work on the Reformation.

It is well worthy of notice, too, as illustrating some of our observations in a recent article on the Inquisition, that *the code of Geneva, as reformed and in great part enacted by Calvin, contained, on the subject of heresy, all those features of that obnoxious tribunal, which are considered most repulsive.* He retained the punishment of death; he retained even the cruel form of death by fire; he retained and vigorously enforced the similar law against witchcraft; he enforced the use of torture in discovering the guilt of the accused; nay, he went *beyond the rigour of the inquisitorial procedure* in refusing to the accused, in the case of heresy, the benefit of the assistance or advice of an advocate.

Unfortunately for the successful maintenance of an authority so offensive to his subjects, Calvin was deficient in that moral courage which has the effect of overawing disaffection. A very unhappy example of this, and one which was turned to tremendous effect by his enemies, occurred in the pestilence which visited Geneva in 1542. Beza has, with his uniformly flattering pen, represented the conduct of his great hero, on this occasion, as most honourable and self-sacrificing. But Mr. Dyer is forced to confess that in this, as in numberless other instances, Beza sacrificed truth to party. The conduct of Calvin was weak and cowardly in the extreme.

"In a letter to Viret, written apparently in October, 1542, he says: 'The plague begins to gain strength here, and few whom it attacks escape. One of our College was to be appointed to attend the sick; but as Pierre (Blanchet) offered himself, we all readily allowed him to go. If anything happens to him, *I fear it will be my turn to run the risk.* For, as you observe, since we are debtors to each member of the church, we cannot neglect those who need our ministry. And though I am not of opinion that we should desert the very body of the church in our desire to serve a part of it; nevertheless, so long as we hold this office, I do not see what excuse we can allege; if from fear of danger, we abandon those who stand in most need of our assistance.'

"This letter does not betray any great alacrity to volunteer for the post of danger, but rather a very evident desire to escape from it; and the context shows plainly enough that Calvin did not make an offer to go to the hospital, as Beza would have us believe. In eight or nine months Blanchet fell a victim to his philanthropy, and Calvin found himself in the situation which he had dreaded. It does not appear, however, that he now offered his services. It was on this occasion, and not in the autumn, that Castellio offered to go. Now it must be remembered that Castellio was not a minister of the Genevese church, but merely regent of the schools; and consequently it was no part of his duty to administer religious consolation to the dying. He was desirous, however, of becoming a minister; and probably thought that so disinterested an offer might pave the way to that office; and indeed the wording of the entry in which it is recorded would lead us to infer that such was his motive. He was probably rejected as not qualified. Beza must have known that Castellio was not a minister; and it is therefore difficult to assign a motive for his dragging Castellio's name forward on this occasion, unless it were to make an invidious insinuation against him. In the entry referred to, we find it stated that M. Gautier remarked that many of the ministers refused to repair to the hospital, and said that they would rather go to the d——. On

the first of June the ministers were ordered to assemble, and to elect from their body the most proper person to discharge this office ; but with a special exception in favour of Calvin, who, it was stated, was necessary to the church. Shortly afterwards, Calvin and his brother ministers appeared before the council to explain in what manner they had obeyed their injunctions. They are represented as stating that to go to the pest-house it was necessary to be firm and not timid ; and that they had found a Frenchman, a faithful brother, whom they presented for that purpose, if the council found it agreeable. And although it was their duty to serve God and his church as well in necessity as in prosperity, even unto death ; yet they confessed that in this point they were wanting to their duty. The council seems to have dismissed them with some indignation, and a debate appears to have ensued whether they should be further heard. This was resolved in the affirmative, but Calvin was not required to appear with the rest : ‘because he was wanted to serve in the church, to answer the questions of travellers, and to give his advice to the council.’ The remaining ministers again appeared before the council, and confessed,—‘that God had not yet bestowed on them the grace of strength and fortitude sufficient to go to the hospital, and begged to be excused.’ Only one minister, M. de Génétou, professed himself ready, provided the will of God were taken in the election, and that the lot fell upon him. The council concluded its sitting by the following resolution : ‘Resolved, to pray to God to give the ministers more constancy in future.’ ”—154-7.

There is something more than humiliating in the sneering prayer of the Council ; and one can easily trace in it the active working of hostility not only to the measures but to the person of Calvin. They were but a sorry specimen, in sooth, of the apostolic spirit—these men who had come to convert the world, and yet would “rather go to the devil than to the hospital!” And still one hardly wonders at their fear of health, when we read, even in such a work as Mr. Dyer’s, of Farel’s “amorous propensities,” (46) of Caroli’s “very dissolute life,” (67) and of many other dishonouring imputations upon the lives of these professed apostles of fallen human nature.

The chief and most persevering adversaries of Calvin in Geneva, were the party known under the name of Libertines. They must not be confounded, however, with a sect of the early stages of the Reformation, known under the same name, but generally distinguished by the additional appellation of Spiritual Libertines ; of the latter, Mr. Dyer gives a short sketch.

“As the Anabaptists were now pretty well subdued, Calvin handled them with mildness ; but with the Libertines, a spreading, pestilent, and dangerous sect, he was more severe. Pantheism was the distinguishing mark of their speculative tenets ; which however partook of all the heresies which had ever troubled the Church. By a metaphysical distinction respecting the nature of evil, which they held to be only a negation of good, they attempted to confound the boundaries of right and wrong, to convert immorality into a system, and to establish an unbridled license. They rejected the Evangelists, disbelieved the existence of Satan and of all angels, and denied the resurrection. They characterised each of the Apostles by a ridiculous nick-name ; calling St. Paul *pot-cassé* ; St. Peter, *renonceur de Dieu* ; St. John, *jouvenceau et follet* ; St. Matthew, *usurier*, &c.

“Absurd and dangerous as were the tenets of this sect, they succeeded in spreading them in several countries of Europe. Strype, in his ‘Annals,’ notices the existence of this sect in England at a later period, and gives the following description of their doctrines. They held that there was no devil but such as painters made ; that they who had the spirit of God knew all things ; that marriage was a sacrament and wonderful speculation ; that there were great mysteries and great speculations in the mass, and that it was a God-service ; that Adam had no sin, but only Eve ; that a man ought not to weary his body in travail and labour, for that the Holy Ghost would not tarry in a body that was weary and irksome ; that the Bible was not the word of God, but a signification thereof ; for that it was but ink and paper, but that the word of God was spirit and life ; with other things of the like kind.”—pp. 177–8.

The Libertines of Geneva, however, (sometimes called also Patriots,) are more a political, or rather social, than a religious party. Their hostility was chiefly directed against those extravagant reforms of Calvin which interfered too irksomely with personal liberty, and especially those which trench upon the received and recognised recreations of the people. They defended their rights vigorously and pertinaciously. We would gladly enter into this history, which is a singularly forcible illustration of the early working of the contest between the profession of private judgment, and the practice of authority ; but we are compelled to pass it over ; as well as that of Calvin’s interference in the affairs of the Anglican Church, on which Mr. Dyer has produced some new materials, and that of the French Hugonots, although this perhaps displays more party-bias than any other portion of his book. We must reserve what space remains, for the important case of Servetus, which

we are bound to say, Mr. Dyer treats with great candour and impartiality. Most of his facts are already published in M. Audin's *Life of Calvin*, but they tell with infinitely more effect in Mr. Dyer's plain and impartial narrative, than in the declamatory tirades and elaborate picture-making of his French contemporary. The case of Servetus is particularly interesting, as having occurred at a time when Calvin had attained to the plenitude of his power, and when his pride of place had reached its full development.

This ill-fated man was born at Villeneuve, in Aragon, in 1509, the year of the birth of Calvin. His family name was Michael Serveto, but he is now universally known under its Latinized form, Servetus. Like Calvin, he was destined by his father for the law, and after his elementary studies, was sent to Toulouse for his professional education. The tendencies of his mind, which were afterwards so dangerously developed, manifested themselves very decisively even here. Next to judicial astrology, to which, by a singular combination of superstition and unbelief, he was passionately devoted, he cultivated with especial ardour the study of the new German Reformers, and even these were not found to go far enough for his daring mind. As the pursuit of such studies was by no means a safe one at Toulouse, he judged it prudent to leave that city; and in 1530, betook himself to Basle, the refuge of all the troubled spirits of the time. He there met Œcolampadius, to whom he communicated his views; and although they met with his strongest reprobation, Servetus, nevertheless, with an obstinacy which followed him to the grave, persisted in the public and private maintenance of them; and in the following year, when just twenty-two years old, he published, at Strasburg, with his own name, the notorious and blasphemous treatise, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*. The excitement created by this and other similar publications, compelled him to leave Strasburg. He returned to Basle, but being coldly received by Œcolampadius, who was with difficulty prevented from denouncing him to the Council, he went back to France; abandoned the name Servetus, (which had now attained a perilous notoriety,) for that of his native city, De Villeneuve, or Villanovanus, and devoted himself, for a livelihood, to the study of the medical profession, in the College des Lombards. He soon attained to eminence in these studies;—without, however, abandoning his theologi-

cal lucubrations, for we find him in 1534, sending to Calvin a challenge to a theological discussion already alluded to. As he was destitute, however, of the funds required in order to take out his degree, he was obliged to engage himself to a Lyons printer as corrector of the press—an office then more honourable than it is at present; and having realized by these services, and by an edition of Ptolemy which he had published meanwhile, as much as was required for the necessary fees, he returned to Paris in 1536, and in that year took his degree and commenced to lecture. His lectures, however, were so offensive to the established professors, from the contempt which they expressed for the opinions of all who had gone before him, that steps were taken against him; and, one of his books having been condemned by the Parliament of Paris, he left that city in disgust, and betook himself to professional practice in a village near Lyons, called Charlieu. From this obscure retreat, however, he was drawn to Vienne, in 1540, by the appointment of a former pupil in mathematics and astronomy, Pierre Palmier, to the Archbishopric of that city. He was received kindly by the Archbishop, who assigned him apartments in the palace, and attached him to his own suite.

Still, nevertheless, his old opinions were as active as ever, though he disguised them carefully, both in public and in private, at Vienne. He laboured hard at the preparation of what he proposed as his grand work, the *Restitutio Christianismi*; and with an instinctive obstinacy, for which it is not easy to account, sent the manuscript to Calvin as soon as he had completed it.

“Servetus had completed the manuscript of his work by the year 1546, and sent it to Geneva, for Calvin’s opinion, through the medium of Frellon, with whom Calvin was also acquainted, and with whom he corresponded under the signature of Charles D’Espeville. Servetus had previously written several letters to Calvin, with the view of obtaining his opinion on certain points of doctrine. Among other questions put by him, the following are recorded: 1. Whether the crucified man Jesus be the Son of God, and what is the *ratio* of this filiation? 2. Whether the kingdom of Christ exist among men; at what time any one enters it; and when he is regenerated? 3. Whether baptism should be administered to those already in the faith, like the supper; and for what purpose these sacraments were instituted in the New Testament? To these questions Calvin replied; but Servetus having answered with some insolence, he now

abruptly broke off the correspondence, alleging want of leisure: at the same time addressing some earnest reproofs to Servetus, and referring him to his 'Institutes' for any information he might want. This roused the Spaniard's pride, who, according to Calvin's account, sent him several letters full of abuse and blasphemy; and also forwarded to him a copy of his own 'Institutes,' covered in the margin with bitter manuscript notes.

"Calvin intimated his rejection of Servetus's correspondence in a letter to their common friend Frellon, dated the 13th of February, 1546. In this letter, which inclosed another to Servetus, Calvin says, that to satisfy Frellon, he had again written to Servetus, but with small hope of doing any good; that he was willing to try if he could be converted, but that this could not happen till God had completely turned his heart; that as he had written to him in so haughty a tone, he had wished to put him down a little, and had therefore addressed him more harshly than was his custom: but that nothing was more necessary than that he should be taught humility. 'I shall rejoice,' continues Calvin, 'if God be so gracious both to him and us, that the present answer may be of profit to him. But if he perseveres in his present style, you will lose your time in soliciting me to take any trouble about him; for I have other and more pressing business, and shall make it a point of conscience not to occupy myself about him; as I doubt not that he is a Satan intended to divert me from other more useful studies.'

"The tone of Calvin's letter betrays somewhat of the pride which he found fault with in Servetus; and though it seems to express some interest in his welfare and conversion, the real state of Calvin's feelings towards the unhappy Spaniard is best shown by another which he addressed, *on the very same day*, to his friend Farel. The authenticity of this letter, which has been sometimes doubted, is now fully recognised. The original, though not printed in Beza's collection, is extant in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris, and there is a copy at Geneva. In it the following passage occurs:—'Servetus wrote to me lately, and accompanied his letter with a long volume of his insanities, adding a thrasonical boast that I should see some wonderful, and, as yet, unheard of things. He offers to come hither if I will allow him. But I am unwilling to give any pledge; for *if he does come, and my authority be of any avail, I will never suffer him to depart alive.*'

"The 'long volume' alluded to by Calvin in this letter, must have been the manuscript of the '*Restitutio Christianismi*,' which was therefore now complete, and ready for the press. Calvin forwarded it to Viret, at Lausanne, and when Servetus wished to have it back again, it was not forthcoming. It appears that when Calvin rejected his correspondence, Servetus applied himself to Viret; and that he also wrote three letters to Abel Pepin, or Poupin, one of the Genevese ministers, with a view to get his manuscript restored in order to correct it; but without success. One of these letters is

extant, having been used against him on his trial at Geneva, and has been printed by Mosheim in the appendix to his account of Servetus. Every line of it betrays the heated and fanatical imagination of the writer, and his hatred of Calvin and the Genevese church. It contains a prediction of the fate which awaited himself, and expresses a determination to bear it with fortitude, as a worthy disciple of Christ; but as he well knew his own temper, and the circumstances of the times, there is, perhaps, nothing very surprising in such a prophecy. To this letter there will be occasion to refer again."—pp. 307-9.

Soon after this, some suspicions were entertained regarding him at Vienne; and, as he had always maintained the strictest caution there in the expression of his opinions, it is hardly uncharitable, considering what occurred later, to attribute these suspicions to the secret machinations of Calvin. No proof, however, was found against Servetus, and the matter was dropt; but the lesson of caution was lost upon him. Although the MS. was withheld from him by Calvin, notwithstanding his earnest demands for its restitution, he persisted in his design of printing the work, and it is not impossible that he went to the pains of rewriting the entire. Having found a printer named Arnoullet, a Genevese refugee from Calvin's iron rule, who out of hatred of the Reformer, consented to run the risk of printing, he had it speedily and secretly passed through the press, and in January, 1553, it began, (though without the name of Servetus,) to be put furtively into circulation.

This ill-starred proceeding proved the destruction of Servetus, by affording to his inveterate and unscrupulous enemy the means of drawing upon him the animadversion of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, in whose jurisdiction he resided, but from whom he had hitherto been enabled to conceal his opinions. The history is one of the most singular and, all the circumstances considered, we can scarcely refrain from adding, one of the most revolting, in the whole black annals of malice and revenge. We must allow Mr. Dyer, whose honest indignation has disguised none of its blackness, to tell it, as far as possible in his own words.

"The first sheet was printed about Michaelmas, 1552, and early in January, 1553, the impression was complete. Several bales of the book were forwarded to Lyons, Chatillon, Frankfort, and Geneva. One of the copies fell into the hands of Calvin.

“There was at that time living at Geneva one Guillaume Trie, a citizen of Lyons, who had left his native town for the sake of religion, but was still in correspondence with a relation, named Antoine Arneys, a zealous Papist, living at Lyons, and who seems to have been desirous of persuading Trie to return to the church he had deserted. In one of his letters, Arneys would seem to have insisted very strongly on the authority and tradition of the Romish faith, and to have reproached the church of Geneva with being totally destitute of ecclesiastical order and discipline. Trie was stung by these charges, and replied to them in a letter dated Feb. 26th, 1553; in which, after some general remarks, he expressed his astonishment at Arneys’ charging the Genevan church with a want of discipline, when, on the contrary, vice was better chastised there than by all the Romish tribunals. He affirmed, that, in spite of the liberty enjoyed at Geneva, blasphemy was not suffered to go unpunished, and that all false doctrine and heresies were repressed; and by way of contrast, and to cover his opponent with confusion, he alleged that close by where he dwelt a heretic was tolerated, who deserved to be burnt wherever he was found, by Papists as well as by Protestants. By ‘heretic’ he meant one who denied the Trinity, called it a Cerberus, and monster of hell, and vented all conceivable blasphemy and abuse against that sacred mystery. He stated that he had adduced this example in order that there might be no question as to what was heretical; for Arneys himself would confess that this was not only a detestable heresy, but that it tended to subvert Christianity itself. Is it not shameful, he said, that you should put to death those who invoke one God in the name of Jesus Christ, who maintain that there is no other satisfaction but His death and passion, no purgatory but in His blood; who hold that there is no service pleasing to God but that delivered in His word; that all pictures and images are idols that profane His majesty; that the sacraments should be used only according to the institution of Christ; that men of these opinions should not be simply punished with death, but cruelly burnt; whilst one who called Christ an idol, who would destroy the very foundation of faith, who would revive all the dreams of ancient heretics, who would condemn infant baptism, and call it a diabolical invention; that such a one should not only be tolerated, but even be in vogue and honour? ‘Where,’ continued Trie, ‘is the police of your boasted hierarchy? The man I speak of has been condemned by all the churches which you reprove; yet he is allowed to live among you, and even to print books so full of blasphemies that I can say no more of them. He is a Spaniard, and his real name is Michael Servetus, but he now calls himself Villeneuve, and practises medicine. Some time ago he lived at Lyons, but he is at present residing at Vienne, where the book I speak of has been printed by a man named Balthazar Arnoullet, who has set up a press there. And, in order that you

may not think I speak on trust and at second-hand, I send you the first sheet as a proof.'"—pp. 310—12.

Now, first, this letter, on its very face, indicates *some author different from Trie*.

(1.) It is absurd to suppose that he, an illiterate man as he represents himself, should be, *of himself*, thus familiar with a book written in Latin, and on a most abstruse subject, so short a time after its publication.

(2.) What means had he of ascertaining that the book was printed at Vienne, or written by Servetus? Neither fact was revealed in the publication itself; on the contrary, both were studiously concealed: *but both were known to Calvin*.

(3.) What knowledge could Trie have had of the antecedents of Servetus, or of the fact of the identity of Servetus and Villanovanus? *Calvin was intimately acquainted with both*.

Secondly, the letter betrays a motive deeper than what can be attributed to Trie, as far as the case presents itself in his person.

“There is another remarkable point in Trie’s letter. It was evidently written with the intention of destroying Servetus. Trie was aware that the French authorities, so far from knowing the author of the book, did not even know of its existence. If this was not so, why did Trie take such pains to point out the author? To adduce such minute particulars respecting him, and even to inclose a portion of the book, merely by way of general argument and remonstrance, would have been superfluous and absurd. Yet, knowing that the Roman Catholic prelates were unacquainted both with the book and its author, Trie gravely charges them with wilfully harbouring and encouraging a heretic! and that, too, at a time when the frequent burnings of Protestants in France furnished but a too convincing and dreadful proof of popish zeal. It is plain that consistency is overlooked, or disregarded, in the wish to sacrifice Servetus. Trie affects to believe that the heretic was perfectly well known at Vienne, and yet writes in a manner which shows that he was persuaded of the contrary; but which at the same time manifests the real object of his letter.

“What could have been Trie’s motive? He does not seem to have had any previous quarrel, or even acquaintance, with Servetus; like Calvin, who, seven years previously, had expressed a wish for his death. Was it pure zeal for the Church? But in that case, would not a man in Trie’s position have consulted Calvin about the step he was induced to take? Dr. Henry thinks that Trie’s feelings were embittered by the persecutions of his Protestant brethren in

France. But how would it have soothed them to send a fresh victim to the flames by popish hands? The same writer offers another conjecture. Calvin might have expressed his displeasure at Servetus's work in Trie's presence, who incontinently writes off to Lyons to get Servetus burnt. Here the scene shifts. Trie's bitterness for the fate of his evangelical brethren vanishes, and he becomes the *âme damnée* of Calvin. But again it may be asked, would he not have consulted Calvin about a proceeding which, for aught he knew, might have seriously compromised him? The case seems weak which must be propped by such conjectures."—pp. 313—4.

In fact, the evidence of Calvin's complicity, is all but conclusive; whatever is wanting is supplied by the rest of the account, and the motive which we cannot understand in Trie, will for Calvin be sufficiently intelligible in one of the articles of the accusation at Geneva, that Servetus had "*defamed the doctrine of the Church of Geneva in the person of Master John Calvin.*" (p. 327.)

As a matter of course, this first letter fixed suspicion on Servetus; but the proof which it offered, ingeniously as it was put together, though it satisfied the malice of its author, was not sufficient for the cautious inquisitors of Vienne. Arneys accordingly wrote to Trie to request that the MS. of the whole book should be forwarded.

"Trie's answer is dated on the 26th of March. It is a model of hypocrisy. He protests that he did not think the matter would have gone so far, nor that Arneys would have shown his letter to those whom he had accused of lukewarmness: as such, however, was the case, he hoped God would make it a means of purging Christianity from such deadly pests. If the authorities were really hearty in the cause, there was no difficulty in the affair. He could not, indeed, at present furnish the printed book for which he had been asked; but he would put into Arneys' hands something more convincing, viz., two dozen papers written by the person in question, and containing some of his heresies. If the printed book was placed before the accused he might deny it, which he could not do with regard to his handwriting. After stating that there were other documents which might be produced, Trie continues: 'But I must confess that I have had great trouble to get what I send you from M. Calvin. Not that he is unwilling that such execrable blasphemies should be punished; but that it seems to him to be his duty, as he does not wield the sword of justice, to refute heresy by his doctrines, rather than to pursue it by such methods. I have, however, importuned him so much, representing to him that I should incur the reproach of levity if he did not help me, that he

has at last consented to hand over what I send. For the rest, I am in hopes that if the matter is entertained in your quarter, I shall be able to get from him a ream of paper, or thereabouts, being the manuscript of what this gallant has printed. But it seems to me that you have now proof enough, and there is no longer any mystery, nor reason why he should not be seized and put upon his trial.'"—pp. 315—16.

Here it is impossible, by any amount of affectation, to mistake the hand of Calvin. The giving up of the letters of Servetus—letters "written," as the wretched author averred, "under the seal of secrecy, and in the spirit of fraternal correction,"* can have been no one's work but his; and there is a depth of malice in the choice of the papers sent, which may at first sight escape notice. Among them were the sheets of *the chapter on Baptism* in Calvin's Institutes, with the MS. annotations and strictures of Servetus, specially chosen from the entire book in order to prove Servetus *to have been an Anabaptist*;—the sect above all others most obnoxious, on account of their socialist doctrines, and the especial object of the persecution of the civil authorities in every country.

Still, however, even this was insufficient. More scrupulous than the tribunal of Geneva, as we shall see hereafter, the Viennese inquisitors required proof that the offence of printing and publishing this book was committed within their jurisdiction; they required to have it proved that Villanovanus was the author; and lastly, that he was the same individual formerly known as Servetus. The required evidence, as far as it was known at Geneva, was forthcoming as speedily as it was demanded.

"Trie's third and last letter is dated on the 31st of March. He points out that in the last of the letters which he had already sent, the Spaniard excuses himself for assuming the name of Ville-neuve, when his real name was Servetus or Reves, alleging that he had adopted it from the place of his birth. As to the manuscript, he would send it if necessary, but it had been at Lausanne for a couple of years. Had it been in Calvin's possession, he would long ago have sent it back to the author; but the latter had addressed it to others besides him, who had retained it. Trie then mentions that Servetus had been banished by the principal churches of Germany twenty-four years previously; and that the first and second letters of Ecolampadius were addressed to him under his real name. Me-

* "Sub sigillo secreti, et comme fraternelle correction."

lanethon had also spoken of him. With regard to the printers, he would not give up the source, from which he knew that they were Arnoullet and his brother-in-law, Guérout; but said that he was well assured of the fact, and that they would not be able to deny it. The work might, probably, have been printed at the expense of the author, who might have taken possession of the copies; but they would find that it had proceeded from the office he had named."—pp. 318, 19.

The case of suspicion was now considered complete, and if it had not been deemed so, Calvin declares that he was ready to add more evidence. Accordingly Servetus was arrested; and, although treated with great courtesy and consideration, his defence was so lame and full of contradictions, and his explanations were so completely met on every point, by the ingenious mesh of evidence which his far-seeing foe had collected, that there could be no doubt of his condemnation. It was plain even to himself.

"He now perceived that the matter was taking a serious turn, and resolved to attempt his escape. The indulgence with which he was treated in prison, favoured this design; indeed it is not improbable, as Servetus deposed in answer to the 5th interrogatory, on his first examination at Geneva, that some of the magistrates at Vienne may have connived at his evasion. He had many friends there, including the archbishop, his brother, the vi-bailli, and even Montgiron himself. A garden adjoined his prison, in which he was allowed to walk. Hence the roof of a house could be gained, and from that a wall from which he could descend into the court of the palace; whence it would be easy to reach the gate of the town and the bridge over the Rhone. The evening after his second examination, Servetus reconnoitred the ground. He also sent his servant to the monastery of St. Peter to demand three hundred crowns which were due to him, and which the grand prior brought to him in person. He was thus well provided with money, for none of his property had been taken from him. Early on the following morning, the 7th of April, Servetus dressed himself completely; but flinging a night-gown over his clothes, and drawing a velvet cap over his head, pretended a call of nature, and asked the gaoler for the key of the garden. Deceived by his appearance, the gaoler made no difficulty in complying with his request, and went without suspicion to look after his vineyard. Servetus lost no time in making use of the opportunity. Depositing his gown and cap under a tree, he gained the court of the palace, which he passed with safety, and was soon over the bridge. His flight was not discovered for some hours; when an alarm was given, the gates closed, and the neighbouring houses searched; but it was too late. Servetus had escaped."—p. 324.

Unhappily for him, this adventurous escape only threw him into more crafty and unrelenting hands. His first design was to settle in Naples, and devote himself to his professional practice. He was induced, however, to linger in France for some months, and in July, 1553, was led by his evil genius to visit Geneva. This unlucky visit, though in strict disguise, furnished the occasion for the fulfilment of that old threat which Calvin had uttered full seven years before, that "*if Servetus ever visited Geneva, it should not be his fault if he left it alive.*" (p. 309.)

Notwithstanding the caution which he generally observed, curiosity or destiny once led him into a church in which Calvin was preaching. Whether it was in this way, or in some other, that Calvin became aware of his presence in Geneva, it would be impossible to decide; but, on the very day on which Servetus purposed to leave Geneva, and after he had actually engaged a boat for the purpose, he was arrested and thrown into prison. This arrest took place at the instance of Calvin, by his own avowal; the prosecution was conducted (as the formalities of the Genevese law prescribed) in the name of Calvin's secretary; and the security for his "appearance to prosecute" was Calvin's own brother, Anthony;—abundant evidence, it will be felt, of the disposition on Calvin's part "not to let Servetus escape alive."

The unfortunate man's imprisonment was revoltingly cruel. He remonstrated on several occasions; and although allowance may be made for exaggeration on his part, still it is impossible to read, without a mixture of horror and pity, his rude but touching complaints, that "he is actually eaten alive by lice, that his breeches are in tatters, and that he is without a morsel to eat, without a doublet or a shirt, except a single bad one."* The remonstrance was unheeded; at whose instance Mr. Dyer abstains from saying. But he might have found in Audin, from whom he has taken so many of his facts, that it was at the instance of Calvin. If this were stated by Audin on his own authority, it might not be considered deserving of implicit credit; but he states it on the authority of a protestant writer, M. Galiffe, in his elaborate work, "*Notices Genealogiques de Geneve,*" a work frequently cited by Mr.

* Les poulx me mangent tout vif, mes chausses sont descirées, et n'ay de quoy manger, ne perpoint, ne chemise, que une mechante.

Dyer himself. M. Galiffe's authentication of this strange and revolting fact is worth transcribing.

"Not long since, at Geneva, the pastor, Jacob Vernet, implored M. de Chapeaurouge to communicate to him the papers containing the records of the prosecution of Servetus. M. de Chapeaurouge, secretary of state, presented this request to the council, which refused it. M. Vernet insisted. 'He desired,' says M. Galiffe, 'to prove that they had not refused a coat and linen to Servetus, for his money.' The syndic, Calandrini, replied to the pastor. Here is the letter, which M. Galiffe has in his possession, and which may be read in the third volume of his *Notices genealogiques* :

" 'Sir, and very dear cousin,

" 'The council, interested in preventing the criminal proceedings against Servetus from being made public, does not wish them to be communicated, either altogether or in part, to any person ; the literary character of a man can obtain him no privilege in regard to this. The conduct of Calvin, and of the council, known from the Notes on the History of Geneva, is such, that it wishes every thing to be buried in profound oblivion. Calvin is not excusable ; Servetus placed the light before his eyes, concerning the conduct which should be pursued in regard to heretics, and has not allowed him to avail himself of the plea of invincible ignorance. M. de la Chapelle has justified him, the best he could, from the reproach of having been instigator of the process instituted against Servetus at Vienne. For this, he has supposed a fact, which was to be proved by our registers, but which they will not prove. You think to justify by our registers, the severity exercised towards Servetus in his prison, and from these same registers you would find that those favourable orders were not executed ; that, in fine, after the event, Calvin, instead of bitterly deploring it, maintains a thesis, which no christian can defend, and that too, by arguments unworthy of so great a man, even in the opinion of M. de la Chapelle. Avail yourself of the excuse afforded by your sickness, to dispense yourself from a work which can only be prejudicial to religion, to the reformation, and to your country, or which would be little conformable to truth. The trivial reason, that the reformation was not regarded as the protector of anti-Trinitarians, may have closed the eyes of Calvin to the great truths of the Christian religion ; let us take care not to permit that the dread of being considered advocates of I know not what, should cause us to provoke questions which do not suit us.' "

The argument, it is true, is a negative one ; but it is a negative argument of the very strongest character ; and it

is hard to conceive, that if the writer of this letter could have vindicated Calvin, he would not have done so with triumph and exultation.

We have been tempted into such a mass of extracts that we must pass over the particulars of the trial. But there are one or two facts too important to be overlooked.

The first of these is, that Servetus was denied the advantage of the assistance of an advocate, although he demanded it in the most feeling, the most respectful, and, we must add, the most reasonable terms.

"But the most unjust and barbarous part of these proceedings, was the denying Servetus the benefit of counsel. When the court next met, on the 28th of August, a 'Representation and Articles' were given in, drawn up in the hand-writing of one of Calvin's copyists. The former of these papers begins by saying: 'That it was quite evident that Servetus had not replied satisfactorily to the questions put to him, and had done nothing but lie, vary, and tergiversate; making a mockery of God and his word, by quoting, corrupting, and twisting from their proper sense, passages from the sacred Scriptures, in order to conceal his blasphemies, and escape punishment.' Then, after adducing instances in support of these charges, there follows a long argument to show that heresy was made capital by the Roman emperors, and that the punishment of death is not contrary to the spirit of the New Testament. In reply to Servetus's petition, it is insisted that he should not be permitted to have counsel. 'For who, it is asked, is he who could or would assist him in such impudent lies, and horrible statements? not to mention that it is forbidden by law, and was never yet seen, that such suborners should have the benefit of an advocate. Besides, there is not a single grain of innocence apparent to justify the intervention of a counsel.' Strange reasoning! which shows that Calvin had long since prejudged his unhappy victim: which would prove that the more a man needs the assistance of an advocate the less he is entitled to it! As if there might not be cases in which a counsel could dissipate and chase away those mists of seeming guilt which may sometimes envelope and obscure men the most innocent, and causes the most just!"—p. 334.

Here again we discover the "fine Roman hand" of Calvin. One of the charges against the Inquisition is, that the prisoners were only allowed advocates assigned by the Holy Office itself. And yet Calvin is idolized by the very men who make this charge, although he not only refused an advocate altogether to the accused, a stranger and, as

he alleged, ignorant of the laws of the country, but defended on principle this inhuman and barbarous refusal. *

Another notable injustice is the palpable want of jurisdiction in the court.

"It is difficult to see on what principle the Genevese assumed the right of trying a man who was not a citizen, nor even a resident, but merely a traveller casually passing through their town; and whose offence, even if they could justly establish a tribunal for the trial of heresy, was at least not committed within their territories. Calvin seems here to have claimed a jurisdiction as extensive as that of the Pope. The unhappy instance of Joan Bocher in England, and even the trial of Servetus by the inquisition of Vienne, are at least in some degree justified by the offence having been committed against the laws of those countries, provided for such cases. But how could Servetus be made amenable to any statutes of Geneva, for having published certain books at Hagenau and Vienne? The only head of accusation which would seem to make him amenable to the laws of Geneva, is that in which he is charged with having defamed Calvin, and the Genevese church. But this could hardly have been capital; nor have his judges ventured to recapitulate it in his sentence."—pp. 333—34.

We omit much which we had noted, in order to find room for the closing scene—the execution of this unhappy man.

Mr. Dyer has placed in a very clear light the weakness and dishonesty of the subterfuges by which Calvin attempted to evade the odium which his conduct drew upon him, even in his own devoted city, as well as of Dr. Henry's partiality in attempting to screen his falsehoods. But for this, although it must form an important item in the materials for an estimate of Calvin's true character, we must refer the reader to Mr. Dyer's pages. There is much, too, of the judgments given in the case of Servetus, both by the churches of Switzerland, and by eminent individual Reformers, which the necessities of our space alone oblige us to withhold. Having accompanied the unhappy criminal, however, through so much of the preliminaries of his case, we must not shrink from the horrible details of his closing day.

"It being now apparent that Servetus would not retract, he was

* The same course was pursued by Calvin towards Valentino Gentile also, p. 452.

brought before the council, and his sentence was read to him with the customary formalities. The main grounds of his condemnation therein stated are, his book on the Trinity, published at Hagenau, his 'Restitution of Christianity,' published at Vienne, and his obstinate perseverance in his errors. It concludes as follows: 'We condemn you, Michael Servetus, to be bound, and led to Champel, where you are to be fastened to a stake and burnt alive, together with your book, as well the printed one as the manuscript, till your body be reduced to ashes; and thus shall you finish your days, to be an example to others who would commit the like. And we charge our lieutenant to see that this our present sentence be carried into execution.' His gold chain and other property were given to the hospital.

"On hearing this dreadful sentence, Servetus was struck with horror and amazement. He entreated the magistrates that he might perish by the sword, lest the greatness of his torment should drive him to desperation, and cause him to lose his soul. He protested, that, if he had sinned, it had been unwittingly, and that his desire had always been to promote God's glory. When he found that all his supplications were fruitless, he fell into a kind of stupor, broken at intervals by deep groans and frantic cries for mercy.

"Calvin had written to Farel requesting him to come to Geneva, and attend upon Servetus in his last moments; an office which could not well be undertaken by any of the Genevese clergy, who had condemned him. Farel obeyed this summons, and arrived in Geneva time enough to hear the sentence pronounced. He accompanied the unhappy Spaniard to the stake, and has recorded his last moments in a letter to Ambrose Blaarer.

"A little way from the city of Geneva rises a gentle but extended eminence, called Champey, or Champel, the place appointed for the execution of Servetus. Early in the morning of the 27th of October, he was led from prison to undergo his doom. As the procession slowly ascended the hill, the stake appeared in sight, though partly hidden by the oak branches which had been heaped around it, still bearing their autumnal leaves. A crowd had gathered round the spot where he was to undergo his sentence, and to escape from his earthly judges to the presence of a higher and infallible tribunal. Arrived at the summit of the hill, he fell on the earth in an attitude of prayer; and while he lay absorbed in his devotions, Farel thus addressed the assembled multitude: 'See,' said he, 'the power of Satan, when he hath once gotten possession of us! This man is particularly learned, and it may be that he thought he was doing right; but now the devil hath him. Beware, lest the same thing happen to yourselves!'

"Farel, who had been with Servetus since seven o'clock in the morning, had not ceased exhorting him to acknowledge his errors; but so far was he from doing this, that he persisted in saying that

he suffered unjustly, that he was led as a victim to the slaughter ; at the same time beseeching God to have mercy on his accusers. At last Farel said : ‘ Do you, who are so great a sinner, attempt to justify yourself ? I had determined to accompany you till your last breath, and to exhort all to pray for you, in the hope that you would edify the people ; but if you continue to speak as you do, I will resign you to the judgment of God, and abide with you no longer.’ Hereupon, continues Farel, he was silent, and spoke not again in the same manner.

“ When Servetus arose from his devotions, Farel exhorted him to address the people ; but sighs and groans almost choked his utterance, and all that he could utter was, ‘ Oh, God ! Oh, God ! ’ When Farel asked him if he had nothing else to say ? he replied, ‘ What can I speak of but of God ? ’ Farel now told him, that if he had a wife or a child, and wished to make his will, there was a notary present ; but to this suggestion Servetus made no answer. At a hint of Farel’s, he requested the assembled multitude to pray for him ; but to the last moment he could not be induced to address Christ as the eternal Son of God.

“ About midday, Servetus was led to the stake. Before it lay a large block of wood on which he was to sit. An iron chain encompassed his body, and held him to the stake ; his neck was fastened to it by a strong cord, which encircled it several times. On his head was placed a crown of plaited straw and leaves, strewed with sulphur to assist in suffocating him. At his girdle were suspended both his printed books, and the manuscript which he had sent to Calvin—the causes of his miserable end. Servetus begged the executioner to put him quickly out of his misery. But the fellow, either from accident or design, had not been properly instructed in his duty, and had collected a heap of green wood. When the fire was kindled, Servetus uttered such a piercing shriek, that the crowd fell back with a shudder. Some, more humane than the authorities, ran and threw in faggots : nevertheless his sufferings lasted about half an hour. Just before he expired, he cried with a terrible voice : ‘ Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy upon me ! ’ thus persisting in his heresy to his latest breath.

“ It is related in the book which passes under the name of ‘ *Vaticanus*, ’ that Bernardin Ochino, the celebrated preacher, on his return from England, arrived in Geneva the day following the execution ; and on hearing it related, expressed so much horror and indignation, as to give rise to the hatred with which Calvin ever afterwards pursued him. The scene had such an effect upon Farel himself, that he had not strength to relate it to Calvin, but returned at once to Neufchatel without seeing him.”—pp. 346—49.

Audin represents Calvin as sitting present at this fearful

scene, and enjoying with savage pleasure the dying groans of his victim. He cites for this horrifying statement the authority of James Fazy in his *Essay sur l'Histoire de la Republique de Geneve*, i. 27, and D'Artigny, p. 152. But in ignorance of the original authorities, on which they rest, we cannot venture to yield our assent.

By dwelling so long upon this single case, we have left a great deal of the interest of Mr. Dyer's book untouched altogether. There are many of its topics to each of which a separate article might be devoted;—the history of Calvin's domestic contests;—his contests with the Lutherans;—the case of the Marian exiles, on which so much light has been thrown by the publication of the Zurich letters;—his quarrel with the Bernese clergy;—his persecution of the Italian anti-trinitarians;—and perhaps most interesting of all, the history of his own last end, which took place, May 27, 1564. But to touch any single one of these topics, without entering at some length into explanations indispensable in order to its being understood, would be only to destroy its interest altogether. We prefer, therefore, to leave to those who are solicitous to pursue the enquiry, the gratification of satisfying their curiosity in Mr. Dyer's own pages. They will find his work, although entirely destitute of Catholic sympathies, and in some respects strongly tinged with anticatholic prejudices, distinguished generally by great calmness and impartiality of tone, extensive research, sound critical judgment, and, above all, evident and uncompromising love of historical truth, irrespective of any consequences which its honest investigation may involve.

ART. III.—*Iscrizione della Statua Ristabilita di Nicomacho Flaviano Seniore*. Dichiarata da G. B. de Rossi. Estratto dal volume xxi. degli Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico. Roma: Bertinelli, 1849.

THE monument which is here illustrated, belongs to a most critical period of history; one, upon which every

new ray of light that can be thrown, is full of value and of interest. The person to whom it refers, was the last and most distinguished champion of expiring paganism, towards the close of the fourth century. Whilst the Probi, the Bassi, the Paulini, and other families of senatorial dignity, had yielded a ready obedience to the christian faith, the family of the Flaviani, together with those of the Symmachi and the Pretestati, were still clinging with unshaken tenacity to the idolatry of their forefathers; and this Nicomachus Flavianus, in particular, was more prominent than the rest in his hatred of christianity, or, as he would have called it, "the new superstition." Moreover, his learning and abilities were equal to his zeal. Macrobius lauds him to the skies for his knowledge of augury, and all kinds of divination. Even ecclesiastical historians (Sozomen, Nicephorus, and Ruffinus,) have recorded their admiration of his talents and skill in politics, and, indeed, of his erudition generally. And in the inscription now before us, we find christian emperors speaking of him as *virum inlustrem et sanctissimæ apud omnes recordationis*.

This inscription was brought to light, together with one or two others belonging to the same period, late in the autumn of last year, in the course of some excavations that were being made in the Forum of Trajan. It was engraved upon the base of one of those statues, with which that forum was adorned, especially in the later years of the Roman empire, in honour of all the famous warriors, magistrates, and *litterati*, of whom the empire could boast. Nicomachus Flavianus had a double claim to this honour, both as having filled with credit all the highest offices in the state, and also as an historian of no mean merit; for in an inscription on the base of another of his statues, erected in the private villa of his friends and relatives, the Symmachi, whence it was dug up in the year 1617, he is expressly styled, *historicus dissertissimus*; and from this inscription, also, we incidentally learn, that after he had been quæstor and prefect, he published some annals dedicated to Theodosius I. It was probably about this time that he received the honour of a statue in the Ulpian forum; but not long afterwards he joined Arbogastes, in putting himself at the head of the rebellious faction of Eugenius, with the mad hope of restoring paganism throughout the whole western empire. He does not seem

to have long survived the discomfiture of his party, though we have no distinct account either of the time or manner of his death: anyhow, it is certain that his statue was deposed from its post of honour among the *benemeriti* of his country, and the stain of infamy attached to his memory as a rebel. These things, however, appear rather to have been the effect of party-spirit, or private enmity, on the part of individual senators, than ordained by any legitimate authority: and thirty or forty years later, therefore, Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. took occasion of the magistracy of Flavian the younger, to order the restoration of his father's statue, and to express their high admiration of his talents, and regret for his loss. This imperial rescript was inscribed at full length upon the base of the restored statue, and forms the principal part of the newly-discovered monument. The rest consists of an enumeration of all the titles which belonged both to Nicomachus the elder, and to his son, and also the name and dignity of one of his grandsons, Appius Nicomachus Dexter, under whose superintendence the restoration was effected.

It would scarcely be possible, within the limits of a single article, to give a detailed account of the numerous fragments of historical knowledge which this monument has rescued from oblivion, the many doubtful points which it has set at rest, or the errors which it has corrected. Perhaps, indeed, to the generality of our readers, such historical *minutiæ* might not be interesting, but we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity which it affords, to call attention to the merits of its illustrator, the Cavaliere de Rossi, a gentleman whose name has been before the public for a considerable time, in the "*Monumenti delle arti Cristiane primitive*" of Father Marchi, as engaged in a work of some kind upon the ancient inscriptions of christian Rome, but of whose ability to fulfil the task which he had undertaken, the public has not, as far as we know, ever before had an opportunity of judging. We ourselves, during a residence of some length in the eternal city, spent much of our time in a serious study of its ancient inscriptions; and it is our vivid recollection of the infinite variety and importance of the information which they contained, that has made us watch with eager anxiety for some more definite indication both of the precise nature of the work which De Rossi contemplated,

and also, that there were reasonable hopes of its speedy publication. It is with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction, therefore, that we have perused the brief notice from the pen of Dr. Henzen, which is prefixed to the dissertation that stands at the head of our article. He assures us, in the name of the Archæological Institute of Rome, from whose annals the present pamphlet is extracted, not only that the promised work has not been abandoned, (which, after so long a silence of five or six years, might reasonably have been feared,) but that the types necessary for giving a faithful representation of many of these ancient inscriptions, have been already founded in the *Stamperia Camerale*, and that at least some few first sheets may be expected to appear before the close of the present year. Moreover, it is distinctly announced, that the work will consist exclusively of *the Christian inscriptions of Rome during the first six centuries*.

A collection of this kind has been long a *desideratum* in Catholic literature ; and if it be made with the same care and diligence as its author has exhibited, both in deciphering and in illustrating the present inscription, it will be truly an invaluable boon to all lovers of christian archeology. At present, these precious relics of antiquity are scattered up and down in the pages of Bosio, Boldetti, Bottari, and other writers upon subterranean Rome ; or they lie buried in the appendix to some learned work of Marangoni ; or they are illustrated singly, or some half-dozen together, by Lupi, Mazochi, Vettori, and Oderici ; or the selection is somewhat larger, the contents of a particular museum, or illustrative of a particular subject, as in Doni, Passionei, Fabretti, Carlo Fea, &c.; or, finally, if collected altogether into one place, they are presented to us overwhelmed by more numerous pagan inscriptions in the ponderous tomes of Smetzius, Gruter, Reinesius, and Muratori.

The inconvenience of having to search for these inscriptions in a number of separate volumes, we need scarcely dilate upon ; but a few words upon the larger collection which we have named, will not be out of place, lest any of our readers should be disposed to accept them as sufficient, and as superseding the necessity of such a work as is here announced to us by De Rossi. It certainly is no slight inconvenience to be unable to get what we want, without, at the same time, encumbering ourselves with a great deal

which we do not want; to be unable to get the fourth volume of Muratori's Thesaurus, for example, without purchasing the other three, which are devoted to paganism; just as if a man who only wanted a halter, should be obliged to purchase one with (as our country man expressed it) *a donkey at the end of it*. But a second, and far greater evil attached to these large collections is, their necessary imperfection; they are *too large* to be executed well. We do not think that even the powers of half a dozen Germans could suffice to secure accuracy in a publication so gigantic as that of all ancient inscriptions, both pagan and christian, even though we should allow them to draw the line of demarcation between ancient and modern at a much earlier period than is at all usual. At any rate, accuracy has not been attained in any of those attempts that have hitherto been made. Only to instance in the latest; it is not only easy to point out inscriptions which Muratori omitted, and others which are pagan, yet falsely classed by him among the christian, or *vice versâ*; he has even not unfrequently given as three or four distinct inscriptions, what are manifestly various readings of the same, copied more or less correctly by different persons, but which he had not leisure or opportunity to verify. Again, those oft disputed letters, D.M., D.M.S., D.O.M., and the like, when standing at the head of christian inscriptions, he has sometimes interpreted as *Dis Manibus*, sometimes as *Deo Magno*, sometimes as *Dulcissimæ Memorix*, sometimes even as *Memoriam sui doloris*, or *Memoriam sepulchralem dolens*. In one place he pronounces briefly but positively, *formula Ethnica, Ethnismi vestigium incautè adhibitum*; in another, he propounds both Marangoni's interpretation and Mabillon's, and leaves his reader to choose between them. And so on, in a perpetual oscillation, leaving his own opinion always doubtful, or rather, giving us reason to suppose that he had never really formed any, whilst yet he was not satisfied that none could, or need, be formed. In fact, whenever we have occasion to consult this author, we are involuntarily reminded of a story we once heard of an old Oxford tutor, who, on being asked at the end of a quarter of a century's uninterrupted lectureship to successive generations of undergraduates, whether he was not weary of going over the same ground so incessantly, replied, that he contrived to relieve the apparent monotony of his occupation, by

giving a different interpretation to all the difficult passages every time he came to them. We could name some half-dozen subjects, or more, inseparable from the right understanding of christian inscriptions, on which Muratori has indulged a similar taste for variety; a taste which, however convenient and entertaining to the tutor, is by no means so beneficial to the progress of the disciple.

The Cavaliere de Rossi has done well, therefore, to circumscribe his labours within certain definite limits both of time and place. Even thus limited, his collection will comprise upwards of eight thousand inscriptions; and some persons, perhaps, may be tempted to think that the circle might with advantage have been still further narrowed, by the exclusion of all those of little apparent interest. For ourselves, however, we can by no means subscribe to such an opinion; for who shall decide by what standard the selection should be made? Dr. Maitland could examine all the epitaphs in the Lapidarian Gallery, and publish a selection from them, which did not include any of the half-dozen inscriptions there, in which the saints in heaven are distinctly appealed to in behalf of the living on earth, or of those who were but just deceased, nor even the most striking and perfect specimens of prayers for the dead. Of course we do not for a moment doubt but that an honest selection might be made, and that it would form a most useful and interesting volume; but we fear it would be difficult to get the honesty of a selection recognised, so as to establish its authority as a court of appeal in matters of controversy. The example of Dr. Maitland has shown us how little dependance can be placed on a selection made under the influence of strong prejudices of protestantism. And protestants, on the other hand, who have not hesitated to accuse their adversaries of publishing a mutilated copy of an inscription, even when it would have been infinitely more simple to have destroyed the stone altogether, and to have suppressed the fact of its existence—(we allude to Reinesius and Flectwood, both of whom maintained, that in the inscription to the priest Basil, *et Felicitati ejus*, the word expressing the conjugal relationship between them was purposely omitted by the Catholics, who first published it to the world)—would be sure to regard with equal distrust any selection that might be made by the hands of *modern Romanists*.

Moreover, the truth is, that we cannot bring ourselves

to think lightly of the value of any of these inscriptions ; even those which at first sight might seem most worthless, those which contain nothing more than the mere names of the deceased, are not without their use ; they serve to confute the ignorance of such superficial tourists and scribblers as Hobart Seymour, for example, who, the moment he meets with a heathen name in the christian calendar, immediately identifies the persons as well as the names, and gravely assures us that many of the christian saints worshipped in foreign lands, are nothing else than the ancient demigods of the heathen, adroitly metamorphosed.

We rejoice, then, that the Cav. de Rossi has no intention of picking and choosing from the rich treasures of inscriptions within his reach, but that he has determined on publishing the whole of what belongs to the period he has selected. We hope, also, that we may gather from part of the announcement which we have noticed, (that part which concerns the founding of new types), that he is not going to follow the example of Fleetwood and Mai, and present to us these inscriptions shorn of their native dignity of capital letters ; but that he will even endeavour, as far as possible, to preserve the exact form of the original characters. Doubtless this involves a serious addition both of labour and expense ; at the same time, the value of the collection will be infinitely enhanced by it, inasmuch as in many instances it will enable us to fix, with tolerable certainty, the precise date to which a monument belongs. Indeed, we have reason to believe that De Rossi's work may be expected to throw much light upon this hitherto neglected branch of the subject, the chronology of the inscriptions ; and we know certainly, that they will be arranged on a totally different plan from any that has been hitherto adopted in similar collections ; on a plan that will not fail to present them to the student of christian antiquity, as in a well-stored armoury of weapons, for the defence of the ancient faith, and the refutation of modern errors. They will not be illustrated at any length ; a few words only will be appended wherever it may be necessary, in order that the meaning may be made clear ; but their very arrangement will supply the place of a commentary ; they will mutually illustrate and interpret one another.

At the same time, we would not be supposed to imply that the object of De Rossi's publication will be exclu-

sively, or even primarily, religious and controversial. We have chosen to dwell upon it in this point of view rather than in any other, as being that which will constitute its principal value in this country, especially at the present moment; nevertheless, we believe that the author has quite as much at heart, and that his work will be found quite as materially to promote the illustration of sundry points of history, chronology, and philology, as of religion. Indeed, a merely christian archeologist would scarcely have bestowed so much time and labour as De Rossi has done, upon the elucidation of the present monument, which is pagan. This, however, so far from being a disadvantage, is only an additional security for the good execution of the work; for a familiar acquaintance with the monuments of paganism is quite essential to a due appreciation, and a right understanding of the monuments of early christianity. One who is deficient in this necessary information, can scarcely fail to attach undue importance to some features in the christian inscriptions which are really indifferent, or to overlook the deep significance of others, even though his natural good sense should preserve him from falling into such gross absurdities as that of the simple-hearted religious, who insisted upon interpreting the letters I.O.M., Introitus Omnium Monachorum, instead of Jovi Optimo Maximo, because the stone on which they were engraved, chanced to be inserted over the principal doorway of his monastery; or of that other, the biographer of the Sardinian saints, who read in B.M. the testimony of a Blessed Martyrdom (Beatus Martyr), instead of a mere expression of compliment or affection, (Bonæ Memoræ, of happy memory.) However, we are assured by the contents of the present dissertation, that our author is more than ordinarily *au fait* in the interpretation of pagan monuments. We are assured, also, of his steady untiring perseverance in deciphering such portions as may be difficult to read; for, although everybody who had either seen this newly-discovered inscription in honour of Nicomachus Flavianus, or had received a copy of it, had not failed to denounce the reading of PRÆF. VRBIS APPIVS, in the fifth line, as false, because it interrupted the whole tenor of the sense, and introduced an inextricable confusion; yet, it was only after a month's anxious study, both of the monument itself, and of the history to which it referred, that De Rossi

was enabled to restore the true reading, PRÆF. VRBI SÆPIVS; a reading which was immediately recognised by Brunn, Shengen, and the other *litterati* of Rome, as conformable to the original, and whose agreement with history has been demonstrated both by Borghesi and De Rossi himself.

We would willingly prolong our remarks still further, both as to the merits of the little pamphlet under discussion, and the nature and value of the more important work, of which it has been made, in some sort, the herald; but we feel that some apology is already due to our readers for having detained them so long, and for having given to our article rather the character of an advertisement than of a review. We conclude, therefore, by expressing our most earnest wish, that the laborious researches of De Rossi may speedily be brought to an end, and their result laid before the public, and that it may meet with that candid and diligent examination which it deserves, at the hands of that numerous class of our countrymen, who profess to be seeking after the genuine sense of the primitive Christian Church.

ART. IV.—*Strengleikar etha Liothabok en samling, &c. Strengleikar or Liothabok.* A Collection of Romantic Tales, after Breton originals. Translated from French into Norse in the middle of the thirteenth century, by order of King Haakon Haakonson. Edited by R. KEYSER and C. R. UNGER. Christiania: 1850. 8vo., pp. 139.

THE earliest traces of many of our most popular traditions are to be found in the Mythic Sagas of the North of Europe. The ancient *viser* of Scandinavia relate the same tale, though often in an incomparably wilder form, as do the Scottish or the old English ballads; and thus the common origin of the Anglo-Saxon and the Dane or Norseman, is proclaimed as much by these reliques of popular song, as it is confirmed by the voice of history. The records of many of our Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-

Norman historians have been confirmed by the contemporary writers of Norway or of Iceland, and in more than one instance, lacunæ in our own histories, have been filled up from the pages of the Icelandic Sagas. When the Danes and Norsemen ceased to visit the English shores as plunderers and pirates, they still appeared at our courts as friends ; or, as minstrels, stood in high favour with our monarchs. During the Anglo-Saxon period, a common bond of union, the great similarity of language, united the two nations ; but when the Norman William gained possession of the throne, a new tongue was introduced by the victors, and the Skalds no longer sought honours and rewards at the English court. The Normans and the Danes were indeed of one kindred ; for scarce two hundred years had elapsed since Rollo and his bold followers left the shores of Scandinavia to win a kingdom by the force of arms. Yet in this short period, how rapid had been the change that the descendants of the Northern adventurers had undergone. Scarce had they wrung from the French monarchs the fair land of Normandy, than they adopted with eagerness the manners, customs, and language of their newly-acquired territory ; and so quickly did the Norse tongue lose its popularity, that an immediate successor of Rollo, William Longsword, sent his son Richard to Bayeux, to learn the old Norse, for that tongue was no longer used in Rouen, the capital of the Duchy. There, as soon everywhere else, the old Norse was already superseded by the Romanz, a dialect of the Latin, which soon separated into two divisions, the *Langue d'oïl*, or Northern French, and the *Langue d'oc*, for the Southern provinces.

Of the Skaldic poetry, so abundant in the North of Europe, no vestige has, we believe, been discovered in Normandy, though it was unquestionably brought thither by Rollo and his followers. Its reign, however, must have been short indeed, for the Romaunt literature, the lays and tales of chivalry now arose, and speedily became so popular, that the scarcely understood Norse ballads quickly disappeared.

Normandy was the head quarters of the Romaunt poetry, and from thence it followed in the train of the victorious William, and of the other great Captains of the Norman race, till its influence was felt and acknowledged from Scotland to the shores of Sicily and Magna Græcia. But it was in the court of the English monarchs, from William

the Conqueror down to Henry III., that the Romanz lays and their composers found the readiest listeners, and the most munificent patrons.

An important portion of the Romanz literature is comprised in the LAYS, or more properly the Llais, from the Cymric word Llais, a song, in Erse, Laoidh. This word means also a tone, or note, expressive of these lays being set to music, a meaning admirably conveyed in the Norse word, "Strengleikar." The Celts, of whom the Welsh, the western Irish, and the Bretons are the direct descendants, were, as is well known, the original inhabitants of many of the lands seized by the Anglo-Saxons and the Northmen. Music has ever been enthusiastically loved by the Celtic nations, and the songs and ballads of their poets were soon translated and adapted from the abrupt Breton tongue into the more flowing measures of the Norman French. Many, if not all, of the Norman "Lays" seem thus to have been originally translations from the Breton tongue; and fortunately some of these Breton ballads yet exist, to be compared with the free diffuse adaptations in fashion at the Norman and English courts.

The work before us is a re-translation of these French lays into Norse; but a translation made at so early a date, and containing so much of what, from the loss of the original ballads and lays both Breton and French, may now be looked upon as original, that it rises far above the character of a mere version from one language into another. And first, let us devote a few lines to the book or collection of lays from whence the Norse version must certainly have been made. Only one complete, or nearly complete manuscript is known to exist of these lays, and that is to be found in the British Museum, Harleian MSS., No. 978. Detached fragments, and indeed whole lays, have been discovered also in the Royal Library of Paris and elsewhere; and more yet may come to light, for it is obvious from the Norse version before us, that many other lays formed the collection now called the "Lays of Mary of France." It is, however, we acknowledge, somewhat difficult to allow to Marie the authorship of these lays, though she was unquestionably the authoress of the book of *Fabliaux* after the manner of Esop, which forms the second volume of her works as published by B. de Roquefort, in 2 vols. 8vo., 1832, at Paris.

The present Norwegian commentators justly remark,

that the only lines of the French lays wherein the name of Marie is mentioned, are *wanting* in the Norse MS. version, and they observe too, that even if they had been there, they are rather an invocation to the genius and authority of Marie, than a proof that she was the fair writer of these wondrous tales. Few of our readers will probably have access to Roquefort's work, but there is an analysis of the lays of Marie in Ellis's Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances.

Whether Marie wrote or did not write the Poems in question, it is certain from the style, &c., that they were not produced before the commencement of the thirteenth century; while, on the other hand, the present Norse version proves, that they were known prior to the years 1260, or at the latest, 1263. The name of the monarch to whom the French lays were dedicated, is unknown; but from certain expressions in the poems, and from the frequent intermixture of English words, and the evident acquaintance with our language exhibited by the authoress or author, there is good reason to believe that the king alluded to, was Henry III. of England, who reigned from 1216 to 1272. During the greater part of the period, there ruled in Norway a powerful prince, Hakon Haakonson the old, (Haakon Haakonson hin Gamlé), who from 1217 to 1263, held the sceptre of Norway and the Hebrides. Thus, both England and Norway were blessed with long, and, for these times, comparatively peaceful reigns, during which, literature and the arts in both kingdoms flourished apace, and brought forth goodly fruits. Between these two lands there was constant intercourse, and the first commercial treaty made by England with any foreign state, was that concluded in 1217 between Henry III. of England, and Hakon, king of Norway. The observations of the learned editors of the *Strengleikar*, are so much to the purpose in regard to the intercourse between England and Norway, that we cannot do better than repeat them here:

"That literary productions of the North French, or Anglo-Norman school, should find their way to Norway, and should be translated into the Norse tongue, cannot excite surprise, when we recall the literary and social position of this kingdom (Norway) in the middle ages. Norway received her Christianity from England, and therewith the right to be ranked as one of the civilized nations of Europe. This circumstance produced a strong spiritual

bond of union between the two kingdoms, which was still further strengthened by commercial and political relations. Through these channels the culture and the science of the Anglo-Saxons found its way to Norway.

“When England fell under the yoke of the Norman William, the Anglo-Saxon influence was succeeded by the Anglo-Norman. At first, indeed, from the great dissimilarity of language the old intercourse must have been partially interrupted, but though the Norman-French differed widely from the Anglo-Saxon tongue, yet the Norseman knew well, that the new rulers of England were of his own ‘kith and kin.’ The spiritual and political relations then of the two kingdoms continued as before, with the sole difference, that now the Anglo-Norman instead of the Anglo-Saxon refinement, found its way from England into Norway. This intercourse was still further promoted through Scotland, for the Western Isles with Orkney and Shetland, were still under the rule of Norway, and also through France itself, at whose Universities many of the Norse youth then studied. And thus did it continue till the fourteenth century, and till the old Norse literature died out in Scandinavia. Up to that period it was to the mental culture and science of the Anglo-Norman that the Norseman looked to as to his model, while seeking to uphold for his country a place among the civilized nations of Europe. We need not wonder therefore, that in these times the Northman was well acquainted with Anglo-Norman literature, and that he sought to spread the knowledge thereof still further among his countrymen by translation.”—(Preface, p. 10.)

At what date, then, was the present Norse version of Marie’s lays completed? In the version there are two prefaces, one of the Norse translator, the other by the French poet or poetess.

In the first lines of his introduction, the good Norseman (who probably was also a churchman) states, that the object of his labours is to hand down to posterity the marvels and mighty deeds of bygone times, for the delectation and instruction of future ages, and that, by following such examples, men may be led to improve their lives, and promote their eternal salvation!! How the sadly licentious tales of the Anglo-Norman school were to conduce to the latter great purpose, we own ourselves unable to explain. The versionist then continues:

“And this book, which the worthy Hakon, the king, caused to be translated from the French into the Norse tongue, is called the Song-book, or book of lays; for it is said by them that writ this book, that these lays are made in South Bretland, that lieth in France (Brittany), and that there they are sung with harps and

violins, symphonies, organs, tymphanies, psalteries and choirs, and with all other stringed instruments wherewith men wont to delight their lives."—(p. 1.)

It is evident then that Hakon was king of Norway, when the above was written, and during the century to which the translation evidently is to be referred, three kings of that name sate upon the throne of Norway. The first of these, Hakon Sverreson, 1202 to 1204, could hardly be the monarch alluded to, though that prince is recorded to have translated with his own hand the curious old history of Barlaam and Josaphat, and to have borne an active part in the ancient Norse paraphrase of the Bible, entitled "Stjorn." But if, as is agreed on all hands, the French originals were not composed until the commencement of the thirteenth century, it were hardly to be expected that they could have found their way to Norway, at so early a period as 1202 to 1204. Nor can this work be attributed to the time and patronage of Hakon Magnussen, 1299—1319, for the manuscript of the *Strengleikar* is undoubtedly of the middle and not of the end of the 13th century. We may fairly agree then with the learned editors, that to Hakon Hakonson, the contemporary of our Henry III., this version must be ascribed.

The life of this great Norwegian monarch is scarcely known in England, yet the most circumstantial and minute details of his long reign are given by the Norwegian chroniclers. The reign of Hakon was the golden age of Norse historical literature; in his time flourished and fell Snorro Sturleson, the author of the *Heimskringla*; and while Hakon honoured the original productions of the native Skalds, we learn from contemporary manuscripts yet existing, that he caused many of the Anglo-Norman or old French romances to be translated into the Norse tongue. The histories of Tristan and Ysold, of Ivent, and of Elis and Rosamuada, were translated by Brother, or as he elsewhere calls himself, Abbot Robert, at Hakon's request; and it is by no means improbable that the same Robert was the author of the present version of Marie's lays. Let us now for a brief space glance at the history of Hakon Hakonson, whereby we may show that this king *really had* the intercourse with foreign lands, which we have claimed for him. We would

fain dwell at much length on the adventurous early life of Hakon, ere he became firmly seated on the throne of Norway, but this, attractive as the story would be to our readers, would lead us far away from the present subject. A great service would be done to our acquaintance with northern history and literature, by the translation into our language of the Saga's of Hakon Hakonson, and of his grandfather, Sverre; as a sequel to Mr. Laing's spirited version of the *Heimskringla*.

As soon as Hakon had quelled the disturbances in his own kingdom, which closed with the death of Earl Skule, he sought the honour of being crowned, a ceremony at that time of vast importance to him who held the reins of Government. From his own clergy, with whom he had been at constant feud, Hakon had in vain demanded the inaugural rites; and accordingly, at his earnest request, the Pope (Innocent IV.) sent in 1247, the Cardinal William to Norway, to crown Hakon as king, and to compose the differences between him and his clergy. We will translate from the old Icelandic chronicler the circumstances of so great an event as the Cardinal's visit, though in the course of the previous century, Nicholas Breakspeare, afterwards Adrian IV., had arrived in Norway.

“William the Cardinal, that same spring (1247) came from Southern parts unto England, and there was well received by King Henry. But the English, stirred by jealousy against the King of Norway and his people, told the Cardinal that he would receive scant honour in the realm of Norway, so that scarce would he find food for himself and suite, and they exhorted him not to go into that country. Then the Cardinal answered: ‘When I was yet in more distant lands than I now am, I heard men speak better things of that country than you have done here, and they said there were in that land many good christians and a wise king. And I have likewise conversed with their Archbishop, who seemed unto me a fit and proper spiritual prince. And know ye that I have two reasons for seeking to go unto that realm; first, that I may announce unto them Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and secondly, that with the help of God, and the goodwill of our Father the Pope, I may crown the King; and so fear I not that meat or drink will be wanting there.’”

On St. Botolph's day, (June 17,) the Cardinal arrived off the coast of Norway in an English ship, and was received with great honour by the king. The clergy above all things desired that, previous to his coronation,

Hakon should acknowledge his kingdom to be held of the See of Tronyem, as his predecessor, Magnus Erlingson, had submitted to do. To effect this, they prevailed upon the Cardinal to lay their demands before the king, but Hakon resolutely answered, that rather than forfeit the privileges of his kingdom he would forbear being crowned at all. The bishops yielded, and on St. Olaf's day, 1247, the king was crowned at Bergen with great state. Our readers will, perhaps, be curious to learn the court ceremonial of Norway at that distant date.

“The Vigil of St. Olaf's day fell on Sunday, and on the day of the feast itself, the Holy Mass was sung throughout the town. Thereafter, by sound of trumpet, all men were called unto Christ's church-yard, and eighty guards, well armed, kept the path unto the church. And this was the order of the procession of the king unto the church. First went the guard, two-and-two, to clear the way, then came two standard-bearers, thereafter the cup-bearer and chamberlains in rich clothing. Next walked three nobles, and they bore a mighty platform on their heads, whereon were laid all the royal robes and insignia to be used on that day. Then followed Sigurd Kongeson, and Munar Biskupson, bearing the royal sceptres of silver, and one sceptre was surmounted with a gold cross, and on the other was an eagle of the like metal. Thereafter went Hakon, the young king, and he bore the crown, and Earl Knud carried the sword of coronation, while Archbishop Sigurd and two bishops conducted Hakon the king. Then at the gate of the church-yard, there met the king the priests and clerks all in procession, and they sung then the responsorium, ‘Ecce mitto angelum meum,’ and so passed to the church. The Cardinal stood at the church-door, and with him two bishops and his clerks, and they followed the king to the altar; then mass was sung, and thereafter they proceeded to the coronation according to the order prescribed. And when mass was finished, the Archbishop and the other bishops followed the king home with the like honours, singing loudly the praises of God. Thereafter the king laid off his coronation robes, and put on another most rich garment, and for that day he wore the crown. Then the king proceeded unto the great hall with all his followers. And the whole hall was hung with coloured cloth, and with rich tapestry interwoven with silk and threads of gold. And the seats were so disposed within the hall, that the king sate on the northern side, and at his right hand the cardinal, &c. &c.... The first cup was drank by Hakon, the young king, to his father, and Knud the Earl, drank unto the Cardinal.”

We cannot refrain from quoting the speech of his eminence in reply to this courtesy, that our readers may

contrast it with the tone of the after-dinner orations of the present day :

“Scarce was the supper over, than the Cardinal declared the sacred truths unto all men, and thus he spoke : ‘Praised be Almighty God, that I have this day completed the errand I was sent upon by our most holy Father the Pope, and that your king hath this day received higher honour than ever before was vouchsafed unto Norway. Many there were who exhorted me not to visit this land, for they said I should see few men therein, and that such men as I should see, would be more like unto wild beasts than men in their customs. And now, I see before me so vast a multitude, natives of this land, who are indeed of manners the most praiseworthy. And I see likewise many strangers, and so many ships as I never saw the like in any port, and I trow that most of these ships are richly freighted. Moreover, it was sought to cast fear into me, that I should find in these regions little bread or other food, and if I should obtain thereof, it would be of quality most mean. But I observe here great store of food, so that both houses and ships are full thereof. And it was told me, likewise, that I should find here no drink save *bland* and water, (*blöndu ok vatn*.)’ And now may God preserve our kings and queens, bishops, clerks, and all folks ; and may our visit this day be to you and to ourselves honour and glory in this life and in the next.’ Then the Cardinal left the hall, but King Hakon sate till the feast broke up, when Marie’s hymn was sung.”—(Chapter 255.)

We cannot take upon ourselves to extract more from the curious account of Cardinal Williams’ visit to Norway ; but his eminence, before he left that country, obtained from the king the abolition of the trial by ordeal of red-hot iron, for he said, “that it beseemed not Christian men to call

* Few of our readers will be acquainted with *blöndu* or *bland*, the drink here mentioned, but it is yet used, and called by the same name too, in the most northern part of the British dominions. We have drank it repeatedly in the Shetland Islands, indeed it is there to be found in every cottage. Into the buttermilk that remains in the churn after making butter, hot water is poured, the caseous part, called *kirn* milk, subsides to the bottom of the churn, and is used for food, while the mixture of serum and water that is left, forms the *bland* ; which when allowed to rest, undergoes a slight degree of fermentation, and acquires in the course of a few months a remarkable degree of transparency, and along with it a very acid yet agreeable taste. In the Island of Uyea we have, at the hospitable mansion of the late Mr. Thomas Leiske, drank *bland* which had been *bottled* three years before, and found it a most agreeable beverage.

God to witness, as it were, by sorcery,"—"um mal," literally, "by verses.")

Cæcilia, the daughter of Hakon Hakonson, married Harold, king of the Hebrides, the son of Olaf Gudröd, king of Man. But the young monarch and his bride perished on their homeward voyage in the Raust of Sumburgh, off the southern point of Shetland (i Dynraust fyrí Sunnan a Hjaltland); for on that wild coast the beams of a large ship were shortly after cast. It only remains for us to show Hakon's intercourse with foreign lands, after having proved from the words of Cardinal William how far advanced his own country was in civilisation and commerce. In 1255, "Hakon, the young king," (the heir apparent to the throne), "sent ambassadors into Spain to the king of Castile; and at the head of the embassy, was Elis the priest, who bore with him, as presents to the king, sundry falcons, and other objects rare in these southern lands."—chap. 284.

In 1256, the king of Castile sent ambassadors to Hakon, requesting the hand of his daughter Christina for one of his brothers. To this proposal, Hakon lent a favourable ear, and the maiden was conveyed with an ample retinue to the court of Spain. The description given by the old chronicler of the journey of the princess Christina, and of the customs of the Spanish court, is most curious, and it moreover indicates communication with the French court, through which, if not from England, the lays of Marie may possibly have reached Scandinavia.

"And now we shall record the journey of the lady Christina and her retinue. They passed from England over the southern sea into Normandy, and when they came thither, Ivar Engleson, the captain of the fleet, wished to take the route by the Western Ocean, but the priest, Ferantus, (the Spanish envoy,) and Thorlogr Bosí, as they had errands unto the king of France, wished first to visit the court of that monarch. They went, therefore, on shore; and having purchased more than seventy horses, they proceeded inland. Thorlogr Bosí and Ferantus were well received by the French king, and when he learned that they conveyed a virgin of royal race, he exhorted them to take the western route to Spain, by Gascony, and gave to them a guide, with his seal and letters, to secure to them hospitality in whatever part of his kingdom they should pass through. And in this company, they passed to the town called Narbonne, situated on the sea of Jerusalem, ('Jorsalahaf,' the Mediterranean.) There they passed into Catalonia crossing high mountains and rugged paths. But the maiden bore the

trouble of the journey well, and even the further that they journeyed the better did she seem. So rode they through Barcelona, and to Arragun, and all received them with what honour they could afford; and two days before the feast of Yule, (Christmas,) the damsel came into a town of Castile, called Sarre, and the highest nobles rode out to meet her. And on Christmas Eve they came into Burgos, and were right well received in a cloister, wherein dwelt Berengara, the sister of the king. On the third day of the feast of Yule, the lady Christina offered at Mass a goodly cup, the like unto that she had offered at Rothemadum (Rothomagum?) whereby she gained so great honour, that it was not known that any foreign damsel had won the like. On the fourth day of Yule, they rode forth from the city, and the lady Berengara gave unto the royal virgin seven side saddles, (Kvennsädla) all well ornamented, and, a baldiken which she should bear herself. On the same day, the king of Castile rode forth to meet the lady Christina, and he received her as he would receive one of his own daughters; and taking the bridle of her palfrey, he walked at her side into the city. Then the king conducted her into a suitable dwelling, and ordered that the highest honours should be shown unto all the strangers.

“Hereafter the king enumerated his brothers to the maiden, and exposed the character of each. He said that Frederick was the eldest, and that he was a strong man and a good knight, strictly just too in his government, and withal a great hunter, whereby he had gotten his lip cut open, (skarth i vörr.) Next was Henry, the best horseman of all his brothers, but of him he should not speak, for he had revolted against his father. Skerius, the next brother, was a wise and learned man, and well fitted for the Archbishopric of Toledo. But of Philip, the youngest son, designed to be the Archbishop of Sibilio, the king said, he was ill fitted for a clerk, but loved far better his hawks and hounds, and was a wondrous follower of bears and wild boars, but always merry and cheerful, liberal and modest, a good companion, of great strength, and withal well skilled in horsemanship. But his stature and beauty the king did not describe, for it might plainly be discerned by all there present.”

It is needless to add, that Philip was the favoured suitor.

We have hitherto only noticed those parts of Hakon's life which have not before been accessible to the English reader; but his invasion of Scotland, and the closing scenes of this great monarch's life, have been translated by the Rev. James Johnston, and published by him in a small pamphlet in 1782. The work itself is by no means common; but from this source Tytler, and other Scottish

historians, have drawn most amply. And, indeed, the account of the battle at Largs, where the power of Hakon was completely broken, is taken almost verbatim from the Norwegian chronicles. The edition of Hakon's saga now before us, is obviously taken from the Frisian Codex, as it is termed, now in the Arnemagnean collection at Copenhagen, while the text of the Rev. James Johnston's version is from the famous Codex Flateyensis, a magnificent MS. also in the same collection. We have only space here for a very short extract, detailing the last scene of Hakon's life, after a long reign of forty-six years. After the fatal battle of Largs, the aged and broken-hearted monarch fled through the sound, between the Isle of Skye and the mainland, which to this day is called Kyle Hakon, and took refuge in the palace of the bishops of Orkney, at Kirkwall. The king's men, says the saga, eat their meals in the great hall; but the king himself, (now sick), took his meals in his own upper chamber.

“Hakon, the king, had had throughout the summer much care and watching, and being often called upon to consult with his captains, he had had but little rest. When he came into Kirkwall, he lay some days and nights in his bed, but the sickness somewhat abating, he arose, and for three days was able to move about. On the first day, he walked about his chamber; on the second, he heard Mass in the Bishop's own chapel; and on the third, he went to St. Magnus's church, and walked round the tomb of the saint. He then ordered a bath to be got ready, and when he had entered it, he caused his beard to be shaved off; but on that night, again his sickness returned, and he again lay down. During his illness, he caused to be read to him, first the Bible and the Latin writers, and then the Norse books, night and day, beginning with the lives of the Saints; and when these were done, the history of the Norse kings, from Halfdan the Black, and so on of all the kings of Norway. On the vigil of the feast of St. Lucy, king Hakon received Extreme Unction in the presence of Thorgil, Bishop of Stavanger, Gilbert, Bishop of Hammer, Henry, Bishop of the Orkneys, and many others. And before he was anointed, and while he could yet speak, many of the bystanders kissed the king.”

On the following day, king Hakon died, and his funeral was celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral of St. Magnus, though his remains were afterwards translated to Norway. And with this good prayer does the old chronicler conclude his task:

“Jesus Christ! Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, preserve and keep, honour and bless, the soul of so good a master, who left behind him the memory of so many good and useful deeds as did our noble lord, king Hakon!”

From chapter 275 of this saga, we learn that it was finished in 1265, two years after king Hakon's death, and it is known to have been written by Sturle Thordson, the nephew of Snorro Sturleson.

We will now return from this digression to the consideration of the volume before us.

The *Strengleikar* is a collection of prose translations from the old French; but in the Norse version, the arguments of many lays are preserved, whereof the French originals are entirely lost. Perhaps we are too hasty in making this assertion, for even as late as 1836, one of the lays, “the *Lai du Desiré*,” was recovered by Michel, and published by him in his “*Lais Inedits*.”

We cannot, however, extend this notice further, by giving the entire contents of the lays now first published. In extravagance of plot, and, alas! too, in pruriency of detail, they do not yield to any of the published lays. We have closely compared, in many instances, the Norse version with the original French, as given by Roquefort, and we have found, that in most instances, the meaning and import of each lay is most correctly given, and that the translator has not confined himself to a strict version, sentence by sentence, from the original. The Norse translation is rich, expressive, and flowing, and bears full evidence of being the work of a practised scholar, such as we may suppose Abbot Robert to have been. But, though perhaps a *Skald* or poet of the highest rank in his native tongue, the old Norseman could not venture to follow, in the strictly defined and regulated verse of the northern bards, the loose metre of the French original.

The manuscript from which the present work is edited, is the only one known to exist. It occurs in the Delagarde MS. collection, in the library of Upsala, in Sweden. The volume consists altogether of forty-two leaves of parchment, written in double columns. The Codex begins with a part of Olaf Tryggvason's Saga; then comes a dialogue between two lovers, Pamphilus and Galathea, and this is followed by the Elis Saga, to which succeeds the portion here published under the name of *Strengleikar*, and which

occupies in the original about fifty pages. The manuscript is the work of two different scribes ; but both have written legibly and well, and the character of the writing is exactly similar to that in the dated letters, &c., of Hakon Hakonson's period. The initial letters of the MS. are laid in with red and blue colour. An excellent fac simile of the writing is given at the end of the volume before us. The manuscript terminates abruptly, it is evident that several leaves are wanting to complete the volume ; and some of the French lays published by Roquefort and others, are not therein. Four leaves of the same Codex, and evidently in the same handwriting, have been discovered in the Arne Magnean collection at Copenhagen ; and they are stated to have formed part of the lining of an ancient bishop's mitre, brought, in the time of Arné Magnussen, from Iceland. Our task, however, would be incomplete, were we to omit the enunciation of the contents of the *Strengleikar* ; but in this regard we shall be as brief as possible, as most of the lays have already appeared in the English versions given by Ellis in the *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, Bohn's edition, 1848, Antiquarian Library.

The lays in the Harleian manuscript, as published by Roquefort, are twelve in number ; while, in the Norse manuscript, we have nineteen ; and in the fragments out of the old mitre, portions of two more lays, one which is unknown, the other is *Lai de Grelenz*, forming altogether twenty-one, many of which were previously unknown ; while the long *Lai d'Eliduc*, is entirely wanting in the Norse version. We can give little more than a catalogue of the lays that were previously known, referring the reader to Roquefort's and to Ellis' works before mentioned. The first lay in the Norse version is,

I. *Guiamars lioth* ; *Lai de Gugemer*. Roquef. vol. i. p. 48-113.

II. *Eskiu lioth* ; *Lai del Freisne*. Roquef. i. 137-177 ; and also in Ellis, l. c. p. 538. An old English poetical version of this lay is to be found in the Auchinleck MS.

III. *Equitans lioth*. Roquef. l. p. 114-137 ; Ellis. p. 46.

IV. *Bisclarets lioth*. Roquef. i. p. 178-201 ; Ellis. p. 48. This is the old story of the werewolf ; but is told with strangely wild additions. The writer informs us that

Bisclarets is the Breton for what the Northmen call *vargulf*, or werewolf.

V. Laustiks; *Lai du Laustic*. Roquef. i. p. 314-327; and Ellis, p. 58. The French poet, followed by the Norse translator, acquaints his reader, that *Laustic* is in French, *Rossignol*, and in English, *Nictigal*. It is singular that the zeal and diligence of a modern French writer have discovered, in all probability, the original Breton ballad, on which the French tale is founded. Ellis remarks, that this adventure is admirably well written in French; but, in our opinion, the Breton ballad is more simple and more dignified by far. The story itself is, as Ellis justly observes, insipid to the last degree; and our readers may see its argument given at length in the work so often referred to, (Ellis, p. 58.) But we doubt if our readers have often met with an original Breton ballad, and one in all probability of a date so extremely remote. For that there was a previous Breton ballad, is obvious from the two first lines of the French lay:—

“Une aventure vus dirai.
Dunt li Breton firent un lai.”

We therefore believe that a translation, as close as can be made, of the Breton ballad, may not be unacceptable:

“St. Malo’s young wife wept yesterday from her high window,—
Alas! woe to me, my poor nightingale is dead!
Tell me, young wife, why rise you up so early,
So early from my side at midnight you rise from the bed?
With head uncovered and legs bare, why rise you then up?
When I rise, dear husband, at midnight out of my bed,
It is because I love to watch the great ships sailing to and fro.
Of a surety it is not for a ship that thou goest so early to the
window,
It is not for the ship’s sake, neither for two nor for three;
It is not to look upon them, nor yet upon the moon or the stars,
Tell me, wife, why rise you up each night.
I rise up to see to my infant that lies in the cradle.
No, it is not yet to see that our infant doth sleep;
Come, tell no tales unto me, why thus do you rise up?
My good little old man, be not angry, I will tell you the truth,—
There is a nightingale that I hear singing every night; it sings
so cheerful and sweet;
It singeth so sweet, so wondrous soft each night, each night that
the sea is at rest.

When the old man heard that, he became thoughtful in his mind,—

When the old man heard this, he spoke thus unto himself,—

Be it true, be it false, the nightingale must be taken,

Early in the morning, when he rose, he went to the gardener ;

Good gardener, hear me, there is something that troubles me sore ;

There is in the garden a nightingale, that sings all through the night,

Singeth all through the night so loud that it keeps me awake ;

Canst thou take it this afternoon, so I'll give thee gold money.

Soon as the gardener heard this he set a snare in the garden.

And he snared a nightingale, and brought it straight to his master ;

And as his master took it in his hand he laughed in his heart ;

And he killed the bird, and cast it on the white bosom of his poor wife.

See there, see there, my young wife, there is thy pretty nightingale ;

I have caused it to be taken for thee, and I trust, my pretty one, it will cause you much joy.

And when the wife's young lover learned this, he sorrowful said :

Now are we discovered, my love and I, nor shall we again see each other

In the moonshine, at the window, as once we were wont for to do."

The French versifier has greatly improved upon the original Breton lay, as far as the addition of fresh incidents, &c.; but his work is more laboured and less expressive than the old Breton song.

VI. *Desiré lioth*. Is not in *Roquefort*; but was first published by Michel, 1836. *Lais inedit*s.

VII. *Tidorels lioth*. From the title we might imagine this to be the tale of *Titurel*; but it is in reality a romance previously unknown.

VIII. *Chetovel*; *Lai du Chaitivel*. *Roquef. i. p. 368, 387*; *Ellis, p. 63*.

IX. *Douns lioth*. Previously unknown, as no French MS. of this lay exists. The story begins with the explanation of the term, "*Douns lay*:"—"As I have learned from upright men, there lived in ancient times a maiden, north in Scotland, there where Edinburgh is," (*Edenburg*.) The story goes to relate, that the damsel was a great heiress; but refused her hand to all, save on one condition,

that the fortunate knight should ride in one day from Southampton to Edinburgh:—"At hann rithi á einum degi ov Suthantum er stenndr a sunnanvertho Englannde oc northr til Edineborgar," the very journey that at the present day is spoken of for her gracious majesty, Queen Victoria, and in these times the task would be no very arduous one. Doun was the knight who performed this feat, and won the maiden. The lay afterwards relates various marvellous adventures, in the course of which, the knight is disarmed and unhorsed by his own son.

X. Tveggia elskanda lioth. Song of the two lovers. *Lai des deus amanz*. Roquef. i. p. 252-271; Ellis, p. 51.

XI. Guruns lioth. Now printed for the first time.

XII. Milum lioth; *Lai de Milun*. Roquef. i. p. 328-367; Ellis, p. 59.

XIII. Geitarlanf; *Chevrefoil*. Roquef. i. p. 388-399; Ellis, p. 64.

XIV. *Strandar lioth*: the Strand-lay, never before published. This lay is here said to be so called, from its having been composed for William the Conqueror, while he lay at Barfleur. Singularly enough, the lay or song itself seems to be omitted; or rather, the history of its origin seems alone to be preserved in these pages. We have no doubt, however, but that what is here preserved has been translated from the French original, now, in all probability, entirely lost. The following free translation will suffice to give the general features of this curious lay.

"William the king, who seized England, caused this lay to be made. And after he had reduced all that land to his power, he travelled forth from thence, and embarked at Southampton, for he had heard that many of his captains, who owned lands in Normandy, had revolted from his sway. When he arrived in Norway, he plundered and burned the castles of the rebels, and destroyed those who had raised the war. And after he had been some time in his kingdom, he wished to go back again, over England's sea. And he came to the city of Barfleur, (*Barbefleur*), and abode there long; and each day he went out with goshawks, hunting swans, and took many thereof. And there he abode long, waiting for fine weather; and there assembled in that place great store of ships. But the king would not permit the pilots to put to sea in bad weather; but rather preferred to remain on shore, enjoying the pleasures he so greatly loved. Then it came into his mind that he would send messengers with his letters unto Brittany, to the red lady, the most skilled in the composing of lays, to beseech her to make to him a new lay, with the fairest melody thereunto. And that the said lay

should be sent back with the messengers, and the name it should bear should be the Strand Lay. The king then sent into Brittany all his best harpers, and with them rich and costly gifts, and they were received with great honour by the lady. And they tarried there awhile till she composed the lay the king had asked of her, and had taught it unto the harpers and learned men. Then they departed unto the king with great joy for that they had so well fulfilled his wishes, and when they arrived at Barfleur, they played this melody and lay before the king and all his court. And they that were well skilled in music, said they never heard lay so good as this. The king loved this lay above all others, and there was no queen, nor duchess, nor countess, nor other rich lady, who did not cause this lay to be sung or played to her. And yet in our days there are many who say this is the sweetest and most royal lay. But (adds the Norse translator) I read no longer of this lay in the French tongue. (Nu las ec ei lengra i volsku male af theima strengleic.”)

It seems, then, that the lay itself is wanting, while the introduction alone has been rendered by the Norse translator.

XV. Leikara Lioth is a mere fragment, but hitherto unknown.

XVI. Januals lioth is the beautiful Lai du Lanval. Roquef. i. p. 202—251.

XVII. Jonets lioth: Lai d Ywenec. Roquef. i. p. 272-313; and in Ellis, p. 53.

XVIII. Naboreis lioth, hitherto unknown.

XIX. Ricar hinn Gamli: Richard the Old. Is a fragment, but never before published.

XX. Is a fragment of an unknown romance, rescued from the lining of the bishop's mitre before mentioned.

XXI. Grelentz Saga: Lai de Graelent. Roquef. i. p. 486—581. Is a fragment of a curious tale given at full length by Roquefort.

In conclusion, we may observe, that although the labours of Messrs. Kayser and Unger will be but scantily appreciated out of their own country; yet, that the publication of this volume is of no small importance in regard to the literary history of their native land. The volume, both as regards paper and type, is most creditable to the Christiania press; and we are glad to see that several other works are announced as about to appear under the superintendence of the same learned editors.

- ART. V.—1. 13 Vict. c. 1. *An Act to amend an Act of the last Session for making provision for the collection of County Cess in Ireland, and for the remuneration of the Collectors thereof.*
- 2.—13 Vict. c. 2. *An Act to restrain Party Processions in Ireland.*
- 3.—13 Vict. c. 14. *An Act to authorise a further advance of Money to certain distressed Poor Law Unions, and to make provision for the repayment of advances made, and authorised to be made to Poor Law Unions, and other Districts in Ireland.*
- 4.—13 Vict. c. 18. *An Act for the Regulation of Process and Practice in the Superior Courts of Common Law in Ireland.*
- 5.—13 Vict. c. 19. *An Act to explain and amend an Act for the regulation of Practice and Process in the Superior Courts of Common Law in Ireland.*
- 6.—13 Vict. c. 29. *An Act to amend the Laws concerning Judgments in Ireland.*
- 7.—13 Vict. c. 31. *An Act to authorise further advances of Money for drainage, and the Improvement of Landed Property in the United Kingdom, and to amend the Acts relating to such advances.*
- 8.—*A Bill to provide more simple and effectual securities for advances to Purchasers of Incumbered Estates in Ireland, (prepared and brought in by Mr. Solicitor General, Sir George Grey and Sir William Somerville.)*
- 9.—*A Bill to provide Compensation to Tenants for Improvements effected by them in certain Cases, and to amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, (prepared and brought in by Sir William Somerville, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.)*
- 10.—*Tenements Recovery (Ireland) Bill, (prepared and brought in by Mr. Frewen and Lord Bernard.)*
- 11.—*A Bill intituled an Act to amend and improve the relations of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, (brought from the Lords, 1 July, 1850.)*
- 12.—*A Bill, (as amended by the Committee), intituled an Act to amend and improve the relations of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland. New Title to be proposed on Third Reading: An Act to prevent the clandestine and fraudulent cutting and carrying away of crops in Ireland, with the intent of evading distress for rent, (brought from the Lords, 1 July, 1850.)*
- 13.—*Depopulation,—Illegal and a Crime. By WILLIAM MACKAY, Esq., Barrister at Law. Dublin, 1850.*

THE proceedings of each successive session of parliament, instead of shaking, go far to confirm the oft repeated conviction, that the interests of the tenantry of this country are sacrificed to those of the landlords. How readily does a glance at the proceedings of the legislature dissipate the delusion propagated by Paley, that “the final view of all politics is to produce the greatest quantity of happiness in a given tract of country,” and establish the conviction, that with them, “the final view of all politics is to produce the greatest quantity of *rent out of* a given tract of country.”

In reviewing their labours, let us begin with that part which we regard with unalloyed satisfaction—the process of subsidizing the landlords at the expense of the rest of the community. The amount of the special subsidies of this year is only £3,300,000: under 13 Vict. c. 14, £300,000, and under c. 31, three millions, of which two millions are for Great Britain, and one for this country. The other permanent items of subsidy, of which we gave a detailed statement last January, remain unaltered, or at least, undiminished.

The Party Processions Act is a public benefit. The fact of such an act not having been passed many years ago, is a disgrace to the legislature, as much as the omission to repress such processions by means of the ordinary law, is a disgrace to the successive governments of this country. The Plowden of some future age will no doubt regret that such an act was not proposed till common sense and common charity had begun to operate on the respective parties in the north; and it had become probable that such processions would cease without the intervention of the constituted authorities.

The acts for regulating the Process and Practice in the Common Law Courts, introduce many serious changes, and perhaps a few improvements; but whatever these may be, they are certainly counterbalanced by the provisions, centralising in Dublin all the *Nisi Prius* business of the country. This may be devised as an equipoise to the removal of the Lord-Lieutenancy; but it is a gross wrong to all the assize towns, and to all suitors who are not resident in Dublin. Instead of centralising the business in Dublin, every effort should be made to scatter it on the circuits. An assize court is one of the best schools for

teaching the people at large their rights, privileges, and duties, and therefore it is most desirable that such a court should be opened as frequently as possible in every county, so as to counteract the notions of law inculcated on the masses by drivers, bailiffs, and policemen. We have long believed that the people never will entertain a respect for the administration of justice, till the English judges come the circuits here. We believe that Lord Denman, or Lord Campbell, would in one circuit do more towards impressing the people with a love and respect for the law, than can be done in half a century under the present system; and we therefore deplore it as a great calamity, that the government, instead of assimilating the law in the two countries, so that the judges might exchange circuits, should be devising petty special crotchets for us, which must render such an assimilation, and such an event as a Denman or a Campbell coming circuit here, impossible.

Had the Tenant Right Conference given the remotest intimation of an intention to do what they are now doing, the Franchise Act would never have passed. The choice of the moment for assembling, was a proof of the greatest sagacity. Had they met a week earlier, this instrument for rescuing the country from its state of serfdom, would never have been put into their hands. As it is, it makes a difference between this country and England; and for that reason we trust, when the government next year brings forward its measure for extending the franchise in England, unless it embraces this country in the same measure, all our liberal representatives will be induced to vote against it. We have been too long playing the game of English factions, and we should play it no more.

We now approach the measures that formed the real business of the session. The 13 Vict. c. 29, is completely a landlord measure, improving upon and extending the acts of the same character of the two last sessions, limiting the rights of creditors against landowning debtors, and subjecting them to extinction, unless watched and nursed with extraordinary attention. This adds another heap to the pile of legislation on this subject, designed for the protection of the landlords; but the practical effect of it will be to injure their cause, as the law is thus brought into such a state, that no one can tell what the effect of a judgment or execution may be; and every man of sense, the moment he has judgment, will proceed to enforce it in

whatever way the landlord legislation prevailing at the moment, will allow. If matters go on a little longer at the present rate, we do not despair of seeing the day when it will be treason or felony, or at least misdemeanour, for any one to sue a landlord.

The government bill for improving the relations of landlord and tenant, is another illustration of the spirit which animates our rulers. So far as it affects "to provide compensation to tenants for improvements effected by them in certain cases," it is one of the regular sessional shams which the government is always preparing during the vacation, and introducing with great solemnity at the commencement of each session, as "having a tendency to improve the condition of the people of Ireland;" but which they never mean to carry, or which, if carried, would be totally inoperative; but so far as it proposes "to amend the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland," is a very serious reality.

Section 39 enacts: "*That if any tenant or lessee of any lands in Ireland, or any other person, shall at any time after sunset on Saturday, or between that time and the rising of the Sun on the following Monday morning, or at any time within the period commencing at sunset and ending at the following sunrise, cut, reap, dig, or sever, or aid or assist in the cutting, reaping, digging, or severing of any corn, grass, or other crop growing on any part of such lands, with intent that same shall be removed off the said lands to prevent same being distrained for any rent or rent-charge payable thereout, every such tenant or lessee, or other person so offending, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and being convicted thereof, shall be fined in any sum of money not exceeding ten pounds, and shall be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for such period not exceeding twelve months, as the Court shall direct.*"

Section 40 subjects to similar punishment all persons engaged in the removal of goods to prevent a distress, and authorises landlords to seize and sell the horses and carriages employed in the removal, to whomsoever they may belong. There were other clauses for facilitating ejectments, and rendering it a misdemeanour for an ejected tenant to resume possession.

This is an amendment of the law of landlord and tenant in the right direction. We deeply regret that, instead of making these offences mere misdemeanours, the government did not make them capital, or at least, transportable

felonies, triable under the new "Larceny Summary Jurisdiction" Bill by two landlords at Petty Sessions,* and also did not make the fact of any farmer availing himself of the harvest moon, which is clearly unnecessary in the geocratic view of the economy of nature, to cut, save, or carry his crops, conclusive proof of a felonious intention.

The system of tactics pursued with regard to this bill is such an exemplification of the system pursued with regard to the entire government of this island, that a detailed notice of it may be excusable. When the bill was proposed, many here thought, in their simplicity, that the government meant to carry it, and deputations went to London to impress on the government the necessity of introducing clauses to protect tenant right, and to give compensation for past improvements. We happened to be in London at the time, and we personally avowed the opinions we have always editorially expressed, that it was a mere waste of time for tenants to be seeking for anything like justice from a parliament of landlords, and that parliamentary reform must precede the regulation of tenant right. An English friend who was present, and who was of course a *practical* man, smiled at our innocence, and compared us to one who, having a child in peril of death, would not take a pill from the next village apothecary, but would wait for the arrival of a metropolitan physician. We disputed the application of the simile, as it assumed that the village apothecary would give the pill; whereas we were certain that the landlord club would not give anything that was not positive poison. The event proved that we were right. The government, after shuffling with the measure, and putting off the discussion on various pretences, at length abandoned it "for the present session." But the clauses on which they were really bent, those for facilitating ejectment, and preventing the removal of crops, were not to be lost. They were re-introduced under the same specious title as above, in the shape of a distinct measure in the House of Lords—not of course by a member of the government—and passed that house, and would have passed, with the aid of the government, the House of Commons, had it

* We ought perhaps to add, that this suggestion was written long before Lord Lucan made the proposition subsequently noticed, as it shows that it is not possible to conceive anything too chimerically iniquitous for the adoption of our landlord legislators.

not been for the determined opposition, offered chiefly by Mr. McCullagh, Mr. Anstey, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Reynolds. And so bent were the landlords upon having them, that after this defeat, Lord Lucan again proposed those against the removal of crops, in the House of Lords, as amendments to the Larceny Summary Jurisdiction Bill. The session, however, was too far advanced then to admit of a reasonable hope of their passing, and the proposition was opposed by the government and lost.

Mr. Frewen's and Lord Bernard's Tenement Recovery Bill was another effort in the same direction. As if the facilities for extermination, already provided by landlord enactments, were not sufficient, this was devised to complete the system, and bring the mass of us under the jurisdiction of two landlords, sitting on the bench of justice at Petty Sessions. The second reading was ingeniously arranged for a very late hour of the night, when most honest people were in bed; but the trick was defeated by the watchfulness of Mr. Scrope and Mr. Crawford. Were it not for them, it would in all probability have been smuggled through the second reading; for a compact mass of landlords were ready in waiting to support it; but when attention was called to the nature of its provisions, its supporters, though they were secure of a majority, were so ashamed of it, that they would not go to a division. This feeling soon passed off, and the same measure was re-introduced in the House of Lords by that most benevolent, *un-exterminating* landlord, Lord Lucan, and reached the commons, where it was defeated by the honesty of a few members, English and Irish. The dogged pertinacity with which the landlord legislators sought to invest the landlord justices with this jurisdiction, is a characteristic circumstance by no means unworthy of attention.

The Security for Advances Bill, which was abandoned, and is to be re-introduced next year, is another proof of the spirit which guides the proceedings of our rulers. If there be one principle more obvious than another in dealing with this unhappy country, it is that which tells us that, as we have no other means of securing existence than by cultivating the soil, the price of that first necessity should not be unnaturally enhanced. Dearthness is the result of scarcity, and consequently is injurious to all who want to buy. To us, the scarcity and dearthness of the land is the greatest of afflictions. A wise, sober, and impartial

legislature, really and truly understanding the interests of the entire community, would have laboured to mitigate the evil, and give us the land at the cheapest possible rate ; whereas the labours of our landlord legislature have been directed exclusively to organising famine prices for it.

We need scarcely do more than state the proposition, that every measure which facilitates credit is a positive injury to the honest, hardworking portion of the community, by enhancing the price of all the articles they want to buy. It is clear, that if estates are to be sold for ready money only, the competition will be less than if they are sold on credit ; the purchases will be more in accordance with the real wants and means of the buyers ;—the new properties will be smaller, and the new owners more independent. That these are desirable results for the community, few can question. Yet, what is the course adopted by the legislature ? This Bill recites, that

“Whereas an Act was passed in the last session of parliament, intituled ‘An Act further to facilitate the Sale and Transfer of Incumbered Estates in Ireland :’ and whereas sales might be more advantageously made under the said act if simple and effectual securities could be made to persons advancing money to the purchasers,”

And proceeds to enact :

“That where any land or lease is sold by or under the control of the commissioners under the said recited act, and the purchaser has procured from any other person or persons an advance of any part or parts of the purchase money, it shall be lawful for the commissioners, upon the request, and at the expense of, the purchaser, to charge such land or lease with the payment to the person, or (as the case may require) to each of the persons aforesaid, of the respective sum advanced by him, in one sum, or by instalments, at such time or times, and with interest in the meantime, at such rate, not exceeding six pounds per centum per annum, as may be agreed upon by the purchaser and the person making such advance, but so that the whole amount of principal money to be charged under the powers of this act on any land or lease, shall not exceed one half of the amount of the purchase money of such land or lease, and no sum or charge subject to which such land or lease is sold, shall, for the purposes of this enactment, be deemed part of such purchase money.”

The bill then authorises the commissioners to make a certificate for the amount of the charge under the seal of the commission (S. 2), which certificate shall be referred

to in the conveyance (S. 3), and have priority over the purchaser's title (S. 5), and for the amount of which the purchaser shall not be in any way personally responsible. (S. 13.)

Heretofore, one of the great causes of our wretchedness was supposed to be the embarrassed condition of our landlords, and to rid us of this was the avowed object of the Incumbered Estates Act; but this may supply us with a new set. As it is to be desired that the lands under the commission should be sold in small portions, to suit persons who would live on and cultivate them, we regret to see them sold almost exclusively in large portions, to suit persons of considerable pretensions, who must look out for tenants, and who will not be the actual occupiers. No tenant under a small proprietor can improve; and unless improvements be effected by persons in that class, there can be no other class to effect them. The new great proprietors, who begin with borrowing, are not likely to do so.

"It seldom happens," says Adam Smith, "that a great proprietor is a great improver. In the disorderly times which gave birth to the barbarous institutions of primogeniture and entails, the great proprietor was sufficiently employed in defending his own territories, or in extending his jurisdiction and authority over those of his neighbours. He had no leisure to attend to the cultivation and improvement of the land. When the establishment of law and order afforded him this leisure, he often wanted the inclination, and almost always the requisite abilities. If the expense of his house or person either equalled or exceeded his revenue, as it did very frequently, he had no stock to employ in this manner. If he was an economist, he generally found it more profitable to employ his annual saving in new purchases than in the improvement of his old estate. To improve land with profit, like all other commercial projects, requires an exact attention to small savings and small gains, of which a man born to great fortune, though naturally frugal, is seldom capable."

So Mill, Thornton, and all foreign economists teach, that the holders of small estates are always the best improvers. But whatever political economists may teach, our legislature has a tendency to look to the interests of their own order, and not those of the community. Not only may the system not create a new race of improvers, but it may increase the race of depopulators; for new purchasers who begin without capital, will find it easier to clear off the

tenants, and convert the lands to pasture, than to keep them in cultivation.

We greatly question the soundness of the provision that the purchaser shall not be responsible for the money borrowed by him for the purchase. Such a provision was never before heard of in any country, and is calculated to make buyers reckless as to the sums they bid.

We had hoped that the measure of last year, might have been made available for allowing tenants to buy up their holdings. But though this ought to be the main object of the commission, nothing seems to have been done for effecting it. The following suggestion of Mr. Hancock's is so excellent towards attaining this object, that we cannot forbear calling attention to it.

“By a very simple arrangement, the seller and the incumbrancers could be secured the advantages of selling the land either in portions or in one lot, whichever would realize the larger sum of money. The arrangement to which I refer is this:—In case any parties applied to have any part of the estate put up in separate lots, let the auctioneer first put these lots, and ascertain the highest bidder for each, and then put up the residue, and ascertain the highest bidder for it, and then put up the entire estate in one lot, and in case any one bid more than the total of the sums bid for the separate lots, then let the highest bidders for the lots have an opportunity of advancing on their offers; the land to be ultimately knocked down to the single purchaser, or to the lot purchasers, according as his bidding exceeded or fell short of the total of the sums bid by the highest bidders for the separate lots.”*

Some eight years back, we entered into a consideration of the law of Depopulation, and laboured to hunt up every case, authority, and statute which might tend to restrain the proceedings of our exterminators. We placed the result of our researches before our readers, and were believed by many to have satisfactorily proved that Depopulation was a felony, or at least, a misdemeanour. At that time we were not aware of the true character of the legislature. We thought that some of our own Liberal representatives would be delighted to find that the law, if enforced, would punish the exterminators, and protect the people on whose behalf they were so fond of declaiming. We thought, too, that the Whigs and Liberals of England

* Impediments to the prosperity of Ireland, p. 46.

would be glad of so fair a ground for checking the practices which they so frequently denounced. We have since learned our mistake. From that day to this not one of our Irish representatives has brought the subject under the notice of the government or of the legislature; and when recently an English member did, there was not a single Irish member to second his efforts.

The circumstances connected with the matter deserve notice. In April, Mr. Poulett Scrope stated in the House of Commons, that he believed the system of wholesale clearances was against the common law of the land, and asked the Premier what course he would pursue on it. The latter, of course, was free to confess, that "*there is much difficulty in the way of obtaining a clear opinion from lawyers on the points raised in such an issue.*" Some time afterwards, we saw in the London papers the following report of another conversation on the subject:

"Mr. P. Scrope rose to ask the first Lord of the Treasury, whether he had yet taken the opinion of the law officers of the Crown as to the alleged illegality and criminal character, at common law, of wholesale clearances, or depopulation, as now largely carried on in Ireland; and if not, whether the government intended to recommend to Parliament any measure for the purpose of checking such practices, which inflicted the most fearful sufferings on numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, and appeared to provoke the retaliatory perpetration of Agrarian crime?"

"Lord John Russell said, that no case had been put before them on which they could ask the opinion of the law officers of the Crown; and without such a case it would be impossible for them to proceed. It was obvious, that any measure having a tendency to improve the condition of the people of Ireland, must, in some degree, tend to lessen the evils to which the hon. member for Stroud referred. He must be allowed to add, that he thought it much to be regretted that the words at the end of the hon. gentleman's question, seemed to convey some palliation of the Agrarian crimes, to which he wished to direct the attention of Parliament. This was very much to be regretted. (Hear, hear.)"

This attack from the Premier was, of course, a grand event for the landlords, and they availed themselves of it the following evening, when Mr. Scrope resisted Mr. Frewen's and Lord Bernard's cheap and summary Extermination Bill, denouncing him as if his efforts in our behalf were quite an outrage on all the fundamental principles of society. The notion of the Premier attacking

him because he saw a connection between the crimes of the landlords and the crimes of the tenants, is certainly strange, when the Whigs themselves made that very connexion the groundwork of Lord Normanby's defence, in 1839, against the charges of the Earl of Roden, they then labouring, and successfully, to show that the outrages of the peasantry were attributable solely to the oppressions of the landlords. But though the Whigs may now choose to forget this, and to denounce any one who comes to the rescue and vindication of the people, we are not quite sure that their political opponents would adopt the same course.

Amongst the Tories might be found some of the fiercest denouncers of these atrocities. Sir Robert Peel, it may be remembered, was the first Prime Minister who expressly condemned the clearances. Michael Sadler, one of the truest and staunchest Tories, and best of men, traced the crimes of the peasantry directly to this source, and denounced, in the strongest language, the clearance system. After alluding to the forlorn condition of the poor tenant, "at once bereft of the means of subsistence, of his daily labour, and of the house that shelters him and his family,—which, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he built himself,—in a word, deprived at once of the benefit of his past exertions and of all his future hopes," and to the misery which must follow, "when a number of such are 'cleared' at once, and a crowd composed, of course, of both sexes, and of every period of life, from helpless infancy to decrepid age, including those in the prime of their days, to whom, however, health and youth are of no avail, for there is no employment to be obtained, nor any refuge or relief to be found for the wanderers," he says :

"I question whether the broad eye of God beholds upon the face of the earth a greater mass of misery than is constantly created by these 'clearances.' Could we take from them a single case, and trace its history from the expulsion of the unfortunate wretch from his native home, 'through all his wanderings round this world of care,' as his own beautiful poet expresses himself, driven from place to place, and branded as a fugitive and a vagabond everywhere, till his pilgrimage in search of employment and bread closes, perhaps in another hemisphere, amidst strangers, who 'give him a little earth for charity,' I am persuaded, few of these high-wrought cases of fictitious distress which occasionally awake our ready sympathies, could approach the touching reality which the story would present.I shall not speedily forget a person accidentally falling in with

one of these, lying, where he passed, by the road-side, with a female infant in his arms, both of them very destitute of raiment, and evidently suffering from want. He learnt that he was one of those that had been 'cleared;' his wife, however had died under the operation, and was, therefore, left in her native earth. He had no home, but was come to work in the harvest of England, and thought he could safely lay his child in the field beside him while he laboured. The story of his destruction is not easy to be forgotten, and the name,—the sounding, patriotic, noble name connected with it,—never. His present distress was relieved, and but moderately, and it is mentioned only to describe the agony of gratitude with which he received the alms, and which made a more powerful impression as to his utter and hopeless destitution than the distressing story he had told. Wherever he may be at this moment, I had rather be that man than his oppressor. *One such act suffices to make a human monster,—a multitude of them, a political economist.* Had I been that great individual, however tempted to such a course, or whoever had been its prompter or apologist, rather than have quenched the fires of those now desolate hearths, where they had long cheered and illuminated a circle of the social virtues, and a scene of human happiness, in however lowly a sphere, or than have demolished those humble abodes of peace and love, my own paternal roof should have fallen upon and crushed me, and the lamp of life have become extinguished in my own bosom for ever."*

So the gentleman whose Sophisms of Free Trade may be regarded as the manifesto of the Protectionists, and who, it is confidently said, will be their first Attorney-General or Solicitor-General when they come into office, denounces the clearances as inflicting "more misery than an invasion," and ridicules the absurdity of the notion, that to put a stop to them, would be "to interfere with the rights of property;" (p. 131.) aye, what is more, expressly recommends to his readers, Mr. Poulet Scrope's "Plea for the Rights of Industry in Ireland," and "The Irish Difficulty, and how it must be met," and anticipates that, "before long justice will be done to the sound views of this gentleman." (p. 141.) We believe that the country gentlemen of England share in Sadler's, Peel's, and Mr. Sergeant Byles's abhorrence of these atrocities, and that when the question shall be brought before them by a few of the honest, real, representatives, who, it is to be hoped, will be returned under the management of the Tenant-

* Ireland: its Evils and their remedies. By M. Sadler, M. P. 1829.—pp. 107—159.

right League, they will let the law take its course upon the exterminators.

But, in the mean time, it is idle to look for redress to a government, some of whom would be themselves obliged, if the law were enforced, to raise the question, whether depopulation was a clergyable felony, and that the members of the Repeal Association ought to have known, when they recently contented themselves with adopting the report of the committee appointed to consider Mr. Mackay's pamphlet, and their conclusions.

"First, that a very strong case is made in the pamphlet above-named, to show that the practice of 'clearance' or 'depopulation' now going forward in many parts of this country, is at the present day, and by common law, highly criminal; secondly, that according to the course of practice heretofore uniformly adopted in reference to that offence, it is the plain duty of the government, at any rate, to take the opinion of their law officers, in order to satisfy the public mind on the most important questions thus so ably raised by Mr. Mackay."

Was this the way to treat such a question? Why did not the leader of the association call on some of the repeal members to bring the question before parliament, or to support Mr. Poulet Scrope when he did; or why did not the association take steps to ascertain the opinion of lawyers on the subject? Why not consult Holmes, Fitz Gibbon, O'Hagan, O'Loughlin? Is all law confined to government officials? Why did they not prepare a few indictments against the summer assizes, and thus take the opinions of the judges *gratis* on the question? There can be no difficulty in getting evidence against the criminals; and if two or three of them were left for execution, it would go further towards removing doubts, than all the resolutions of all the associations in the world. When we shall see the association acting thus, and not contenting itself with vague resolutions, and still vaguer declamation, we shall begin to doubt the correctness of the opinion we have for some time entertained, as to its capacity for rescuing the people from the slough of misery through which they have been so long wading.

On Mr. Mackay's pamphlet we have a few words to say. Several friends have called our attention to it, considering it an abridgment or *rechauffé* of our labours in 1842, of which it takes no notice whatever; and we have observed,

that others, who are total strangers to us personally, have also pointed to the similarity between the two productions. The pamphlet contains thirty-one pages; fourteen of these are devoted to legal and historical researches on the subject of depopulation, and in all, only two authorities are to be found which we had not quoted. These are from Rushworth's Historical Collection, vol. ii. pp. 270, and 333; and from Vaughan's Reports, and are in the words and figures following:

“STAR CHAMBER.—*Mich.* 10 *Car.*

“Attorn. Regis, *v.* Roper, Knight.

“The defendant being possessed of several farm-houses, whereto was commonly used in tillage a great store of land, and several ploughs, kept and maintained thereupon, took all the said farms into his own occupation, and converted all the lands thereto, formerly used in tillage, into pasture, and depopulated and pulled down three of the farm-houses, and suffered the other two to run to ruin, and to lie uninhabited, although he might have had as great or greater rents for them than he had before; and also pulled down and suffered to go to decay, and be uninhabited, a water corn-mill, which before ground store of corn weekly; and for this he was committed to the Fleet, fined £4,000, and at the Assizes in Kent, to acknowledge his offence, and the decree to be then read, £100 recompense to the prosecutor besides his costs, £100 to the minister of the town, £100 to be distributed to the poor; and he ordered to repair and build again, within two years, all the farm-houses, out-houses, and corn-mills, and make them fit for habitation and use as formerly, and to restore the lands formerly used to the farm-houses, and to let them at reasonable rents as the country will afford.”

12 *Car.*

“Likewise, a warrant was, on the 9th of this month of July, directed to the clerk of the Crown or his deputy in his majesty's name, on his majesty's especial service, to prepare several commissions accordingly, to enquire touching depopulations and conversions of lands to pasture, since the tenth year of Queen Elizabeth, in the counties of Oxford, Cambridge, Warwick and Nottingham, directed to Edward Savage and Edmund Windham, two of the gentlemen of his majesty's Privy Chamber, and to Gilbert Boon, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., or any two of them: by virtue of which commission, and the terror of the fine imposed in the Star Chamber, on Sir Anthony Roper, for committing depopulations, there was brought into the Exchequer, £30,000 (thirty thousand pounds), and upwards: the like commissions were granted into other counties.”

“Nearly half a century later (A.D. 1672), Chief Justice Vaughan, in his report of the case of *Thomas v. Sorrell*, p. 351, instanced as

good, a license to one to convert some quantity of ancient arable land into pasture, and says, 'That the conversion is an offence also at the common law, and I remember it proceeded against as such *tempore Car. I.* in the Star Chamber, after the repeal of most of the statutes prohibiting it.'"

We quote these at length, in order that the reader may see how thoroughly we had exhausted the subject when this learned gentleman, either knowing or not knowing of our labours, can discover nothing more important than these. We can scarcely think that Mr. Mackay was ignorant of our labours. If he were, it is certainly a remarkable coincidence; and still more remarkable as a proof of the extraordinary diligence which he exercised to keep himself in ignorance of the current literature on the subject of his researches. If he were not, he certainly owes an apology to Mr. O'Connell and the Repeal Association, for leading them to treat the idea as a novel one; and especially to Mr. O'Connell, for leading him to forget the fact, that the subject was very much canvassed in the Association in 1842, and that the liberator himself, whose profound and accurate knowledge of the criminal law cannot be questioned, thought our investigations deserving of attention.

Those who wish to save the people, must be anxious for the promotion of every measure calculated to give them employment. With this view, we called attention in January, 1849, to the state of the law respecting the growth of tobacco, and the manufacture of sugar from beetroot. Before the beginning of last session, Lord Cloncurry again directed attention to it, and it was then so zealously and warmly advocated by the newspaper press of all shades of opinion here, and the protectionist press of England, that we were led to hope that some effort would be made during the session, by removing the restrictions on these branches of industry, to give employment to the people and an impulse to agriculture, and to add legitimately to the value of land. What is the result? The session commences. A question is asked as to whether the government would make any alteration in the law, so as to encourage the growth of tobacco; and both the Premier and Mr. Labouchere reply, that nothing is to be done, as the soil and climate of Ireland are not fit for the growth of that article,—and there was no one out of our

105 enlightened representatives to contradict this statement. What are the facts?

Tobacco is grown in every other country of Europe. When first introduced into these islands in the seventeenth century, it thrived admirably. On the Restoration, the influence of the planters of Virginia and Georgia caused its culture to be prohibited here and in England, by an act which had this remarkable preamble :

“Your Majesty’s loyal and obedient subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, considering of how great concern and importance it is that the Colonies and Plantations of this kingdom in America, be defended, protected, maintained, and kept up, and that all due and possible encouragement be given unto them, and that not only in regard great and considerable dominions and countries have been thereby gained and added to the imperial crown of this realm, but for that the strength and welfare of this kingdom doe very much depend upon them in regard of the employment of a very considerable part of its shipping and seamen, and of the vent of very great quantities of its native commodities and manufactures, as alsoe of its supply with several considerable commodities, what it was wont formerly to have only from forraigners, and at farr dearer rates, and forasmuch as tobacco is one of the main products of several of those plantations, and upon which their welfare, and subsistence, and the navigation of this kingdom, and vent of its commodities thither do much depend, and in regard it is found by experience that the tobacchees planted in these parts are not so good and wholesome for the takers thereof, and that by the planting thereof, your Majesty is deprived of a considerable part of your revenue arising by customs upon imported tobacco.”—(12 Car. 2, c. 34.)

This policy prevailed till our own Parliament resisted and claimed free trade, and then the 19 George III. ch. 35, was passed, repealing the above act so far as related to this kingdom, and the Navigation Act so far as it prevented our exportation of our own grown tobacco, the preamble stating, “Whereas it is of the greatest importance to the strength and security of these kingdoms, that every attention and encouragement should be given to such of the produce and manufactures of Ireland as do not materially interfere with the commercial interests of Great Britain,” &c., &c. In 1781, another act passed, extending the 12 Car. 2, to Scotland. The next act on the subject was in the reign of William IV., which, without stating any other reason than that it was “expedient to repeal the said

recited act of the nineteenth of George III.,” revived and extended to this country the 12th Car. 2, thus again prohibiting us from growing tobacco, just as if our sapient rulers forgot the trifling circumstance of American Independence.

It is difficult to find in the history of any other people such an instance of legislative fatuity—restraining the industry of their own subjects for the special benefit, defence, maintenance, protection, and encouragement of foreigners. Our soil and climate unfit for the growth of tobacco! Why, till the late reign it was one of our best crops. In Wicklow, Wexford, and the King’s County, crops have been grown within the last thirty years, worth £60 per acre. In no agricultural treatise published twenty years back, was the culture of tobacco omitted. Martin Doyle’s invaluable little volume gives ample details for its cultivation. What a very different reason is assigned by the great lexicographical oracle of Free Trade, professor of Liberalism, and Whig official, for preventing, not only us, but the people of Great Britain, from growing tobacco. Mr. McCulloch, after laying down *ex cathedra*, that this policy, inasmuch as it “facilitated the collection of a revenue from tobacco,” “seems quite unexceptionable,” thus disposes of our special claims:

“Of late years, the cultivation of tobacco made considerable progress in that country. Had this been allowed to continue, there can be no question that in a few years the revenue from tobacco, amounting to about £3,000,000 a-year, would have been materially diminished; for it would be quite visionary to suppose that any plan could have been devised for collecting a duty even of 100 per cent upon tobacco, supposing it to have been generally cultivated in Ireland. No one, therefore, can question the wisdom of the act prohibiting its growth in that country, and the rigorous enforcement of its provisions. Any advantage Ireland might have gained by its cultivation, would have been but a poor compensation for the sacrifice of revenue it must have occasioned.”

Again, take the article of sugar, with regard to which our legislators have gone through the same cycle of folly and inconsistency, as with regard to corn, except that they have carefully eschewed the only thing that was rational in the corn laws, the encouragement of the home-grown article. Thus they have had sliding scales, fixed duties, differential duties between the sugars of the different colo-

nies, prohibitory duties on foreign free-grown sugars, prohibitions against the admission of slave-grown sugars for consumption, and a bounty on their refinement and re-exportation—and now have gone round to the other extreme, and placed all sugars, foreign, (free and slave-grown,) and colonial, on the same footing, still carefully and wisely maintaining an oppressive duty on the home-grown article. In this there would not be any very remarkable inconsistency, according to the free-trade theories, now so common, were it not that they profess the utmost horror of the slave-trade, and spend near a million a-year in direct efforts to suppress it. Anything more absurd than the present arrangement cannot well be conceived. The true course in this, as in all other things, is to revert to the first principles of economy, science, and common sense, and withdraw from the slave-trade the stimuli and the checks, for both which we pay so dearly; abandon the blockade, and to the extent of the saving thus effected in the expenditure, reduce the duties on our own sugars, home-grown and colonial, maintaining those on foreign sugars at the present standard. The duties are per cwt. on sugar,

| | Colonial. | | | Foreign. | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|----|----|----------|----|----|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Candy or refined, | 0 | 18 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| White Clayed, | 0 | 15 | 5 | 0 | 18 | 1 |
| Brown Clayed, | 0 | 14 | 4 | 0 | 17 | 0 |
| Muscovado, &c., | 0 | 13 | 3 | 0 | 15 | 6 |

On sugars from any colony into which the importation of foreign sugars is prohibited, the duties are now, on candy or refined, 16s., white clayed, 14s., and all others, 12s., and will be next year respectively, 13s. 4d., 11s. 8d., and 10s. (See 11 and 12 Vict. c. 97, s. 1.) The course of legislation with reference to home-grown sugar, is briefly as follows. In 1838, the manufacture of sugar from beet-root, first attracted attention. The West India interest was then paramount in the legislature, and the consequence was the immediate imposition of the same amount of duty as was then imposed on West India sugar, 24s. per cwt. (1 Vict., c. 57.) This was almost equivalent to a prohibition, as beet-root sugar is far inferior in value to cane sugar. In 1840 it was discovered, that since the passing of the former act, “sugar has been manufactured and is now making in the United kingdom from potatoes, rice, and other

materials"—and thereupon all sugar, from whatever materials made, was rendered liable to the duty (3 & 4 Vict. c. 57) which was in that year also increased by the addition of 5 per cent. This duty was in 1845 reduced (by the 8 & 9 Vict. c. 13) to 14s. per cwt., and at that rate it now remains.

A glance at the legislation of other countries on this subject may not be without interest. In France the manufacture of sugar from beetroot began and prospered under Napoleon, but was checked at the Peace by the admission of colonial and foreign sugars at moderate duties. In order to encourage it heavy duties were imposed in 1820 and 1822 on foreign and colonial sugars. It then revived, and so great was its progress, that though in 1828 its produce did not exceed 4,000,000 kilogrammes, in 1838 it amounted to 39,199,408 kilogrammes—considerably more than 39,000 tons,* and more by a third than all we consume on this island; and this year it has amounted to upwards of 50,000,000 kilogrammes. On the complaints of the colonial interest, a duty of about 6s. 9d. a cwt. was imposed in 1838, which was increased in 1840 to 11s. In 1843 a measure was carried for raising it annually by about 2s. a cwt., till it should be equalised with that on colonial sugars. The equalisation was reached in 1848. In the present session of the National Assembly, a proposition has been carried for again reducing the duty on all French sugars by 5 francs the 100 kilograms annually, till it shall be abolished. It was anticipated that the equalisation of the duties would have destroyed the home trade; but in consequence of the great improvements made in the growth of beetroot and the manufacture of the sugar from it, the business is now carried on more extensively and prosperously than ever, and supplies France with nearly half of its entire consumption.

In Belgium, Germany, Prussia, and Russia, this manufacture has been encouraged and promoted in the same manner—freeing the home-grown article from duty, and imposing a heavy duty on its foreign competitors.

If our suggestion for abolishing the duties on all home and colonial sugars were adopted, what a blessing it would be to both the United kingdom and the Colonies. Mr. Mc Culloch, in his *Commercial Dictionary*, article sugar,

* 1015½ kilogs. are equal to a ton.

says, that in consequence of the reduction of the duties which had taken place in 1845, the consumption here increased in 1846, notwithstanding the national distress, by about 4,000 tons;—and he thus expatiates on the advantages likely to accrue to us from a further reduction of duty.

“In Ireland, *provided that country is ever to escape from beggary and agitation*, we should anticipate highly beneficial effects from the reduction of the duties on sugar. The direct importations of sugar into Ireland did not, previously to the late changes, exceed 18,500 tons; and adding to these 6,500 tons for second-hand importations (including bastards) from Great Britain, which, we believe, was quite as much or more than they amounted to, the entire consumption of that country would be 25,000 tons, or 57,000,000 lbs., which, taking the population at 8,000,000, gives 7.125 lbs. to each individual, or nearly one-third part of the average consumption of each individual in Great Britain. So singular a result must, no doubt, be principally ascribed to the poverty of the Irish; but there can be no doubt that it was partly, also, owing to over-taxation. And we are well convinced that the late reduction of the duty, though it may occasion a considerable immediate loss of revenue in Ireland, will, in the end, be productive of its increase, besides being attended with other and still more beneficial consequences. Next to the suppression of agitation, the ‘one thing needful’ in Ireland is to inspire the population with a taste for the conveniencies and enjoyments of civilised life; and the first step towards supplying this desideratum is, if possible, to make articles of convenience and luxury attainable by the mass of the people. If this be done, whether by reduction of duties or otherwise, we may expect that the desire inherent in all individuals, of improving their condition, will impel them to exert themselves to obtain them. A taste for such articles will be gradually diffused among all ranks; and ultimately, it may be presumed, it will be thought discreditable to be without them. And we are glad to have to state, that these anticipations are in the way of being realised, to a greater extent than we could have supposed.”

If such is an outline of the blessings that would flow from allowing us to use foreign and colonial sugars at diminished duties, how rapidly should we progress in civilisation if each of us were allowed to raise his own sugar. The reader will be anxious to see some specimens of Mr. McCulloch’s enthusiasm on the subject, and here is the only one to be found in his dictionary, (last edition, 1849.)

“When the 2nd edition of this dictionary was published in 1834, we

said: 'We understand that a few small parcels of beetroot sugar have been recently produced in this country, and with the present enormous duty on colonial sugar, we are not sure that the manufacture may not succeed. *But as the preservation of the revenue from sugar is of infinitely more importance than the introduction of this spurious business, the foundations of which must rest entirely on the miserable machinery of custom-house regulations, sound policy would seem to dictate that the precedent established in the case of tobacco should be followed in this instance, and that the beetroot sugar manufacture should be abolished. Inasmuch, too, as it is better to check an evil at the outset than grapple with it afterwards, we trust that no time may be lost in taking vigorous measures, should there be any appearance of the business extending.* This plan, however, was not adopted, but the act of 1 Vict. c. 57, imposed a duty of 24s. (now reduced to 13s.) a cwt. on all sugar made from beetroot in the United kingdom, and the 3 & 4 Vict. c. 57, imposed the like duty with the additional 5 per cent. on all sugars made in the United kingdom."

This is the profound policy that should regulate every agricultural enterprise—abolish it if it interfere with the collection of the revenue. How would the Manchester school like to have the same principle applied to trade—to distilleries, sugar refining, paper making, soap making, &c.? Is it "*sound policy*" to abolish every trade in which the revenue may be liable to be defrauded? Is it not sounder policy to abolish the duty than the trade? Would Manchester root up the sugar maples of the Canadas rather than allow half a pint of sap to escape the guage of an exciseman? Speaking of a proposition made in 1842 in France, "to GRUB UP the beetroot plantations, paying the planters 40,000,000 francs as an indemnity for their loss," "in order to get rid of the difficulties in which the manufacture had involved the country," Mr. McCulloch, who by-the-bye, from the above phraseology, seems to think that beetroot grows on trees, says, "*and harsh as it may appear, we incline to think that this proposal was, on the whole, the best that could have been made, inasmuch as it would have terminated the matter at once on an equitable principle.*"

This is a specimen of the "sound policy"—the super-eminent political economy—of the Manchester academy.

With the same self-sufficient dogmatism with which he thus denounces our cultivation of beet and tobacco, he denounces our cultivation of potatoes, because "*it is admitted on all hands that the rate of wages is principally de-*

terminated by the species of food made use of in a country," and for divers other equally wise reasons. We wonder that the Legislature has not supplied another proof of "sound policy" in preventing us from growing these, and hope that in the course of the next session amends will be made for the culpable remissness of which they have been hitherto guilty in reference to this subject.

We humbly suggest to the consideration of Free Traders the justice and expediency of the system now pursued towards the agricultural body. The agriculturists of the kingdom have not only no protection whatever for their labour, but they are restrained from converting it to the same advantage as the foreign and colonial agriculturists with whom they compete. Why should they not be as free to raise tobacco or sugar as their foreign and colonial rivals? Why not as free to raise tobacco or sugar as manufacturers are to make earthenware or iron? Why should agriculturists be so restricted and traders so free? Why should traders, who denounce protection in the case of agriculture, secure it for themselves? Why should they have "free trade" when they buy, and "protection" when they sell? Why should they be allowed to maintain a system so ingeniously unjust by a war tax? Why should they be allowed to tax agriculturists and the rest of the community directly, through the Income tax in England, and its equivalent here, the increase of the Stamp Duties, in order that they may *buy* all such materials as they choose to call "*raw*," free of duty; and indirectly, through the imposition of high protective duties on all foreign and colonial manufactures, or rather, to use their own more comprehensive phraseology, on all such materials as they consider raised above the "*raw*" state, by the application of foreign or colonial labour, in order that they may *sell* the produce of their own labour at the highest possible figure? The fact is, that the labour of the manufacturers of England is protected against the labour of foreign and colonial manufacturers by duties equal to a protection of at least 50 per cent. If the reader will look to the article "*tariff*" in the last edition of Mc Culloch's Dictionary, he will find a formidable list of duties on the importation of foreign and colonial manufactured goods, from which we make the following brief selection. There is a duty of £10 for every £100 value imposed upon the following

articles, whether of or from foreign countries, or British possessions.

Agates, or Cornelians, set. Almonds, paste of. Amber, manufactures of. Baskets. Beads. Blacking. Brass, manufactures of. Brocade, of gold or silver. Bronze, manufactures of, (not works of art.) Buttons, metal. Canes. Carriages. Casks. Catlings. China, or Porcelain ware. Clocks. Copper, manufactures of. Cotton, manufactures of. Crayons. Crystal. Earthenware. Essence of Spruce. Feathers, dressed. Frames, for pictures, prints, or drawings. Harp-strings. Iron, wrought. Japanned, or lacquered ware. Jewels, emeralds, and other precious stones, set. Lace, and lace thread. Latten wire. Lead, manufactures of. Leather, manufactures of, (not otherwise enumerated.) Linen, manufactures of. Matts, and matting. Mercury, prepared. Musical instruments. Painters' colours, manufactured. Pencils. Perfumery. Pewter, manufactures of. Platting, willow squares. Pots, of stone. Ships, foreign, broken up. Silk-worm gut. Spa ware. Spelter, manufactures of. Steel, manufactures of. Tin, manufactures of. Tobacco pipes, of clay. Toys. Turnery. Varnish. Wafers. Watches. Wax, sealing. Whipcord.

There is a duty of £10. for every £100. value on the following articles, if of or from foreign countries, and of £5. if of or from British possessions :

Band-string twist. Bast-ropes, twines, and strands. Boxes. Cables. Chalk, prepared, or manufactured. Gauze, of thread. Hair, manufactures of. Skins, articles manufactured of, or furs. Tiles. Twine. Wool, articles or manufactures of.

The duties on essences and extracts, foreign or colonial, are 20 per cent. Several trades are protected by still heavier duties. Shipwrights, by 25 per cent. duty on foreign and colonial ships: hatters, by a 2s. duty on each foreign or colonial hat, whether of felt, hair, wool, silk or beaver: the silk trade, by duties ranging from 15 to 40 per cent. So boot and shoe makers, glass-blowers, and most other trades are protected by duties, the details of which are so minute, that we do not now think it necessary to go into them, as we fancy we have quoted enough to establish our proposition, that the labour of our boasting "free-trade" manufacturers of England is protected by an average duty of 50 per cent. against foreign or colonial

competition ; for if the reader will consider, that the “raw material” of every one of these articles is admitted free of duty, and will, in estimating the duty on the manufactured article, separate the value of the labour from the value of the material, he will see that the duty falls entirely on the labour of the foreign or colonial competitor, and amounts, at the very least, on an average of the entire tariff, to a protection of 50 per cent. If, in addition, the reader remember, that the common calculation is, that a shilling duty paid on an article on its first importation by the wholesale dealer, multiplies by interest, profits of trade, &c., to three shillings, before it reaches the consumer, he will see that this nominal 10 per cent. duty is beyond all question equal to a protection of at least 50 per cent. on the *labour* of the home manufacturers.

Against this protection, we, on behalf of the agricultural interest, resolutely protest. If, for the sake of trade, the agriculturists of the kingdom are exposed to the free and untaxed competition of the world, foreign and colonial, without any protection whatever, and are restrained from turning their lands and labour to the same advantage as their competitors, they ought, at least, not to be taxed for the protection of trade. If our traders will prefer foreign husbandmen, why should not our husbandmen be at liberty to prefer foreign traders? Why should they not be as free to get their cottons, woollens, iron, earthenware, hats, shoes, &c., &c., from foreigners, as traders are to get their corn? And if traders think it essential to “buy in the cheapest market,” why must agriculturists “buy in the dearest?” On another principle too, we think the present system indefensible. Agriculturists do not want fleets, armies, colonies, embassies, &c., to enable all the world to come here to compete with them in the sale of their produce. These things are necessary only for the sole use behoof, and benefit of traders, in order to secure them raw materials and provisions at a cheap rate, and good markets for their manufactured commodities, and, so far as lowering the provision market is concerned, are a positive injury to agriculturists. All the advantages are on the side of trade ; all the disadvantages on the side of agriculture. If this be so, if all this expense be incurred for the sake of trade, why should not trade “pay for its whistle?”

Let the reader ponder well on the fact, that neither in Europe, nor in Asia, nor in Africa, nor in America, is any

government to be found but our own, which on principle, by positive law prohibits its subjects from supplying themselves with tobacco or sugar by the cultivation of their own soil, and makes them buy both of foreigners. How long shall we be in all things the exception to the general policy of the species? How long shall we be libelled as unable, and be taught by "government practical instructors," to raise green crops, while we are prohibited by law from turning them to the same account as other people? How long shall not only we, but the people of Great Britain, be obliged to depend upon foreigners for articles which could be raised at home, and prevented from raising them at home in order "that the (*late*) colonies and plantations of this kingdom in America be defended, protected, maintained, and kept up, and that all due and possible encouragement be given unto them," and also unto the possessions of Her Majesty's faithful allies in Cuba and Brazil? How long shall we be restrained by the sottish after-dinner legislation of a class club from all industrial enterprise, and shut up in work-houses, driven to die in ditches, or forced into exile? And how long shall this sottishness be dignified with the name of policy, and justified by the cant of pretenders to a knowledge of political science, by libels on human nature and insinuations against Providence?

ART. VI.—1. *Prophetenstimmen mit Erklärungen. Sammlung von Prophezeiungen.* [*Prophetic Voices with Explanations. A Collection of Prophecies.*] By THOMAS BEYKIRCH, Licentiate of Divinity, and Curate at Dortmund. Paderborn: 1849.

2.—*Bartholomäus Holzhauser's Lebensgeschichte, und Gesichte, Nebst dessen Erklärung der Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes.* [*Bartholomew Holzhauser's Life, Visions, and Commentary on St. John's Revelations.*] Translated from the Latin, and accompanied with Introductory and Explanatory Remarks. By LEWIS CLARUS, author of "Celibacy," "History of Spanish Literature," &c. Two volumes. Ratisbon: 1849.

IT would seem to be an instinct of our nature to anticipate the future. The sorrows and miseries, to which we have been doomed in consequence of the original transgression, render us impatient of the present, and ever anxious to read our coming destiny. Hence this irresistible inclination to pry into futurity is a proof at once of our immortality, and of the misery of our present condition. It is not surprising, therefore, that in all periods marked by great misfortunes or convulsions, prophecies should abound; and that man, bewildered by the contemplation, or suffering under the pressure of present evils, should seek in the unknown future a refuge and consolation. This was so in the heathen time. And under the christian dispensation, this sentiment must be more lively, as the Gospel fixes our attention so strongly on the future, and hope, purified and directed by divine grace, is exalted by christianity into a virtue. Accordingly, in all ages of the Church, the Holy Spirit has raised up godly men to warn their contemporaries of the evils that were to come, or solace them with the hope of brighter days. It was only natural to suppose that such prodigious catastrophes as the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the French Revolution of 1789, with all their ulterior consequences, that have so convulsed the Church and civil society, should have been foretold by holy seers. And so it is piously believed to have been. St. Bridget, St. Hildegarde, John of Liliendael, an Augustinian Prior of the fourteenth century, the monk Hermann, of Lehnin, who flourished in the thirteenth century, Cardinal D'Ailly, (1414,) and John Müller, Bishop of Ratisbon, (1476,) severally predicted, with more or less clearness, the great revolutions of the 16th, 18th and 19th centuries. And without implicitly adopting these prophecies, or any one of them, in its integrity, it will be admitted, that the singular fulfilment of some of their predictions in relation to past events, or such as we are now witnessing, is a warrant for their truthfulness in respect to the future, or at least entitles them to the greatest respect.

A catholic clergyman of Westphalia, Thomas Beykirch, has published a collection of Prophecies touching the condition of the Church in the present age, and in the times to come. The work, as may be supposed, has excited the greatest interest in Germany, and in less than a year has reached the third edition. Nothing can be

more praiseworthy than the motives which have suggested this collection ;—in the first place, to counteract the many spurious prophecies now enjoying circulation in Germany, which, dictated as they were by fanaticism or cupidity, are designed to gratify only the passions or the curiosity of the populace ; and secondly, to awaken and keep alive in the hearts of his countrymen, a hope for the future religious union and political unity of Germany.

Some of the prophecies are doubtless of great interest and importance from the matters they relate to, as well as from the character of their authors, and the notes of intrinsic credibility which they bear. Others again are of a much inferior stamp, coming from persons little known, being either local in their scope and object, or vague and obscure in their purport.

The nature and bearing of them all, as well as the weight which they are entitled to, it will be well to hear from the author himself.

“ Non-scriptural Prophecies constitute *no articles of faith*. Let us on that account not believe all things, nor all men, but let us at the same time not reject all things. The best counsel in this matter is given by the Apostle Paul: ‘Despise not Prophecies. But prove all things ; hold that which is good.’

“ In order to facilitate such examination, we subjoin for the use of such persons as are unfamiliar with the subject, the following notes of genuine prophecy :

“ 1. Genuine Prophecies comprise nothing against religion and the Church, nothing against faith and good morals ; they agree with Holy Writ, and must not be rejected by the Church.

“ 2. Genuine Prophecies have a prophetic form. They are set forth in marvellous images, in dark mysterious words ; they often bring together totally dissimilar events, invert occasionally the order of time ; while their authors, overpowered with the general impression of their visions, employ exaggerated language. For instance, ‘the blood will mount even to the horses’ bridles.’ From these peculiarities we see that a certain obscurity attaches to prophecies. But this very quality bespeaks their divine origin, as hereby they seem to bear a certain conformity to the other works of God. In nature and history, too, God conceals Himself, in order that those only, who seek Him in faith, may find Him.

“ 3. Every genuine Prophecy must either bear the name of a man worthy of credit at its head, and it must be certain that it proceeded from him, or it must have been in part fulfilled, and proved to be of very great antiquity. Hence let us beware of all

such predictions, as go under the title of 'Cardinal Laroche,' 'Lenormand,' 'Nostradamus,' 'Sybilla,' 'the Millennial Kingdom,' 'the year 1850, by Paolo,' 'Remarkable Prophecy of a Clairvoyante,' or a 'Female Somnambulist,' 'Oracles,' &c. They contradict each other, and either predict things which every man of sense can foresee, or prophecy according to men's wishes; and the wilder they are, the more easily are they credited.

"4. True Prophecies have a good object in view. They aim not at the satisfaction of curiosity, but are designed to instruct, solace, and warn. A corrupt age must see written on the wall its 'Mene, Thecel, Phares,' and humanity must be made to perceive that apostasy from the true faith and the Church, is the cause of all the misfortunes, distresses, and afflictions of our time. Christians must thereby be awakened from a dead to a living faith.

"5. A chief characteristic of the Prophecies of our time is that they all, in a remarkable way, coincide in four points. 1. That God will visit with severe judgments this unbelieving and immoral age, because of the overflowing measure of its sins. 2. That the religious schism will cease, and all christian communions be united in one fold, and under one shepherd. 3. That Germany will attain to union under a powerful monarch. 4. That prosperous and happy times will follow the days of contest."—*Beykirch*, pp. 6—8.

Some of these Prophecies are taken from printed works of acknowledged repute; others from manuscripts; and a few which were current among the people, have been derived from word of mouth. A great number have been taken from an old book entitled, "*Liber Mirabilis*," which was compiled by an ecclesiastic of the diocese of Münster, from the year 1800 to 1808. But by far the most important of these Prophecies are taken from the "*Visions*," and the "*Commentaries on the Apocalypse*," by the Venerable Bartholomew Holzhauser: a work which stands second on our list. As this very important work serves to illustrate and confirm the minor prophecies contained in M. Beykirch's book, and moreover possesses on some points a peculiar interest for the English reader, we shall give a more detailed analysis of its contents, prefixing a biographical sketch of the venerable author. We shall afterwards revert to the "*Prophetic Voices*" of M. Beykirch.

M. Clarus, well known for a much esteemed History of Spanish Literature, has recently translated from the Latin the *Visions of Holzhauser*, as well as his Commentary

on the Apocalypse. The translations are well executed. The author has prefixed an able philosophical Introduction, in which he investigates the different species of Prophetic Visions, the genuineness of Holzhauser's, their symbolic character, and the psychological incidents connected with such phenomena. He has also added a Commentary on these obscure Visions, which, though labouring under the fault of prolixity, yet abounds with many solid and ingenious remarks. He has likewise translated a Biography of the Author, composed in Latin about sixty years ago, and which supplies much useful and edifying information respecting the holy man of whom it treats.

From this biography, which is, however, too diffuse, we shall now proceed to draw up a sketch of Holzhauser's Life.

Bartholomew Holzhauser was born in the year 1613, of poor parents at Langua, a Swabian village not far from Augsburg. In his childhood he was distinguished for his piety, innocence, and love of reading. In his eleventh year, he was favoured, according to his biographer, with a vision of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, accompanied by a luminous cross in the heavens; and that cross he afterwards took to be an omen of the many trials and afflictions, which he was to encounter in life. At his earnest request, his parents sent him to the Latin school; but there he was compelled to live by alms. Here he was cured in a wonderful way of the pestilence; but he was compelled shortly afterwards to return home, where he was put to his father's business, which was shoe-making. His insatiable desire for learning, however, making this occupation extremely irksome, his parents yielded to his urgent entreaty to allow him to go to college. Provided with a few pence from his father, and a rosary from his mother, and a blessing from both, young Holzhauser went on his way to find out a foundation for himself. He was not successful in the episcopal city of Eichstädt; but hearing that at Neuburg on the Danube, there was a college directed by Jesuits, where all poor students, who could sing in choir, and possessed some acquaintance with music, were boarded, lodged, and educated gratuitously, he resolved to try his fortune there. Having presented himself to the Superior of the house, and humbly stated his request, he was asked whether he was acquainted with music. To this question he replied,

that he had learned the elements at school; but on the Professor's bringing him a difficult trio, he executed it with such surprising skill, that he was much applauded by the Prefect of the Choir, and immediately admitted into the establishment. In this effort, however, he was evidently assisted from above; for a few days after, he was unable to sing a piece of music set before him. The Prefect in his indignation would have turned him out of the house; but the great meekness and piety evinced by the boy, during his few days' stay in the College, quite disarmed his wrath, and induced the Superior to allow him to remain. He was, however, sent down from the first table, where he had been placed, to the lowest, where sat the students who were totally ignorant of music; but the place he had lost, he soon rewon by his great application to music. During the five years Holzhauser remained at Neuburg, he was a model of piety, virtue, and diligence in his studies. In the year 1633, after having completed his course of Humanities at Neuburg, he repaired to the University of Ingolstadt, to prosecute the study of Philosophy. Here, at first, it was only by begging alms he could procure a subsistence, till a benevolent citizen admitted him into his house,* and at a later period he was allowed to take his meals at a Jesuit College in that city.

During his abode at the University, Holzhauser was remarkable for his love of prayer and contemplation, his humility, meekness, and resignation, and his great charity towards the sick and poor, with whom he often divided the scanty alms he had collected. After three years' study of philosophy, he took the degree of Doctor, and then studied theology under the Jesuit Fathers of Ingolstadt. Much as his time was taken with up with prayer, meditation, visiting of the sick, and catechetical instruction of children; yet he found time punctually to go through all the prescribed studies; and though his abilities were not above the average standard, still when he spoke of divine things, he evinced a rare sagacity and penetration of mind. Hence his fellow-students ascribed much of his knowledge on sacred subjects, to an internal illumination of the Holy

* This excellent custom is still retained in Germany, where not only the secular and regular clergy, but the charitable laity, make it a point to provide a daily repast for one or several poor students, according to their means.

Spirit. During his years of studentship, Holzhauser conceived the plan of an Institute for the introduction of a life of community among the secular clergy—a plan which he lived to accomplish, and which has been productive of the greatest blessings to the Church in Southern Germany. At the same period he wrote one or two ascetical books, and was favoured with celestial visions.

On receiving Holy Orders, Holzhauser obtained a benefice in the diocese of Salzburg, where he first founded his Institute. A few years afterwards, he was appointed to the rural deanery of Leoggenthal in the Tyrol, where his Institute spread, and he was allowed to bind its members by an oath. In the exercise of his pastoral duties, he was a model of piety and zeal—so fervent in the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice—so persuasive in the pulpit—so enlightened in the Confessional—so charitable to the poor—so soothing in attentions to the sick and dying. Even as a student he had practised severe mortifications, and had been remarked for his love of prayer, and his gift of tears. Nothing could exceed his resignation under sickness, want, and privations of every kind, nor his admirable patience under the contradictions and opposition of men. Much misrepresentation and obloquy had he to endure from lax and worldly-minded ecclesiastics, adverse as they were to the spread of his Institute. The Almighty was pleased to work several miraculous cures through the hands of His faithful servant;* and his wonderful faith and humility, gave him extraordinary power over evil spirits, whom, in two cases of very obstinate possession, he was enabled to cast out.†

But it was with the gift of prophecy this holy man was pre-eminently endowed. Various predictions uttered by him relative to matters purely contingent, were realised by the event. For these, we must refer the reader to the pages of his biographer.‡ But there are ten remarkable

* One of his most remarkable cures was that of a boy lame in both feet, whom, after anointing with oil taken from a lamp that burned before the altar of St. John the Baptist, he instantaneously cured.—See his Biography, p. 108, ed. Clarus.

† See *ibid.*, p. 109—12, where the two cases are stated at length.

‡ See many examples cited in S. 5, p. 117, of his Life.

Visions with which Holzhauser was favoured, and to which we shall soon have occasion to call the reader's attention. At the request of his assistant priests, and with the special permission of the venerable Bishop of Chiemsee, he wrote down these Visions towards the end of January, 1646, and collected them into a volume. They have reference to the errors and vices prevalent in the seventeenth century and the following ages; to the religious and political destinies of the German empire; and to the return of our own dear country, England, to the Catholic faith. As soon as he had compiled these Visions, Holzhauser, urged by the Spirit, hastened to the city of Linz, to present the same to the Emperor, Ferdinand III., and immediately afterwards hurried to Munich, to offer another copy to the Elector, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.

It will be well now to hear the opinion, which the learned theologians of the University of Ingolstadt, the friends and teachers of Holzhauser, entertained of these Visions: After the Author's death, the learned Jesuit, Father Lyprand, wrote as follows respecting them:—

“In regard to the prophecies of Bartholomew Holzhauser, different opinions were commonly entertained; some rejecting them as of no importance, others, but only a few, approving them. Father Simon, once the most distinguished theologian of that country, and my colleague at the University of Ingolstadt, and who had been for a year Bartholomew's teacher, and was a man of acute judgment, said, after reading his prophecies, that their style was truly prophetic, and that from his knowledge of Bartholomew's parts and capacity, they could not be the product of his invention. A like judgment was pronounced by Father Peter Breier, who was also Bartholomew's teacher, and my colleague in theology. The three first visions respecting the country of the Lech, the city of Ingolstadt, and the kingdom of England, I immediately understood and examined; but as I knew that in such matters it was easy to be deceived, and that often deception has occurred, and still occurs in divers things of this kind, I attached not much importance to the first two prophecies. But after Holzhauser had explained to me more fully the prophecy respecting England, and how that country would fall into extreme misery, and the issue of the whole would be that the king would be slain, and that then peace would ensue, and afterwards *the kingdom of England would return to the Roman Catholic faith, and the English achieve more for the Church, than on their first conversion to Christianity.* I was then apprehensive that the evils which he had foretold respecting the Lech and Ingolstadt, might come to pass. This apprehension was the more lively, as among the prophecies,

which Father Kollnag was obliged to write down in obedience to his superiors, there was a similar one respecting England. These prophecies of Kollnag, which I have read in the Italian language, he holds for divine inspirations. They were about the year nineteen of this century, communicated to me by Father Rupertus Randell, my then confessor, a man of talent and discernment; but in these there is no mention of the execution of the King of England, nor of the storm, whereof Bartholomew speaks. When some years afterwards the said Bartholomew returned to Ingolstadt, to visit his young people studying here, I took occasion, as a report had been for some time current that King Charles of England (Charles I.) was disposed to embrace the Catholic faith, I took occasion, I say, to tell Bartholomew, that such a report squared not with his prophecy about the kingdom of England. Thereupon he replied in a very confident manner: 'King Charles of England is neither now a Catholic, nor will he ever become a Catholic.' The event proved the truth of his words. At the same time he informed me, he knew from God, the Swede would never have a footing in the German empire, and that the Rhine would return to its ancient master.

"To speak now in general as to Bartholomew's prophecies, I have always been of opinion, that he went to work without any guile, and that his natural parts were inadequate to their fabrication.....

"Although I hold it to be probable enough, nay, as extremely probable, that Holzhauser had received from God the gift of prophecy, yet I would not venture to assert that he had always rightly understood the prophecies communicated to him; for it is agreed among theologians, that the first gift may exist without the second."—*Life of Holzhauser*, pp. 114—16.

It was also during his abode at Leoggenthal, Holzhauser wrote his great work—the Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John, that wonderful book, in which, according to St. Jerome, there are as many mysteries as words. This Commentary extends only to the fifth verse of the fifteenth chapter. Holzhauser, according to his biographer, wrote it under the pressure of great tribulations. During this time he gave himself up to continual prayer, and passed whole days without eating or drinking, wholly removed from the society of men. Having been asked, what was the state of his soul, when he wrote this work, he burst into tears, and replied: "I was like a child, whose hand was led, while I wrote."

After passing ten devoted years of the ministry at Leoggenthal, where he had achieved immense good, Holzhauser received an invitation from the Elector, John

Philip von Schönborn, Archbishop of Mayence, to settle in his dominions. The latter bestowed on him the rectory of Bingen, while the priests of "the Institute" were intrusted with the direction of the seminary of Würzburg. Holzhauser won the esteem and confidence of the Elector to such a degree, that the latter took the greatest pleasure in his society, and consulted him on matters of the greatest secrecy and importance. Shortly after his arrival at Bingen, Holzhauser had an interview with our King, Charles II., then an exile, but hoping speedily to be recalled to the throne of his ancestors. Let us hear the account given of this interview by the German biographer.

"This favourable opinion of Holzhauser, the Elector evinced by a continual praise of his conduct and virtues. As on one occasion, Charles II., King of England, who was still in banishment, but entertained the hope of speedily returning to England, descended the Rhine in company of the Elector, as far as Geisenheim in the Rheingau, and there passed the night with his guest, the latter took occasion to mention the name of Holzhauser. The King learned from the Elector, that a priest was living in the neighbourhood, who a long time ago had foretold wonderful things of the English kingdom and English king. The King expressed so much desire to see this priest immediately, that he was fetched from Bingen late in the evening, and after incurring no little danger from a storm which had suddenly arisen while he was on the Rhine, he arrived at Geisenheim at about twelve o'clock at night. Having been introduced to Charles II., and questioned about his vision in regard to the kingdom of England, and the destinies which had befallen her king, Holzhauser replied on these several points to the monarch. He recommended to his Majesty's protection the Catholic religion, and the priests who were labouring in England in its behalf. The monarch gave him his hand, and promised to be mindful of his request.

"It is astonishing with what a burning zeal Holzhauser laboured to bring about the conversion of England. This was the marrow of his thoughts—the subject of his conversation—the sum of all his desires ; with his blood would he fain have washed away, had he been so permitted, all the errors of heresy. No resolution was so fixedly implanted in him, as to go to England, and there, utterly regardless of any risk he might run for his life, make a beginning towards a restoration of the Catholic faith. He awaited only the Elector's permission to prosecute this voyage. This permission he would have sought with earnest prayers, had he not been overcome by the still more urgent solicitations of his friends, Gündel and Vogt, and been induced to defer for one or several years the execution of a project, which he never would entirely give up, in order

in the first place by his presence to consolidate his rising Institute, until such time as his presence might be more easily dispensed with. It was with difficulty he could be held back from this project."—*Holzhauser's Life*, p. 69.

But this holy man, so burning with love for the kingdom of heaven, it now pleased the Almighty to call to Himself. At the moment when new prospects seemed to open to his indefatigable zeal, and his Institute was taking root and spreading in new dioceses,* he was summoned to receive the reward of his many virtues. On his dying bed he recommended to his brethren zeal for the glory of God, humility, patience, resignation, and attachment to the Institute which they had embraced: and having been provided with the last sacraments of the Church, he breathed out his pure soul on the 20th May, 1658, and in the 45th year of his age.

We shall now proceed to the visions and prophecies of this favoured servant of God. From his great orthodoxy and holiness—the blessings which attended his pastoral ministry—the miracles which he wrought—and the visions which he was early favoured with, we might argue an antecedent probability that his prophetic enunciations are truthful and genuine. Moreover, when it is recollected, that learned theologians declare that these prophecies contain nothing contrary to Scripture and ecclesiastical tradition;—when we note, too, their style, and compare their sublime bearing and import with the admitted mediocrity of the author's talents;—when we remember, also, the strict fulfilment which many of his written, as well as oral predictions have already received, and that the unfulfilled ones are borne out by like prophecies of other holy men, the probability will, to some minds, acquire almost the form of conviction.

It is remarked by the editor, M. Clarus, that the prophecies of the Old Testament are distinguished for a comparative plainness and distinctness of language; while those of the New are remarkable for their allegorical diction and profusion of symbols. And the reason for this difference is clear. The former prophecies, as they were designed to prepare the Jews for the Messiah and His kingdom, and to attest the truth of His divine mission,

* This institute was approved by the Holy See.

must needs be freer from obscurities than those addressed to a people who possess the Incarnate Truth ever present, though invisible, among them, and to whom the future can be, comparatively speaking, little more than a matter of edifying curiosity.

Holzhauser furnishes a key to most of the symbols and allegories in his own visions, as well as to those of the Apocalypse of St. John, in his Commentary upon that book. The ten visions, which, as has been stated, this man of God, in obedience to the Bishop of Chiemsee, committed to writing, he accompanied with a Commentary; but as the learned editor, M. Clarus, has observed, the full bearing of these prophecies Holzhauser seems not always himself to have understood.

It is indeed a proof of the divine origin of a genuine prophecy, that the mind of the prophet should be in a passive state, and should not always fully comprehend the import of the vision brought before him.

To the first four visions out of the ten, Holzhauser appends no explanation; but the editor has, as has been above mentioned, subjoined some judicious, though too diffuse remarks, which will serve as a guide in this analysis.

In the first Vision the prophet sees seven most unclean and hideous beasts, that with all their young ones come before, and insult, and blaspheme the throne of the Eternal. The first beast is a toad, accompanied with a countless brood of young ones, which have *parrot voices*. This beast, according to the editor, represents false inflated science. The second is a most heavily laden camel, and is overburthened with the price of the blood of Christ. This beast typifies those "in whose hands is mischief, and whose right hand is full of bribes." Ps. xxvi. 10. The third beast is a neighing stallion, and is the emblem of impurity. The fourth beast is an immense terrific serpent, symbolizing infidelity, and is in close connexion with the other beasts, and derives aid and support from them. The fifth beast is like unto a hog wallowing in its slough, and is the fitting emblem of gluttony and every species of intemperance. The sixth beast is a furious wild boar, and is the symbol of heresy in its violent assaults against the Church. This boar fixes its tusks in the tree of life, and the blood of Christ, which is the sap of that tree, flows copiously down. The seventh beast was dead, and had no name. What it signified, Holzhauser declares himself he

knew not. But as in the same vision he saw a land, called the *Priests' land*, wherein was a tree watered by rivulets, but which even in summer bore no leaves nor fruits, the editor not improbably concludes, that "the dead beast, which had no name," typifies the unworthy degenerate members of the Catholic priesthood, whose works are dead. Of these visions we have only room for a few extracts.

There is a truly apocalyptic grandeur in the following vision, wherein the anti-christian satanic philosophy of the last and present centuries is symbolized.

"The fourth beast was like unto a snake, full of venom, and gall, and bitterness, and envy. The serpent was very vast and terrible. It lifted up its head against Him who sat upon the throne, gnashed its teeth at the children of God, and bit and devoured itself out of envy, and the swelling of its venom. And I saw how the beast ruled in heaven, on earth, and under the earth; how it gnawed the grass, and the flowers of the earth, and darkened the stars of heaven. Most fearful were its tail, and tongue, and teeth. This beast, too, had in like manner many male and female young ones, great and small, which did the like in heaven and on earth. A beast there was most terrible; I shuddered at its aspect; I was afraid, and was amazed exceedingly. Its name I knew not. And from the throne of Majesty came forth a voice, which spake, This is the *Murderer of souls*. And I heard a voice which spake with another, and cried out: 'Salvation and jubilee to our God, and the Lamb upon the throne of judgment, and punishment, and recompense; for He is terrible, and almighty, and can avenge their wickedness on the inhabitants of earth. Avenge the image of Thy face, great and righteous Judge! by hail, and sulphur, and pitch, by the fire and the burning of eternity, and in the earthquakes of Thine Almightyness!' And I heard the voice of thousands and tens of thousands, who cried, 'So be it, so be it.'"—vol. i. pp. 175-6.

The two next visions, though vague and obscure, have clearly reference to the future triumphs, which the Church, after the tribulations and anguish she has had to endure for the last three centuries, is yet destined, according to ancient prophecy and tradition, to celebrate on earth. This subject we shall have occasion to recur to, when we come to speak of Holzhauser's prophetic comments on the Apocalypse.

We pass on to the fourth vision, to which the venerable author has himself furnished us with a key, and which, re-

markable as it is for its clearness and vivid beauty, possesses a surpassing interest for the English reader.

"I stood in the year 1635 by the Danube, giving alms to the banished, and offering up prayers for the whole earth. I stood towards the north and the west, and my heart poured itself out in many lamentations before God, saying: 'How long will the adversary hold this kingdom in bondage, which swimmeth with the blood of martyrs, spilled by that accursed woman, Jezabel, as she wished to reign in the Church of God?' And I heard at the same time that the lawful sacrifice would be intermitted for one hundred and twenty years; and on the other side of the sea I saw immense lands, and how peoples and tongues thronged together, and how the land was inwardly shaken by armies, as by an earthquake. The prodigious multitude I saw divided, and I beheld the king standing in the midst. And it was told me, 'All rests with the king, and the king is, as it were, sold.'

"And towards the west the heavens were opened, and the land trembled as with an earthquake, and the nations were shaken, and terror came over the whole kingdom; and it was told me: 'On the king dependeth the salvation of the people! And it seemed to me as if he refused; and I heard: 'If the king will not, then will he be smitten.' And the heavens again opened towards the west; a large fiery ball came down, flew oblique, and smote the king. And now his kingdom rested in peace, and the land was illuminated.

"And lo! I saw a ship sailing on the sea, and arrive in port, and righteous and holy men, who were in the ship, landed, and they began to preach the Gospel in those countries. They prospered in their undertaking; and that land returned to peace and to the sanctification of Jesus Christ."—vol. i. p. 215.

Holzhauser, as we have seen above, told the Jesuit Father Lyprand, that this vision had reference to England, and to her religious and political destinies. In brief but graphic lines were here shadowed out to the prophet's eye many leading events in the history of our Church and State for the last three hundred years. The bloody persecution of the British Catholics by the Jezabel—Queen Elizabeth—the political feuds of the British nation—the colonization of English America—the Great Rebellion—the sale of King Charles I. by the Scotch—his unwillingness to embrace the Catholic faith*—his tragic execution—the suspension of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the

* The last words of Charles I. on the scaffold were, "I die a Protestant."

space of one hundred and twenty years, namely, from the year 1658, when the saying of Mass was prohibited under penalty of death, down to the year 1778, when the penal laws were relaxed*—the gradual return of England to the Catholic faith, whereof many learned men now see the beginnings†—the holy foreign missionaries that have or are now preaching the faith in England, such as the French emigrant priests fifty years ago—and the Italian Passionists‡ and Rosminians, the Belgian Liguorians, and the French Conceptionists of our own day—all are here either announced or indicated. The full accomplishment of this prophecy is reserved for the future, and in our humble opinion, not very remote future. M. Beykirch, M. Clarus, and the learned reviewer of Holzhauser's Commentary on the Apocalypse in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*—all agree that none of his published prophecies have as yet received so exact a fulfilment as this respecting England.

We have now only space to notice, and that briefly, one more vision. The seventh refers to the destinies of Church and State in Germany, and more remotely in Europe. We can give but a portion of it.

“After this I saw a countless multitude of worms, gathered together against a great worm. And they fell upon it, and bit it, and there was no one to free it from their bites. * * * *

“There was a hot contest: the great worm came into sore straits; but Cattus fell upon the little worms many times, how often I cannot say, and put them to flight. And I saw how Cattus obtained the victory, and rescued the great worm from the hands of its foes. I approached nearer, and saw the great worm covered with many wounds, almost dead. And while this was going on, I saw everywhere on the earth men and cattle slain. A great wound was

* It is remarkable that in British America also, the same penalty against saying mass was in force from the year 1663 down to the year 1783, when it was abrogated, making exactly a period of one hundred and twenty years, during which the Holy Sacrifice was intermitted, at least in public.

† Holzhauser expressly states that the conversion of England will be gradual.

‡ The reader may perhaps remember, that the venerable Founder of the Order of Passionists, Father Paul of the Cross, once beheld in a vision, after celebrating mass, his own Religious preaching the faith in England. This vision occurred about eighty years ago.

stricken on the earth, and it overflowed with blood. I was amazed exceedingly, and fear fell upon me."

Holzhauser has himself given the key to this vision.

"The following," says he, "is the interpretation. The many worms are the foes of the emperor and the empire. The latter is signified by the great worm. After their defeat at Nördlingen,* and our expedition against France, the foes of the emperor assembled under the French King, and inflicted much injury on the emperor. No one was there to deliver him from their bites; abandoned by all, he fell into sore straits. Cattus, whom thou hast seen, is the true general, whose prudence God will make use of, to administer aid, and to evince fidelity, even in extremest distress."

Then Holzhauser adds:

"If thou hast observed how everywhere on the earth men and cattle are slain, and a great wound has been stricken, and everywhere the earth overflows with blood, the following is the import thereof. *In the world there will be wars, and the Lord, in consequence of the frightful sins described in the first vision, under the signs of seven beasts, will exercise in other parts of the earth His predetermined wrath. Few will be left on the earth; kingdoms will fall into confusion; principalities will be overturned; dynasties will be brought low; states will perish, and almost all men will come to beggary. The blood-hound will worry the Church, and on the earth there will prevail the greatest tribulation, and all manner of confusion.*"—vol. i. pp. 244-5.

The concluding passage of this "Interpretation" evidently shows that, as frequently happens, the vision of the seer was gradually extended, and that the Thirty Years' War formed only the foreground of that mighty picture, which Omnipotence by degrees unrolled to his eye. What more graphic portraiture could be traced of the religious and political condition of Europe for the last eighty years, than in the words underlined, written upwards of two centuries ago? Their truth is too palpable to need a comment. We need only point out that general pauperism, which is one of the most salient characteristics of our time. "*Depauperabuntur quasi omnes.*" This general poverty announced by Holzhauser is the fruit of infidelity, that has dried up the springs of fraternal charity, and of revolutions that have confiscated the property of the clergy and of large

* At Nördlingen in 1634, the Imperialists gained a great victory over the Swedes.

proprietors, put down religious orders and lay confraternities, despoiled so many charitable foundations, and convulsed all the relations of trade and industry. It is the child, too, of that false political economy, which made the increase of population the first care of government, gave such undue extension to the manufacturing system, and instead of reforming abuses in the ancient guilds, totally suppressed them, and thus abandoned the honest tradesman to a ruinous competition, left the artisan without resource in the hour of sickness and want, and the public without protection against unskilfulness and fraud.

We must now pass to Holzhauser's Commentary on the Apocalypse. This Commentary, written in Latin, and which remained in manuscript for a century and a half, was first printed at Bamberg and at Würzburg in the year 1784. An able reviewal of the Latin original two years ago, in the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, first called the attention of the German public to this most remarkable work; and the sensation thereby created, induced M. Clarus to publish a German translation of the Commentary the following year. It is from this translation we shall speak of the book.

A learned theologian, after perusing this Commentary, candidly declared, that "after Holzhauser all commentators on the Apocalypse appeared to him to have written like children." And in truth there is an earnestness, an unction, a fulness and depth of remark, a certain luminous minuteness of explanation, which forcibly convince the reader that Holzhauser wrote according to an internal light, and that the same Spirit which dictated St. John's mysterious book, had deigned to unseal it to his commentator.

"Even in leaving out of consideration," says the German critic above referred to, "the predictions as to the Future contained in Holzhauser's Commentary, we cannot but be surprised at the manner in which it appreciates the Past. The book is written in a simple and artless style; but we there find a great depth of thought and a knowledge of history, which is quite beyond the author's times, and is the more striking, as this holy priest was neither a scholar nor a philosopher, nor were his intellectual qualities above

the average standard.* The following is the fundamental idea of his Commentary upon the Apocalypse.

The seven stars and the seven golden candlesticks which St. John saw, when he was ravished in spirit, represent the seven epochs in the church's history from her foundation to the last judgment. To those periods correspond again the seven churches of Asia Minor, to which the word of the Lord in the vision is addressed, as well as the seven days of creation, the seven ages of the world before Jesus Christ, and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. Obligated to confine ourselves to a very short analysis, we will merely point out the heads of Holzhauser's Prophecies, and we will leave the appreciation of their correctness to those who have meditated on the historic development of christianity.

The first epoch, which he calls that of seed-time, (*the status seminationis*), comprehends the period that elapsed from the preaching of our Lord Jesus Christ and His apostles, down to the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul under Nero. The second epoch, called the period of irrigation, (*status irrigationis*), is that of the persecutions, which lasted until Constantine. The third, which extends from that emperor down to Charlemagne, is the period of illumination, (*status illuminationis*.) The fourth, which dates from the re-establishment of the western empire under Charlemagne, and terminates with the age of Charles V. and Leo X., is the time of peace, (*the status pacificus*.) The fifth epoch, which commences with the birth of Protestantism, and wherein we still live, is the state of tribulation, (*status afflictionis*.)

"This," says Holzhauser, "is a state of trouble, desolation, humiliation, and poverty for the church. We may with just reason call it a state of purification, in which the Lord Jesus Christ has sifted His wheat, and will sift it again by wars, by seditions, by famines, by epidemics, and other scourges, by the tribulation and the poverty which He will suffer to weigh on the Latin church, by means of heretics and bad christians, who will take from her the greater part of her bishoprics and countless monasteries, especially the wealthier ones. She is oppressed even by Catholic princes, and despoiled by means of taxes, imposts, and other extortions; so that we may say, in groaning with the prophet Jeremiah, 'The queen of nations hath been placed under the yoke.' The church is

* See Historisch-politische Blätter, vol. xxi.

become poor and miserable, because she hath been calumniated by heretics, because her ministers are despised by bad christians, who render them neither honour nor respect. By all these means God will sift His wheat ; He will cast the chaff away to be burnt, and will gather the wheat into His barns. This fifth state of the church is the state of tribulation, the state of apostacy, full of miseries of every kind. Few will be spared by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence. We shall see kingdom rise against kingdom ; empires will be divided in themselves, and brought to desolation ; principalities and monarchies will be overturned, and almost the whole world will sink into poverty. The greatest desolation will reign over the earth. All this hath in part been already accomplished (*anno Domini* 1656); a part remains yet to be accomplished. These things will come to pass by the very just judgment of God, because of the accumulated mass of our iniquities, whereof our fathers and ourselves have filled up the measure, at the moment when the mercy of Almighty God awaited our doing penance. The fifth day of creation, on which the earth brought forth birds, fishes, and beasts of the field, is a type of this epoch, wherein men, like to the birds of the air and the fishes of the water, give themselves up to license, sink to the level of the brute, and wallow in lust. In this lamentable state of the church, divine and human laws are without force, and made of light account ; the doctrines and precepts of the church are despised ; ecclesiastical discipline is not better observed by the priests, than political order is maintained by the people. Every one, like the beasts of the field, believes what he pleases, and doth what he wills.

“The correspondence of this period with the fifth age of the ancient world, from Solomon down to the Babylonish captivity, is extremely striking. Then Israel fell into idolatry, and Judah and Benjamin were alone true to the covenant. So in the times we speak of, a large portion of the Catholic population has fallen away from the true church ; while a small number only of good christians hath survived. The Jewish state was then ruined, and was harassed and oppressed by heathens ; so also has the holy Roman empire of Germany been ravaged and dismembered by the neighbouring nations. * * * *

“To this age has been accorded the gift of counsel ; for counsel did the church need in order to counteract such fearful calamities, and to uphold the Catholic faith. This gift of counsel was revealed in the Council of Trent, in the institution of the Society of Jesus, by whose exertions, learning, and sanctity, the Catholic faith and the church throughout Europe, were rescued from destruction.

“A type of this epoch is the Church of Sardis—a word that signifieth the beginning of beauty ; for the calamities of this period will be the beginning of a better time. Divine providence hath wisely ordained that the church which He will cause to endure unto the end of the world, should be moistened from time to time with

the waters of tribulation, as the gardener watereth his garden in the time of drought."—Beykirch, pp. 21–3.

In the next passage we leave what the Indians call the *Caliyuga*, or present age of misery and perturbation, and soar with the prophet into those pure serene times, which will witness the complete and glorious triumph of Christ's Church upon earth. As these different epochs are not separated one from the other by any harsh dissonance; but the concluding tones of each gradually melt, and are confounded with the rising tones of the succeeding period; so the conclusion of the fifth age will be marked by great conquests of the church. And of these conquests we think we already discern the beginning.

"The sixth period of the church—the status consolationis—begins with the Holy Pope and the Powerful Emperor, and terminates with the birth of Anti-christ. (Revelations, c. iii. v. 7, 10.)

"This will be an age of solace, wherein God will console His church after the many mortifications and afflictions she had endured in the fifth period. *For all nations will be brought to the unity of the true Catholic faith.*

"A type of this period was the sixth age of the old world, from the deliverance of the Israelites out of the Babylonish captivity, and the rebuilding of the city and of the temple of Jerusalem, down to the coming of Christ. As God gladdened His people by the rebuilding of the temple and of the holy city; as all kingdoms and nations were subjected to the Roman empire; and Cæsar Augustus, the most powerful and excellent monarch, after vanquishing all his enemies, gave for fifty-six years, peace to the world; so will God pour out upon His church, that witnessed in the fifth period nought but affliction, the most abundant consolations. But this happy age will be ushered in under the following circumstances. When all is desolated with war; when the church and the priests must pay taxes; when Catholics are oppressed by heretics, and their faithless fellow-religionists; when monarchs are murdered; subjects oppressed; when riches are extirpated; when every thing concurs to bring about the establishment of Republics; then will the hand of the Almighty produce a marvellous change, according to human notions seemingly impossible. For that strong monarch, (whose name is to be (the *help of God*), will, as the envoy of the Almighty, root up these Republics. He will subject all things to himself, and will zealously assist the true Church of Christ. All heresies will be banished into hell; the Turkish empire will be overthrown to its foundations, and his dominion will extend from east to west. All nations will come, and will worship the Lord in the one true Catholic Faith. Many righteous men will

flourish, and many learned men will arise. Men will love justice and righteousness, and peace will dwell on the whole earth. For the Omnipotent will bind satan for many years, until the advent of him who is to come,—the son of perdition.

“In respect to perfection, this period corresponds to the sixth day of creation, on which God created man after His own image, and subjected to him, as lord of creation, all creatures of the earth. So will man be now a true image of God, (in righteousness and holiness), and the strong monarch will rule over all nations.

“The sixth gift of the Spirit, the fear of the Lord, will in this period be poured out upon the church; for men will fear the Lord their God, keep His commandments, and serve him with their whole heart. The scriptures will be understood after one uniform fashion, without contradiction and error, so that all will marvel they had so long misunderstood the clear sense of holy writ. The sciences will be multiplied and completed, and men will receive extraordinary illumination in natural, as well as divine knowledge.”—Beykirch, p. 27–9.

The tenth chapter of the Apocalypse comprises, according to Holzhauser, special revelations respecting the Mighty Monarch and the Enlightened Pope, as we may reasonably assume, that God would not leave the world without some indication as to these great Renovators of an age apparently not very remote.

“And I saw, (so it is said, in the tenth chapter of Revelations, v. 1-7,) another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow was on his head, and his face was as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire. And he had in his hand a little book open; and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth; and he cried with a loud voice, as when a lion roareth.....And the angel whom I saw standing upon the sea and upon the earth, lifted up his hand, and swore by Him who created all things, that time shall be no longer; but that the mystery of God shall be finished, as He hath declared by His servants the prophets.

“This is the lofty description of that mighty monarch sent by God. He is a mighty angel, for no one can resist him, the envoy of God. He will come down from heaven; that is to say, he will be born in the bosom of the Catholic church. The cloud with which he is clothed, signifies humility, with which, from youth upward, and without any great parade, he walketh in the simplicity of his heart. The protection of God is also thereby indicated, that, on account of his humility, will encompass him. The rainbow about his head denotes, that he will bring peace to the whole earth. The solar lustre of his brow signifies the splendour of his glory, his honour, his holiness, his talents, so that all princes will follow

his example. The fiery pillars symbolize the vast extent of his power, and the fire of his religious zeal.....

"The spread of the church over all countries will take place by the instrumentality of this strong monarch, and before the destruction of the world, christianity will be preached to all nations of the earth ; as this is foretold in Matthew, c. xxiv. v. 4 ; in Isaias, c. ii. v. 2 ; and in Micheas, c. iv. v. 2. To this wide diffusion of christianity allusion is made, when John is obliged to measure the temple of God. (Apoc. c. xi. v. 1.)

"And John saw one sitting upon a cloud, a son of man, with a golden crown upon his head, and a sharp sickle in his hand. (Apoc. xiv. 14.) This is the second vision respecting the mighty monarch ; the crown is that of the holy Roman empire ; the sickle in his hand, his unconquerable army, with which, without sustaining a defeat, he will vanquish all the enemies of God and His church.

"And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat upon the cloud, 'Thrust in thy sickle, and reap, because the hour is come to reap, for the harvest of the earth is ripe.' (Apoc. xiv. 15.)

"This angel of the Lord is that great and holy Pope, who, moved by God, will cry out of the sanctuary of the church to that mighty monarch, to root out the tares of wickedness, for the harvest is over-ripe ; the measure of sins and abominations is overflowing. Instructed by a divine revelation, the holy Pope will, by communicating the same, stir up the hearts of princes to a common war ; and God will touch the hearts of the soldiers, that, animated with one spirit, they all will adhere to the mighty monarch."—Beykirch, pp. 30-2.

These two images of a very saintly and divinely enlightened Pope, and of a very godly and puissant emperor, form prominent objects in the prophetic visions of divers holy seers, to whom the Almighty hath been pleased to reveal the future destinies of His church. In one of his visions, which we passed over, Holzhauser saw two mighty thrones, whereon sat respectively the supreme representatives of the spiritual and temporal power, and which overshadowed the whole earth ; thus realizing, on a more gigantic scale, the mediæval theory of the papal umpirage and imperial advocacy. In this commentary on the Apocalypse, as we have seen, this idea is more fully developed. It is strikingly corroborated in passages from other authorities, which we are now about to cite. The following prophecy by a brother John, who flourished about the year 1340, was copied from an old book at Leipzick, in the year 1498, by Maternus Hatten of Spire :

“The tyrants and the hostile people will arise, and unexpectedly assail the prelates and the ministers of the church, and rob them of all their temporal goods, their countships, their duchies, their territories, their cities, and revenues, and take possession of all their estates, and will ill-treat them, and afflict them in divers ways; and the clergy will not be able to withstand this treatment.

“Then will all ministers of the church, of whatever rank they may be, be forced under penalties and scourges to return to an apostolic life. The Pope will change his seat, and will, with his disciples, consume the bread of grief in tears. Whatever the church hath before suffered, will be exceeded by the coming afflictions. Fearful phenomena will be seen in the heavens; the earth will quake; the sea roar, and lift up its waves against the land. The air will become corrupt, and its natural breath be changed and perverted by pestilential diseases, because of the wickedness and abomination of men. Quickly will many, very many die. A famine will visit the west especially. Never will so many and such dread afflictions be heard of. The pomp of the great will disappear; the sciences and arts will fall into decay; and for a time all priests will remain in a state of humiliation.

“Yet, after so many afflictions, will a Pope be chosen, whom the will of God names, and the angels will crown this pious and perfect man. He, by his holiness, will remodel the world, and bring back all churchmen to the true way of living characteristic of Christ’s disciples, and they will be esteemed by all because of their virtue and holiness. This *Enlightened Pope* will preach barefoot, and fear no power of princes; he will bring all erring sheep back, and especially convert the Jews; and there will be but *one law, one faith, one baptism, one life*. All men will love each other, and peace will endure for long years.”—Beykirch, pp. 72–4.

This brother John predicts, also, very many particulars respecting the Reformation and the Revolution, which literally came to pass. He and many others agree in foretelling, that from the year 1490 to 1525, and from 1786 to 1800, events would occur which would have frightful wars, insurrections, and conspiracies, for their immediate consequence; *but whose greatest and most calamitous results would only later become manifest*.

In striking coincidence with these predictions respecting the “holy Pope and the powerful monarch,” we may cite a passage from the prophecies of the celebrated Father Ricci, general of the Jesuits, who died in 1773, in the odour of sanctity.

“That valiant duke,” he says, “will exercise a fatal vengeance on

all kings and princes who have betrayed their country. Woe to those who have made a prey of the kingdom of their forefathers, as well as of the Church. They must pay everything back with double interest. No safety will be in the house of those thieves. Inevitable punishment will pursue them ; for that very powerful duke hath sworn on oath before the face of the Lord, not to sheathe his sword till he hath avenged his country a hundred-fold. The great Babylon will fall. Protestantism will be extirpated, and the Turkish empire will perish, and that great duke* will be the *mightiest monarch* on the whole earth. His sceptre will be that of Manasses ; he will, in an assembly of men distinguished in the Church for their piety and wisdom, and with the aid of the holy Pope, introduce new laws and ordinances, and allay the spirit of anarchy, and restore our society, and call together its members from the most distant parts, in order to commence and educate a new age. Then will there be everywhere one flock and one shepherd, who will vouchsafe to the whole world and to all men of good-will, peace in the worship of the Lord our God.”—*Beykirch*, pp. 70, 71.

In exact conformity with the above prediction, is the following passage extracted from an old book entitled, “Life of Anti-christ, or a full detailed description of the future things of the world,” by Dionysius von Lützelburg, Capuchin. Frankfort, 1686. † The author thus prophesies of the Church :

“If the goodness of God hath ever stood by the Church in the moments of her deepest affliction ; if He hath ever rescued her out of all her distresses ; wherefore should He now leave her in such great misery until the end of the world ?.....Before the coming of Antichrist, He will bring His dear bride, the Church, out of all crosses and afflictions. He will stir up in her bosom a *Christian potentate*, who will perform marvellous deeds throughout dear Christendom. For He will impart to this prince such strength and power that not only by his authority will he bring *back all erring souls to the true sheep-fold*, but by the force of his arms he will strike down the Turk, take from him Hungary, Greece, together with the imperial city, Constantinople, and reincorporate it with dear Christendom.”—*Beykirch*, p. 72.

But this glorious state of things will not always endure.

* Ricci foretells that he will spring of an old and illustrious German house.

† Leben des Antichrist's oder gründliche, aus führliche Beschreibung von den zukünftigen Dingen der Welt, etc. Von Dionysius von Lützelburg, Kapuciner. Frankfort, 1686.

“The seventh and last period of the Church—the status desolationis, state of desolation—dates from the birth of Anti-christ, and lasts till the end of the world. In this age the apostacy from the faith will be general, and then will time come unto its end. To this period corresponds the seventh day of creation, when God concluded His work, and celebrated the Sabbath. So will God now close the work of spiritual creation, and repose in eternity with His saints and His elect. The evils of this age will be lukewarmness in faith—coldness of love—perturbation of public order—folly on the part of pastors and rulers, who will be like unto autumnal trees without fruits—wandering stars—and rainless clouds. This state of things is denoted by the name of the seventh community, *Iaodicea*, which signifies the spitting out; for Christ the Lord will spit out His lukewarm Christendom, and deliver it over to the son of perdition.—*Apoc. c. viii., v. 14–23.*”—*Beykirch*, p. 33.

Nothing can be more vivid than the portraiture which *Holzhauser* has traced of the times of Anti-christ. The prophetic description which *Daniel* gave of *King Antiochus*, (*c. xi.*) is shown to have a more complete fulfilment in the person of his anti-type—the son of perdition. His arrogance—his impiety—his lust—his savage persecution of the Christians, who can scarcely find a retreat in his universal empire, but must bury themselves in caverns and clefts of rocks—his prohibition of the eternal sacrifice—his lying wonders and infernal devices, are strikingly depicted. Equally so is the apparition of “the two witnesses,”* *Enoch* and *Elias*, who at the close of ages will come to testify in behalf of our Lord and God, *Christ*, against the arch-heresiarch, and final adversary of the Church. The one will appear as the representative of the primitive world—the other as that of the *Mosaic dispensation*. Like *St. John the Baptist*, they will be clad in hair-cloth, and will traverse the world, preaching penance and the judgment to come, to Jews and Heathens. Like *Moses*, they will smite a guilty world with plagues; they will turn rivers into blood, and call down fire from heaven. By the power of their word, and their wondrous signs, these two Prophets will change the hearts of countless multitudes, and will put to shame the lying wonders of Anti-christ and his false magicians. They will be put to death at last by the arch-seducer, who then will attain the acme of his triumph. But the resurrection of the two Prophets from the dead

* *Apoc. c. xi., v. 3.*

after three weeks and a half, will put an end to the orgies of the man of sin, and his infatuated hosts of followers. In his madness, Anti-christ will attempt from Mount Olivet, a mock ascension, to pluck down, as he will pretend, Enoch and Elias; but after reaching a great height in the air, the arch-seducer will suddenly be precipitated to the earth, and will be swallowed up alive into hell. Here, as we shall presently see, Holzhauser's prediction perfectly concurs with that of St. Hildegarde's, respecting the end of Anti-christ.

After the death of Anti-christ, saith our seer, days, not years, will be allotted for repentance to a guilty world. The general perturbation of nature—the roaring of the sea—the frightful meteors on the mountains—the darkening of the sun and moon—the dread and failing of the hearts of men because of the evils about to come upon them, as announced by our divine Lord, (Matthew, c. xxiv, and Luke, c. xxi,) are brought out in awful colours.* But the blast of the archangel's trump will put an end to the agonies of a dying world.

In a very remarkable passage, Holzhauser says, "that Anti-christ will be born in a wilderness of a woman initiated in all diabolical arts, and who will live in fornication with Heathens and Jews." How pregnant is each word in this passage! This son of perdition is to be born in a wilderness. The ancient Egyptians,† as well as the Hebrews, looked on the desert as the natural resort of evil spirits. Throughout scripture we find them, when cast out of men, or driven forth from the abodes of the living, taking refuge in the dry and waterless place. The mother of this evil one, is to be initiated in all the arts of the devil. What more natural than that he who, more than any other

* This passage of Holzhauser's reminds us of that eloquent description, which, in his "*Institutions*," Lactantius has given of the world's last days. It has often struck us, how much more vivid a conception the primitive Fathers evince of the times of Anti-christ, than later theologians and Christian writers. Was it that the afflicted condition of the Church in their own times, made them better apprehend the final persecution that should desolate her? Or was it that many prophecies and traditions on this matter were then rife among Christians, which have since faded away?

† See Creuzer's *Symbolik Egyptien*, vol. i.

mortal, will be endued with the power of infernal seduction—who will ply the arts of magic with more destructive potency than any other of God's enemies, should suck in the hellish craft with his mother's milk? She will also fornicate with Jews and Heathens. This carnal intercourse is doubtless typical of that monstrous medley of Jewish rancour and heathenish depravity, which will characterize the life and doctrines of Anti-christ and his followers. A remarkable instance of such a combination has been witnessed in our times in the Pantheistic Jews of Berlin; who form the most depraved section of the party, known by the name of "Young Germany," and are remarkable for their audacious impiety and cynical licentiousness, as well as virulent hostility to all the principles of domestic and social order.*

The four great types of Anti-christ, as theologians generally agree, are Antiochus, Nero, Simon Magus, and Mahomet. He will have, though in an intenser degree,

* These Jews are the disciples of the late Professor Hegel, of Berlin, the author of the most Anti-Christian philosophy that has ever been propounded. He taught that the essence of truth was in negation, and not in affirmation; that it was in man only the Deity attained to self-consciousness; that the dogmas of religion were only the myths and symbols of truths, which philosophy was to enunciate; that the former was adapted only to the infancy of nations, but the latter was formed for their manhood; that the Church, useful in her time, must now give way to the State, which is to assume all her functions. His opinions on the immortality of the soul he artfully concealed, and veiled his monstrous errors under the terms of Christian theology; so that he deceived some sincere Protestants, and among others, the late King of Prussia, who was his great patron. A portion of his disciples, however, like Bruno Bauer, Feuerbach, Vischer, and Heine, tore off this disguise, openly denied the immortality of the soul, preached up "the emancipation of the flesh," and the community of wives and goods.

A friend of ours had once the misfortune of meeting the Jew Pantheist, Heine, at Paris, and he informed us that his conversation was filled with blasphemies, especially against our Lord Christ. The unfortunate man, however, has lived to repent of his errors; and on the bed of sickness, has openly professed his belief in the existence of the Deity, and the immortality of the soul, and expressed a sorrow for his impious writings. May the Almighty, in His infinite goodness, vouchsafe him still farther graces!

the pride and impiety of Antiochus, the cruelty of Nero, the magical potency of Simon Magus, and the seductive influence of Mahomet. He will, like the Syrian king, set up his idol in the temple of the living God; like the Roman emperor, he will persecute the Saints of God, but like both his types, his persecution will not endure beyond three years and a half. He will seduce millions and millions, like the Arabian impostor; and it is remarkable, that St. Hippolytus, four centuries before the rise of Mahomet, has, in a Treatise he composed on Anti-christ, sketched a character which resembles in a remarkable manner, the false prophet of Asia. Like that primitive heresiarch who first disturbed the early Church, he will display his magical devices and lying wonders with a terrific power, "that will shake even the hearts of the elect." And, as we learn from Eusebius, that Simon Magus, while astonishing the Roman people by his magical arts, and flying in the air, was brought down to the earth by the prayers of St. Peter and St. Paul; so St. Hildegarde has predicted that the last heresiarch, the final adversary of the Church, will, while attempting to imitate the ascension of our Lord, be dashed down to the earth and killed.*

Let the reader compare with the above account the following revelation made to St. Hildegarde, and cited by Beykirch, (p. 61,) touching the end of Anti-christ. "Lastly," she says, "Anti-christ will himself consummate the tragedy; for, in imitation of our Lord Christ, he will attempt an ascension, and while he is lifted up to a great height, the charioteers of the air, at God's bidding,

* Of Simon Magus, Calmet writes as follows: "The sort of death, which carried off Simon, wonderfully confirms St. Paul's prediction. He dared to pretend that, like Christ, he could ascend into heaven as a Messiah and a Son of God. He therefore used all the secrets of his art, and promised that in the sight of the Roman people he would be carried up into heaven. In truth, by the aid of the demons, he was borne upon a fiery chariot through the air; but at the prayer of St. Peter and Paul, who were then at Rome, he was precipitated to the ground, and there lay with his broken thighs. Thence removed, he was shortly afterwards so agitated by grief and shame, that he threw himself from the top of a house, where he was detained."—Calmet, *Comment. lit. in Ep. Paul.* vol. iv., pp. 177—78.

will be suddenly carried off, and he will fall headlong to the ground, and give up the ghost."

We must add that, according to Holzhauser, Mahometanism will become extinct, except in a small remnant of its professors, and that out of that remnant Anti-christ will be born.

We now pass to the prophecies of Brother Hermann, a monk of Lehnin in Brandenburg, respecting the destinies of the Electors and Kings of Prussia, and which yield only to Holzhauser's in point of interest and importance, and we will add, accurate fulfilment. Brother Hermann is not so well known a personage as Holzhauser, and his predictions are of a more local character; yet he agrees with the former in foretelling the utter extinction of Protestantism in Germany, the complete return of that country to the Catholic faith, and the re-establishment of political unity in that empire. Whatever people may think of this prophecy, they must allow that there is a very striking coincidence between its predictions and the leading events of Prussian history.

Brother Hermann was a monk of the Cistercian monastery of Lehnin, flourished about the year 1270, and died in the odour of sanctity. His prophecies regard more immediately his monastery and that of Chorin in the Uckermark. But as the destiny of these cloisters was most closely connected with the vicissitudes which befell the reigning princes, the history of these rulers constitutes the main purport of this prophecy. Hermann predicts the downfall of the house of Ascania, portrays very accurately the Hohenzollern princes, states the time and circumstances attending the introduction of Protestantism, and foretells that this religion will last till the *eleventh successor* of that Hohenzollern, who first became a Lutheran.

With the retirement of this family from the arena of history, Hermann connects the re-establishment of the Germanic empire, and the restoration of the one Catholic Church. Then according to this prophecy, in perfect accordance with Holzhauser, will a glorious period dawn for Church and State. It is written in one hundred leonine verses, that is to say, hexameters which rhyme in the middle and at the end of each verse. This metre is found in ancient inscriptions of the monastery,—a proof that the monks of Lehnin were familiar with this mode of

versification. According to a tradition generally credited, the MS. was brought from Lehnin to Berlin, and there carefully concealed. In the year 1723, Professor Lilienthal, of Königsberg, edited this prophecy after an ancient MS., and for a hundred years it has been often attacked, and as often defended. But its best defence is that its predictions have ever been accurately realized, and so has Hermann proved himself a true prophet.

M. Beykirch has illustrated Hermann's prophecies with short but able historical annotations. Passing over the Hohenzollerns of the middle age, we come to the period of the introduction of Protestantism into Prussia.

Joachim I., Nestor, the last Catholic Prince.

"47. Yet a woman will introduce a melancholy pest into our Fatherland,

"48. A woman that contracts the poison of a new snake,

"49. And this poison will endure even to the eleventh generation. [To this M. Beykirch appends his comment]

"Joachim's wife, Elizabeth, a princess of Denmark, conformed to the Lutheran creed, and introduced this, which Hermann calls a melancholy pest and poison, into Brandenburg. Now Brother Hermann describes, in the bitterest expressions, the melancholy schism and its still more disastrous effects, which will last till the eleventh member of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

Joachim II., the first Lutheran Prince.

"50. Now riseth up one, who hates thee, O Lehnin, excessively.

"51. He divides like a knife; impious is he, fornicator and adulterer;

"52. He ravages the Church—the goods of the Church doth he sell.

"53. Go now, my people! Thou hast no more a protector,

"54. Till the hour shall strike, when Restoration shall come.

"Joachim II., contrary to the promise he gave to his dying father, and chiefly at the instigation of his mother, soon conformed to the Lutheran church. He led an *adulterous* life, inasmuch as he kept a whole seraglio of women, and especially in his connexion with a widow bearing the name of Ridow, outraged all morality. The soft palliating name of *gallantry* was then unknown, and such sins were called in the plain-spoken, popular dialect, *whoredom and adultery*. Joachim not only confiscated Lehnin, from which he expelled the monks with a pittance of from twenty to thirty florins, but he took possession of countless other monasteries, and of the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Lebus. The

Catholics now remained in the March of Brandenburg without protectors, and were, and still are, exposed to vexations and oppressions, that will last till the restoration of the Germanic empire, and of the Catholic Church, which is perhaps not very remote.

John George.

"55. The son of this senseless fool his father's Institutes approves.

"56. Imprudent he is, and yet the name of one pious he'll get :

"57. Strict enough he is not, and therefore of monarchs the best he is called.

Beykirch's Comment.

"Joachim's son, John George, pursued the course of his father. Like a silly one, he burned the image of the Pope, tolerated no Calvinists in his dominions, and therefore was called the *pious*. He gave a kindly reception to all Catholic monks and priests, who were looking out for wives, and on that account was called the best sovereign.

"58. This will be his lot, to see one of his race who is not like unto him.

"59. In a year of mourning he quits life in an honourable place.

Beykirch's Comment.

"John George saw still his grandson, John Sigismund, who did not remain like to his grandfather, but went over from the Lutheran to the Calvinistic Church. He died in the year of pestilence, 1598, in the splendid castle of Cologne, having bequeathed Neumark to Christian, his son by the third marriage."—*Beykirch*, pp. 41—43.

The character and destinies of the other Hohenzollern princes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are shadowed forth by Brother Hermann with marvellous truth and exactness. He notices especially their alternate protection and prosecution of the Lutheran and Calvinistic creeds; and some of the minutest incidents in their history escape not the glance of the holy seer.

Coming down to the Hohenzollerns of modern times, let us hear what he says of Frederick II., and of his successors. As the prophecies approach to our own times, they gain in importance as well as in interest. If it be even asserted, contrary to all historical evidence, that this prophecy was fabricated by Professor Lilienthal about one hundred and thirty years ago, when he first edited it,

still we are to account for the striking and minute coincidence between its predictions and historical events in Prussia, posterior to the period of its publication. But of this coincidence it is for the reader now to form an opinion.

Let us now hear what the prophet says of Frederick II.

“81. Soon the youth gnashes his teeth, while the illustrious mother sighs in child-bed. [Here follows the Commentary.]

“The son of Frederick William I., called Frederick the Great, possessing a powerful army of 80,000 men, and a Treasury replenished by his avaricious father, gnashed his teeth with lust of war, and burst into Silesia; while Maria Theresa, the empress, lay in her bed of labour, and sighed over the intelligence.

“82. But who can restore to quiet the excited state?

Commentary. “This war once begun, endured many years. The first Silesian war lasted from 1740 to 1742; the second from 1744 to 1745; and the seven years’ war from 1756 to 1763.

“83. He grasps the banner, yet stern misfortune will he have to deplore.

Commentary. “Old Fritz grasped indeed the warlike banner, but was often worsted in many a severe defeat, and lost the battles near Collin, Kunersdorf, Hochkirch, and Dresden.

“84. ‘Flantibus hinc Austris, vitam vult credere claustris.’ ‘While the south-wind blows from hence, he wishes to devote his days to a cloister.’

Comment. “When old Fritz was on one occasion hard pressed by the Austrians, and closely pursued by the Hungarian hussars, he took refuge in a Cistercian monastery, was disguised by the abbot in a monk’s dress, went into the choir, and was not found out by the Austrians, who were searching for him. Under the ‘*Austris*,’ is not therefore to be understood the south-wind, but the Austrians. Who could have dreamed of such an interpretation? And yet these words stood already printed in 1723!

Frederick William II.

“85. ‘Qui sequitur, pravos imitatur pessimus avos.’ ‘His successor, who is the worst, imitates his depraved forefathers.’

“86. ‘Non robur menti; non adsunt numina genti.’ ‘He has no strength of mind; the people is without God.’

Comment. “This prince was, in fact, the worst of all the Hohenzollerns, as his uncle, Frederick II., had foretold. His whole life was consumed in dissoluteness, in credulity, in keeping of mistresses;

and was marked by the most detestable severity in the method of recruiting soldiers. From the Court, licentiousness of morals spread through all ranks of society, and Berlin was even then in the highest degree corrupt. By lust, the mental powers of this prince were entirely enervated. Unbelief, in the train of immorality, obtained such an ascendant, that in the year 1788, so many Protestant ministers had agreed on a particular day to preach that the *divinity* of our Lord Jesus Christ was a mere idle fantasy, that the minister of the King, Wöllner, was compelled to issue a very severe edict against this project. So the highly boasted Reformation already bore its fruits! The people was robbed of its faith in God!

“87. ‘Cujus opem petit, contrarius hic sibi stetit.’ ‘He who seeketh his aid, becometh his own foe.’

Comment. “Austria sought Prussia’s *aid* against France. Prussia granted it; advanced with an army against France, but left the Austrians quite in the lurch, so that the latter, when the Prussians had retired, had to encounter the whole French army, and were severely beaten. By such *aid* the Austrians experienced only misfortune, and became in fact their own enemies. In like manner, Stanislaus, King of Poland, was his own enemy, when he relied on the *firmly promised aid* of Prussia. The latter broke her word, and he lost his crown. So likewise, Frederick William II., rushed to the unfortunate Lewis XVI.; but by his inconsiderate expedition, and his haughty manifestoes, he so exasperated the French, that they murdered their poor king. *Whoso, therefore, sought his aid, brought hostility on himself.*

“88. ‘Et perit in undis, dum miscet summa profundis.’ ‘And he perisheth in water, while he mingles high with the low.’

Comment. “After his whole life had been a medley of lofty and mean attempts, he died debilitated by dissipation of the dropsy; and so perished in water. *Perire in undis*, is the same as to die of the dropsy.

Frederick William III., the last King of Prussia.

“89. ‘Natus florebit, quod non sperasset, habebit.’ ‘His son will flourish, he will obtain what he had not hoped for.’

Comment. “Frederick William III., the son of the preceding king, lost, in consequence of the unfortunate battle of Jena, most of his provinces; and Prussia became a very small State. Who would have then thought that the words of our prophet would have been fulfilled? And yet Prussia obtained, after Napoleon’s overthrow, *what it had never hoped for*; for Frederick William gained portions of Saxony, and even of the old French empire. And whereas he had previously ruled only over six millions of people, he had now a population of thirteen millions subject to his sway.

“90. ‘Sed populus tristis flebit temporibus istis.’ ‘But the sad people will weep in those times.’

“91. ‘Nam sortis miræ videntur fata venire.’ ‘For the destinies of a wonderful lot appear to be coming.’

Comment. “The French war wrung many tears from the people, *mourning over such misfortunes*; so likewise did the forced union of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches, brought about at the point of the bayonet. Lastly, the attacks which this king made on the Catholic Church; the imprisonment of the two Archbishops; and the laws of coercion respecting mixed marriages, whereby the children of a Catholic mother were forced to become Lutheran, drew *many tears* from faithful Catholics, and from mourning mothers. This history of the union of the two Lutheran and Calvinist churches—the oppression of the clergy—the unjust laws on marriage, solely calculated, as they were, for the increase of Protestantism, and the consequences thence issuing, were certainly wonderful events. To the pious prophet, who had never seen the like, they must, indeed, have appeared something prodigious; and therefore he anxiously adds, ‘the destinies of a wonderful lot *seem* to be coming.’

“92. ‘Et princeps nescit, quod nova potentia crescit.’ ‘And the prince knoweth not that a new power is growing up.’

Comment.

“By the Evangelical Union, the king had estranged the hearts of his Protestant subjects, and called up the new power of Religious Indifferentism, and distrust towards the civil Government, which offered violence to conscience. The desire became strong among Protestants, that their Church should be rendered independent of the State. By the imprisonment of the Archbishops of Cologne and Posen, as well as by the unjust marriage-laws, the king aroused the Catholics, till then lukewarm; and thus in that body arose *the new power of religious zeal*, and of *aversion to Prussia*, which only the Catholic doctrine of obedience to sovereignty prevents from bursting out into the open flame of rebellion. Then, by patronizing the atheistical state-philosophy of Hegel, he promoted unbelief, and thereby raised up a most hostile power, the godless race of scribblers—the proletarii of literature.

“By unbounded freedom of industry, and unlimited license accorded to marriages, whereby men multiplied like the sand, a numerous, poor, and starving class of workmen was formed—the Proletarii—who have become *a new, and hitherto unknown power* in the state. In like manner, by giving too great extent to the numbers and authority of the functionaries, he created the *new power of Bureaucracy*, which ruled the land more than the king himself, and which, by reason of its various formalities, its coarseness, and its arrogance, (for the few good functionaries are as exceptions known to all), brought down the hatred of the people on the king, who was accounted responsible for the conduct of these officials. Thus

sprang up the new power of the democracy and the Revolution. *These fearful new powers grew up without the king's knowing it.* He was like all princes," (as Holzhauser stated above), "smitten with blindness; so that he saw not the approaching evils, and did not prepare for the struggle. God took him off at the right time, and he lived not to see the sad fruits of his measures of government. But he left to his worthy and noble son a crop, the harvest whereof the latter must now witness."—Beykirch, pp. 47-52.

Last in this long line of princes comes the reigning sovereign of Prussia, the accomplished, eloquent, well-intentioned, though often misguided Frederick William IV. This prince has to reap the bitter fruits of ancestral policy. A certain fatality seems to attend all his measures. Sound in most of his views of government, he yet often wants the resolution to carry them out, or they encounter insuperable obstacles in men and in things. He has now given himself up to ministers, who alternately resist and cajole the Revolution, and by their ambitious schemes of Prussian aggrandizement, prevent the establishment of a sound federal government, and thus jeopardize the peace and safety of entire Germany.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM IV., PRESENT KING OF PRUSSIA.

"93. 'Tandem sceptrum gerit, qui ultimus stemmatis erit.'—'At length he sways the sceptre, who will be the last of his race.'

Comment. "From Joachim III., who espoused the Lutheran doctrines, Frederick William IV. is the eleventh prince in succession. 1. John George. 2. Joachim Frederick. 3. John Sigismund. 4. George William. 5. Frederick William, the great elector. 6. Frederick I. 7. Frederick William I. 8. Frederick II. 9. Frederick William II. 10. Frederick William III. 11. Frederick William IV. Consequently, the 49th verse, 'The eleventh is to be the last,' agrees with the 93rd verse, 'At last he bears the sceptre who is to be the last of his race.' The king has no heirs; and this circumstance of itself rendered this prophecy very probable. Many think these words may mean, that the king will become Catholic and emperor of Germany. Whether the one or the other event will occur,—whether if it occur it will have any duration, the sequel will prove.

"94. 'Israel infandum scelus audet, morte pium.'—'Israel ventures on a deed, which must be expiated by death.'

Comment. "Here is question of a dreadful and capital crime. Many have referred this verse to the murderous attempt of the burgomaster, Tschsch, whom some wish to make a Jew of. Others

refer it to the assassination of a Father Thomas in Smyrna by the Jews ; but what has Father Thomas in Smyrna to do with Prussia ? Others assert, the Revolution of Berlin in March, 1848, is meant. Others put other words in the text, and instead of *Israel*, read *is Rex*, this king, whom they make the author of a dreadful crime. The mild and pious character of our king forbids any such supposition. Others, by *Israel*, understand the people in general ; but for this object Hermann makes use of very different words. Others again refer this verse to Pius IX., and the recent scandals of the Roman people. But what has Pius IX. to do with Prussia ? Nothing remains for us but patiently to await that solution which the future will bring us.

“ If we would not take the word *Israel* literally, the proposition would run thus : ‘ The people, fallen away from God, ventures on a fruitful crime.

“ 95. ‘ Et pastor gregem recipit, Germania regem.’—‘ And the shepherd receives his flock again, and Germany her king.’

“ 96. ‘ The march (of Brandenburg) forgetting her ancient sorrows,’

“ 97. ‘ Nourisheth her children ; the stranger no longer rejoiceth over her ;’

“ 98. ‘ The old walls of Lehnin and Chorin rise up anew,’

“ 99. ‘ And the clergy shines forth in its high honours, according to ancient custom.’

“ 100. ‘ No ferocious wolf any longer molests the noble flock.’

Comment. “ These last words very clearly show that all Germany will return to the one church, be *united* under *one* pastor, and be *united* under *one* king. This our protestant brethren, if they possess true patriotism, must sincerely desire along with us. The mother church, —the Catholic Church, and the common father,—the Germanic empire, have long stretched forth their arms towards those who once quitted mother and father, and built up in the cold north a house for themselves. May God, in His infinite mercy, guide their hearts and steps very soon, that again there may be but one fold and one shepherd.”—Beykirch, pp. 52-4.

Almost all commentators on this prophecy agree in referring the 93rd verse, “ At last he sways the sceptre, who will be the last of his race,” to the reigning king of Prussia ; for brother Hermann, as if to leave no doubt as to his meaning, positively states, (verse 49), that “ the eleventh is to be the last.” And we have already seen, that William IV. the present king, is the eleventh in the line of the Lutheran princes of Prussia. Besides, as the prophet has hitherto followed the strict order of chronologi-

cal succession, it would be quite a gratuitous assumption to suppose, that he would suddenly pass over some of the Hohenzollern princes, and then speak of the last. But here comes the difficulty. Ninety-three verses out of the hundred, as we have seen, have been literally fulfilled; but the remaining seven which are yet unfulfilled, or are in the course of fulfilment, announce portentous, almost miraculous events, some of a tragic, some of a very consoling nature. These events are nothing more nor less than the downfall of the royal house of Hohenzollern;—some fearful political crime or convulsion;—the restoration of Germany's old political unity;—the return of that country to the Catholic faith;—a great change in the moral and political condition of Brandenburg;—the specific restoration in that province of the old monasteries of Lehnin and Chorin, that have been secularized for upwards of three hundred years;—the re-establishment of the Catholic clergy, in all their ancient honours and dignities;—and lastly, the undisturbed peace and freedom of the Catholic Church throughout Germany.

In a human point of view, nothing seems more improbable than the occurrence of such prodigious events, either during or at the close of the reign of the present Prussian monarch, supposing even that reign protracted for a period of thirty years longer. A French writer, Bouveret, (*Extrait d'un Manuscrit relatif à la Prophétie du Frere Hermann de Lehnin avec des Notes explicatives*), explains the prophecy as follows: If the present king of Prussia were to become a Catholic, he would not perish; but would become king of re-united Germany. We sincerely trust that the present sovereign of that country, who is the best Hohenzollern that has for a long time reigned, who is less prejudiced against the Catholic Church than any of his protestant ancestors; and, on his coming to the throne, incurred much unpopularity in the north, for certain concessions to that church, may be favoured with the grace of conversion to the true faith. But his conversion is not equivalent to the conversion of Protestant Germany, announced in the ninety-fifth verse; and still less is the fearful prediction formally uttered in the preceding verse, accounted for or explained on the hypothesis of the French writer. Thus we must reject Bouveret's explanation as quite unsatisfactory. The other interpretations of these mysterious verses,

cited by Beykirch in the passage above-quoted, are some of them absurd, others inapplicable.

The future alone can uplift the mysterious veil ; but we may venture to make a few suggestions in order to show, that the mighty events foretold in the last eight verses of this prophecy, are not so utterly beyond the bounds of probability, as might at first sight be imagined.

First, with regard to the return of Protestant Germany to the Catholic faith, let us see what grounds exist for such an expectation. In the first place, the bankruptcy of faith is so extensive in that country, that we must suppose either its social destruction, or its conversion, at no distant period, to the Catholic church. Secondly, a number of men, eminent for piety, talents, learning, and birth, have there, within the last fifty years, embraced the true faith,—men who may be looked upon as the harbingers of a more general conversion. Thirdly, in those German provinces, where the Catholic and Protestant churches come in contact, conversions are not confined to the higher and educated classes ; but take place in all ranks of life. Fourthly, it would be an error to suppose, that in all districts of Protestant Germany, and among all classes of its inhabitants, rationalism has made equal progress. Fifthly, a reaction in favour of christianity, though slow and partial, had been going on in Prussia long prior to the awful Revolution of March, 1848 ; but since that period, that reaction has acquired much greater intensity ; and prejudices against the Catholic church have, in the minds of many, given way to kindlier sentiments. The organ of those, who may not be inaptly called the Prussian Tories, the "*Neue Preussische Zeitung*,"* gives utterance, from time to time, to a sort of muttering, half-stifled Puseyism. Lastly, most of the German governments since the Revolution of 1848, copying an important article in the "Grund Rechte"† of

* In one of its recent numbers for July, 1850, this journal spoke of the Reformation as an utterly revolutionary measure, which failed to remove the evils under which the Catholic church then laboured, and in part still labours. Dr. Meinold, a distinguished protestant minister, has recently called Hermann of *Lehnin* the most wonderful seer that has existed since the Hebrew prophets of old, and says, that his prophecy as to the whole world becoming Catholic, is by no means improbable.

† Grund-rechte, in German, means "fundamental rights."

the Frankfort Parliament, have solemnly guaranteed full liberty to the Catholic church. Austria has been the first to realize her promise; but it is impossible, after that example and their own formal pledges, that the other governments of Germany can refuse to remove most, if not all, the grievances of the church of Christ. But this emancipation of the church would, on one hand, complete the moral and intellectual renovation which has long been going on in Catholic Germany; and on the other hand, facilitate the spread of Catholicism in the protestant portion of that great country.

For all these reasons we conclude, that the return of Protestant Germany to the Catholic faith in the course of fifty or sixty years hence, is not so chimerical a supposition as might at first be imagined. We must moreover remember, that Holzhauser predicts a mighty and sudden change in the minds of men, on which no human foresight could have calculated. So the period of Germany's conversion may even be nearer than we have stated.

With the extinction of Protestantism would vanish the main obstacle to the restoration of Germany's political unity. *Et pastor gregem recipit, Germania regem.* But still we have passed over the intermediate links of the prophecy—the downfall of the Hohenzollerns, and the fearful catastrophe announced in the ominous ninety-fourth verse. Well, suppose King Frederick William IV., who is now in his fiftieth year, should reign for twenty-five years longer, and that on his demise without issue a revolution should break out in the Prussian dominions; that those dominions, which are but of recent and artificial growth, should fall to pieces, and be dismembered; and that the surviving members of the House of Hohenzollern should either die out, or perish in these civil commotions, or renounce their rights of sovereignty. If we suppose this revolution, with its civil wars, to last for ten or fifteen years, we have then ample scope for the growth and spread of Catholicity in Northern Germany, and we can account for the downfall of the Hohenzollerns, and the return of the German nation to their old imperial unity. For second to the religious schism, which for three centuries has divided the North and the South of Germany, the great power of Prussia is admitted on all hands to be a main obstacle to the re-establishment of that complete political unity. But in this unity the Proper Prussia or Branden-

burg will not lose its identity ; it will, on the contrary, preserve, though it would seem under a new dynasty, its old political existence, and that in a degree of greater happiness and splendour.

This explanation of an unfulfilled prophecy is of course like everything respecting the Future, a matter of mere conjecture, which a thousand occurrences may belie ; and it is therefore as a mere conjecture presented by the writer. But it has, we humbly conceive, nothing contrary to reason, is not improbable in itself, and corresponds to the different parts of the Prophecy in question, better than any other interpretation which we have seen suggested by German or French writers. Our sole motive in making the above hypothesis, was to show that the last verses of the prediction, startling as they may seem, are susceptible of a rational explanation. The *infandum scelus* (v. 94) we have interpreted, as the reader has seen, by revolution and civil war. The words, we think, intimate a *national* rather than *individual* crime ; and as the excellent Clarus says, “Is there a more horrible crime which a nation can commit, than resistance to the sovereignty instituted by God—the *de facto* denial of Divine Grace, which hath consecrated power, or hath suffered it to be consecrated by the lapse of time?” The mind, indeed, recoils from all the dark forebodings suggested by the ominous ninety-fourth verse. May God in His infinite mercy avert such calamities from Germany, from Prussia, from the august head of that excellent prince, who has already so cruelly expiated the sins of his forefathers—their apostacy—their plunder of church property—their licentiousness—their tyranny—their persecution of the Catholic faith—their encouragement to rationalism and infidelity ! May the Almighty abridge the trials of His saints ; and suffer the triumph of His Church, and the peace, union, freedom, and happiness of Germany to be brought about without bloodshed, without convulsion !

We shall conclude this portion of the subject with citing some pertinent remarks from the distinguished Protestant critic, Menzel. After observing how impenetrable was the Future to all human eyes, he says,

“When we reflect how wonderfully all Germans now strive after unity, we cannot help finding something mysterious in those verses, 93, 94, and 95. All is indeed dark therein. Who is meant by Israel ? What is to be understood by

the *infandum scelus*? Whose death is here spoken of? All is mysterious; and yet the image of a German king suddenly looms in this vision, like the distant sunrise above a rocky precipice yawning fearfully beneath. This is the genuine character of prophecy, and whatever we may think of the one before us, it has a sort of poetical terror, like the Apocalypse.”*

Such is this remarkable prophecy by the old monk of Lehnin, which has the literal distinctness characteristic, as we before said, of the prophetic oracles of the Old Covenant, and which in this respect stands in striking contrast with the enigmatic symbolism of Holzhauser’s mysterious visions.

We must now conclude with the following enthusiastic anticipations of M. Beykirch, as to the glorious prospects now opening to the Church in Europe, and which form the summing up of the prophecies he has collected and analysed.

“Amid these great changes and mighty storms,” says he, “the old religious contests will disappear, opinions will be changed, and the way for the re-union of minds be prepared. This is the time of which Möhler had predicted; ‘Catholics and Protestants in great multitudes will meet; they will extend the hand of fellowship one to the other, and, conscious of their faults, will *mutually* exclaim: We all have erred; *she* only is immaculate on the earth:—and this open avowal of a common guilt will open the great festival of reconciliation.’ Then will all nations, from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof, arise, and worship the Lord God in the true faith; and under that holy Pastor of nations, the enlightened Pope, will the erring and scattered sheep be united *in one flock*. Under this Pope the clergy will rise to new honours, and be animated with a fresh zeal.....Then will superstition, as well as infidelity, disappear; for the long-enduring, contrite people, subdued by the strokes of adversity, will receive the old, genuine Bible-wine—the pure word of God in its evangelical strength and simplicity. Even science will then no longer play with empty forms, will no longer be a torment to the mind, but will be a clear, intelligible doctrine respecting God and all things necessary and useful for man to know. The Christian Schools, Seminaries, and Universities will then be no longer mere institutes for disciplining the understanding, but establishments for training *all* the faculties of the mind. Christians will eagerly resort to the fountains of eternal water, which flow out of the sanctuary of the Church.”—Beykirch, pp. 140—2.

* See Literatur-Blatt. No. 76, anno 1848.

ART. VII.—*The Life and Death of Oliver Plunkett*, Primate of Ireland, the last Victim of the Popish Plot, and the last Martyr who was put to Death by public authority for the Catholic Faith in the British Dominions. By the REV. GEORGE CROLLY. Dublin, Duffy, 1850.

THERE are few Catholics in Ireland to whom the name of Oliver Plunkett is unknown. It is sacred in the recollection of all who reverence excellence, and love the holy and the good; and it has long been a matter of just reproach, that no generally available record existed of a life which was spent amid the vicissitudes of a troubled and a disastrous time, but which is capable of affording us many a lesson of rare and exalted virtue. There have been many such lives in every period of our past history; and if our ecclesiastical biography is not so copious as that of other nations, it is not because there is a want of subjects to be noticed, but because so few have devoted themselves to the arduous but meritorious duty of chronicling the labours and virtues of those who have gone before them. Our ecclesiastical biography is miserably meagre. The inmates of our ancient monasteries seem to have been more anxious to realize holiness in themselves than to describe it in others, and for the histories of some of our greatest and most glorious prelates, we are indebted to the natives of other countries. We trust that henceforward the reproach will cease to be applicable, and that the industry and talent of the future will more than compensate for the comparative unproductiveness of the past.

And yet, while we lament the paucity of our ecclesiastical records, we consider it as a misfortune, and not as a fault. There is no one who reads the pages of the volume before us, who will not admit, that for the last two centuries at least, literary occupations were altogether out of the question. A desperate votary of knowledge, like De Burgo, might venture on the forlorn hope with a zeal that no peril of fine or imprisonment could dismay, but the great body would shrink from the task, where secrecy and concealment were the dictates of ordinary prudence. But the time is past, and we trust for ever, when such fears need be entertained. "The storms are over, and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land." The

work which has suggested these remarks, is but one of a class that promises to rescue the fame and virtues of our great men from the oblivion to which they have been unfortunately so long consigned. There are few more competent to the task he has undertaken than the learned and amiable author, and there are few works which will be received with a more hearty and cordial welcome by the public, than the *Life and Death of Oliver Plunkett*.

The illustrious and martyred primate of Ireland was not only remarkable for the excellence of his individual character, but the circumstances in which his lot was cast were calculated to develope to their full extent, the great qualities which he possessed. The period at which he lived, was one of the most eventful in the whole history of the Irish Church.

“Oliver Plunkett,” says our author, “was born at Loughcrew, in the county of Meath, about the year 1631. He was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families in Ireland, and was a near relative of the earls of Fingal. From his earliest youth, he was equally distinguished by the purity of his morals and the excellence of his understanding. Without being of an age to take any active part in the scenes of blood which were enacted in his unhappy country from 1641 to 1649, he was old enough to appreciate these horrors, and to remember the miserable dissensions which paralyzed the efforts of the Irish nation, and left it a chained victim, unable to resist the arm that was raised to immolate it for the vengeance of its enemies. It was not, however, pusillanimity, nor want of affection for his native land, that induced him to seek knowledge in a foreign clime; but having resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical state, he determined to qualify himself for the discharge of its important duties, by acquiring in the capital of the christian world, that learning which the cruelty of penal laws and the turbulence of the times prevented him from finding in his own country. He left Ireland in 1649,—the year of Cromwell’s arrival,—and the tales of woe which resounded through all Europe, and followed him to Rome, far exceeded the worst horrors which had occurred before his departure.

“Sad indeed was the condition of the Church and people of Ireland at this period. The young and the old, the venerable bishop and the youthful priest, were torn from under the very altar, dragged from their holes in the earth, where they burrowed like vermin, or caught as they crept from them to administer the sacraments to some dying sinner, and instantly put to death. O’Brien, bishop of Emly was, in 1651, bound in chains and cast into prison, in Limerick, and neither threats nor promises were spared in order to induce him to abandon the Catholic faith. These, however, proving

unavailing, he was hanged, and his head being taken off, was placed on a pike, and raised on the citadel, where it remained until after the Restoration. About the same time, Egan, bishop of Ross was tortured and put to death in that town. He had for a long time been concealed in a cavern of a neighbouring mountain; but having left his retreat to visit a dying person, he was discovered on his return, and on his refusing to renounce the faith, was given up to the fury of the Puritan soldiery. His arms were struck off his body on the spot, and he was then brought to a neighbouring tree, amid the jeers and scoffs of his tormentors, and then hanged on one of the branches by the reins of his own horse. Emir Mathew, Bishop of Clogher, being loaded with irons, was cast into a dungeon in Enniskillen, where he was at length freed from his sufferings by being hanged. His bowels were afterwards taken out and burned, and his head placed on a pole in the market-place. Arthur Maginnis, bishop of Down, being old and infirm, died at sea, endeavouring to escape his enemies.

“Of the other prelates, the celebrated Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, escaped to Ghent, where he died, on the twenty-third of August, 1678. Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, after being hunted for a long time through the mountains of Tipperary, at length found an asylum in Compostella, in Spain. The bishops of Cork and Cloyne, and Waterford, and Lismore, fled to Nantz; the bishops of Limerick and Raphae, to Brussels; the bishop of Clonfert, to Hungary; the bishop of Leighlin, to Galicia; the bishop of Killaloe, to Rennes, in Brittany; the bishop of Kilfenora, to Normandy; and the bishop of Kilmacdua was screened by his friends in England. Besides these, John Burke, Archbishop of Tuam, Patrick Plunkett, bishop of Ardagh, and every other prelate in the kingdom were forced to fly from it, with the exception of the primate, Hugh O'Reilly, Geoghegan, bishop of Meath, and McSweeny, bishop of Kilmore, who, however, was disqualified by age and infirmity from discharging any of the functions of his office.”—page 6.

We have quoted this passage at some length, because it shows at one view the disastrous condition to which the Irish Church was reduced at this period. We do not know that at any other time it was so utterly destitute of pastors; and if the special providence of God had not been exerted in its behalf, in this its hour of need, the succession of the hierarchy would have been broken, and the faith of her people exposed to the most imminent danger. The heart sickens at the bare recital of the atrocities perpetrated on the clergy for the sole offence of exercising their clerical functions.

It was at such a period that Plunkett applied himself to the sacred ministry. The career which he un-

undertook, was one of labour and privation, and the doom that awaited him it was not difficult to foresee; it was that of many a priest and prelate who preceded him; it was eventually his own,—a bloody and cruel death on the gibbet or the scaffold. He made his ecclesiastical studies in the Ludovisian college in Rome, which was then administered by the Jesuits. He entered in the summer of 1649; distinguished himself in every department of science; and, having taken out the degree of Doctor in Divinity, was appointed public Professor of Theology in the college of the Propaganda. This situation he held for a period of twelve years. In 1669, O'Reilly, the Archbishop of Armagh, died at Louvain, whither he had been forced to fly for refuge from the severity of the penal laws, and after much deliberation, Clement IX. appointed Oliver Plunkett to fill the vacant See.

"If the Church of Ireland," says Mr. Crolly, "had not been persecuted at this time, the temper and pursuits of Oliver Plunkett would, most probably, have induced him to prefer the seclusion of his college to the government of the Irish Church. But to have hesitated a moment in her present circumstances, would have savoured of cowardice, and he, therefore, accepted the office instantly, and with alacrity. Nor did he, for a moment, think of remaining abroad, and evading the perils with which he knew he would be encompassed in Ireland, by entrusting the government of his diocese to a vicar-general; for immediately after his consecration he set out for Ireland, carrying with him particular instructions from the Pope, regarding the regulation of his own conduct and that of his clergy. On his way he visited Louvain, where he saw his countryman, Arsdekin, and was one of the first who urged that eminent man to write a theology which should be peculiarly adapted for the guidance of the apostolic missionaries in these persecuted countries."—page 16.

The new Primate arrived in Ireland in 1669. The precise period is not known, but he could not have been very long in the country when the bloodhounds were let loose upon his trail.

"On the 20th of November, the Lord Lieutenant, Robarts, pretended to Lord Conway that the king had privately informed him that two persons, one of whom was Archbishop Plunkett, 'had been sent from Rome, and were lurking in the country to do mischief.' Although 'it was very late,' Robarts commanded Lord Conway to write that very night to Lisburn, in the county of

Antrim, to his brother-in-law, Sir George Plowdon, to tell him that it would be an acceptable service if he could dexterously find out the Primate and his companion, and apprehend them.”—page 19.

In 1670, occurred his dispute with Dr. Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, about the right to the Primacy. Dr. Plunkett maintained that the Primacy always belonged, as a matter of right, to the See of Armagh. He offered to leave the decision of the question to the prelates of the Synod, but Dr. Talbot refused the offer, and both sent their reasons to the Holy See. After due consideration, the Propaganda decided in favour of Dr. Plunkett, and declared that the Archbishop of Armagh was made by St. Patrick with the authority of the Holy See, Metropolitan of the whole kingdom.

“In the year 1671, which was the next after that in which the convocation was held in Dublin, Dr. Plunkett was delegated by commissorial letters from the Holy See, to decide on a dispute which had been carried on with great animosity between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The question related to the respective rights of the two orders, to receive the alms of the faithful in the dioceses of Armagh, Down, Dromore, and Clogher. Each of the orders had been settled in the province of Ulster, before the Cromwellian persecutions, and all the houses belonging to each were destroyed during these lamentable times. Whether any of the Franciscans who had resided in those places, escaped death or exile, does not appear; but De Burgo tells us (page 129) that not one Dominican belonging to the province of Ulster, was left in Ireland. The Franciscans came back very soon after the Restoration, whereas the Dominicans did not return to that part of Ireland until a considerably later period. In 1671, however, as we learn from the Primate’s letter, they had re-established three houses in Ulster—one in Clogher, one in Down, and one in Armagh. The Franciscans insisted that, in consequence of the priority of their return, they alone had a right to seek or receive the alms of the faithful in Armagh, Down, Dromore, and Clogher; they vehemently resisted the efforts of the Dominicans to re-establish themselves in these places, and induced several of the laity to take part with them, to the no small scandal of religion. The Primate taking along with him Patrick Plunkett, Bishop of Meath, Oliver Dease, Vicar-General of the same diocese, and Thomas Fitzsimon, Vicar-General of Kilmore, visited, as he himself says, with great labour and at great expense, each of the dioceses in which the disputes existed, and examined on the spot the allegations of both parties. Having thus thoroughly investigated the matter, he determined to put an end to the scandal at once, and accordingly issued his definitive

sentence in favour of the Dominicans, dated Dundalk, 11th of October, 1674, and commanded the Franciscans to submit to it under pain of suspension, to be incurred without further process or appeal."—page 43.

The archbishop directed his exertions to the reformation of the secular clergy. The number of secular priests was very considerably diminished towards the middle of the seventeenth century; but through his persevering labours and zeal many parishes that had been for a long time deprived of pastors were furnished with clergymen. Of the eighteen hundred priests registered according to act of Parliament in 1704, that is, twenty-three years after the archbishop's death, as many as one hundred and sixteen had received orders from him. Some of these must have been ordained very shortly before his arrest.

But in the midst of these labours to improve his people and repair the evils which persecution had inflicted on the Church, the storm of the Popish plot was already gathering, and the primate was to be amongst its most illustrious victims. The circumstances of this vile and horrible conspiracy are minutely described by Mr. Crolly; as they are already familiar to our readers, we pass them over here: but the following graphic sketch of an Irish state witness of the time, will show what kind of instruments the unprincipled government of the day employed in the prosecution of its atrocious and sanguinary designs.

"The original discoverers of the plot, as they called themselves, were Edmond Murphy, parish priest of Killeavy and chanter of Armagh, and John Mc Moyer and Hugh Duffy, Franciscan friars. Perhaps the most curious pamphlet in Thorpe's whole collection is one written by Murphy.....This pamphlet proves that Murphy was throughout a most consistent character; for from a very early period in his career, he united in his own person at the same time the professions of priest, robber, and spy. The last of these occupations was disagreeable to the 'great Tory Redmond O'Hanlon, who made edict through the barony, that whoever went to hear Murphy, should for the first time pay one cow, for the second two, and for the third his life.' After this he hired a curate to officiate in his parish, and seldom or never resorted there himself. This is his own version of the matter, and there can be no doubt that O'Hanlon had good cause to hate and fear him; but the real cause of his being obliged to hire a curate was, that he had been suspended first, and afterwards excommunicated by the Primate. Mc Moyer and Duffy were, as I have said, Franciscan friars, and had both

officiated, the former as parish priest, and the latter as curate, in the parish of Fohart, not far from Dundalk, in the county of Louth. They were the bosom friends of Murphy, and, like him, spies and robbers.....

.....“Murphy waxed powerful among the Tories; became the leader of a large band, planned the murder of Redmond O’Hanlon, whose place he desired to occupy, as well as to obtain the reward set on his head, and alarmed the quarters of the officers Baker and Smith, who were stationed near Dundalk, and had denounced him as a robber. ‘Ensign Smith (says Murphy in his pamphlet) made grievous complaints unto several gentlemen that his house was in agitation to be burnt, and himself and family destroyed by the Tories; and that one Edmond Murphy, a priest, was the ringleader of this design:—Murphy, Moyer, and Duffy were, as I have said, spies as well as Tories. The officers to whom they betrayed their companions, were Captains Coult and Butler.’”—p. 91.

We cannot pursue this subject further. The details prove that the condition of society was most depraved and demoralized, and that the Government which stooped to make use of such characters, must have been utterly profligate and abandoned. It was on the testimony of such witnesses that the life of one of the best and holiest prelates that ever adorned the Church of Ireland, or perhaps any other country, was made away with. Into the history of this tragedy, so honourable to the victim, so disgraceful to his accusers and his judges, it is not our intention to enter. It is one of the darkest and most shameful pages in the annals of English jurisprudence. Of justice there was nothing save the form, kept up, as it were, in mockery of the meek and saintly personage whom it abandoned to his fiendish pursuers, without an effort to save him from their fury and fanaticism. It was not necessary for the author to have gone into the vindication of the primate’s innocence of the charge, for we believe there is not an individual in the kingdom that does not believe him to have been a victim of the foulest machinations and the most deliberate perjury.

After his execution at Tyburn on the 1st of July, 1681, his body was begged of the king, and, with the exception of the head and arms, was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles in the fields, with an inscription written by Father Corker, to whom the primate made a present of it, to be disposed of according to his pleasure. There it remained until the cropeared plot broke out in 1683, when

it was taken up and conveyed to the Benedictine monastery of Lambspring, in Germany, where it was interred with great ceremony.

"The Irish witnesses soon squandered the money which they had received for proving the plot and swearing away the Primate's life. For a time they managed to support themselves by swearing against Shaftesbury and their old employers. But even this failed them, and they were quickly brought to a state of the most wretched destitution. Florence McMoyer was so far reduced that he was obliged to pawn for £.5, the celebrated 'book of Armagh,' which thus passed out of his family where it had remained for many centuries. Nor was this the worst evil against which these miserable beings had to contend, for they were now universally abhorred and detested even by their former abettors, and lived in daily terror of being punished, perhaps hanged, for their perjuries. They had now no friends, for they had been equally false and faithless to all parties. They were, moreover, tortured by the hell of a guilty conscience, for the crime of murder was upon their souls. 'One of the miscreants, Duffy, old, emaciated, abhorred, and exiled from his Church, and tortured with remorse, visited a successor of Dr. Plunkett, (Dr. McMahon,) and as he approached him, exclaimed in an agony of soul, 'Am I never to have peace? Is there no mercy for me?' The Prelate heard him in silence, then opened a glass case, and in a deep and solemn voice said, 'Look here, thou unfortunate wretch!' The head of his murdered primate was before him, he saw, knew it, and swooned away. This miserable man was reconciled to the Church and died penitent."—page 241.

We cannot close this notice without permitting our author to describe the manner in which the remains of the martyred Prelate were disposed of.

"Father Corker, to whom the venerable martyr had bequeathed his body, caused a surgeon named John Ridley, to cut off the arms by the elbow. He got a round tin case made for the head, and an oblong one for the arms, and enclosed them both in a chest. The head and arms were not buried with the rest of the body in St. Giles' churchyard. But when Father Corker had it exhumed in 1683, they were taken along with it to Lambspring. The quarters of Oliver Plunkett's body repose under a monument in the wall of the crypt of the church. His right hand is preserved in a casket in the sacristy. At the time of the translation of the relics, Cardinal Howard, better known as Cardinal Norfolk, resided at Rome, and was Cardinal Protector of England. Father Corker sent Dr Plunkett's head from Lambspring to Rome, when it came into the possession of Cardinal Howard about the end of the year 1683."—page 243.

Cardinal Howard gave it to Hugh McMahon, author of the "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*," and when the latter was appointed Archbishop of Armagh, in the year 1708, he brought with him the precious relic to his native land. It is now deposited in the Dominican convent of Drogheda, where it forms an object of the deepest historical and religious interest to the visitors of that community.

We must here draw our notice to a close. The Irish Catholic public are deeply indebted to Mr. Crolly for the able, judicious, and interesting manner, in which he has placed before them the incidents of a life that will ever be a model and incentive to every Irish Missionary. We hope he will long continue to employ the intervals of his laborious duties to the same advantage. He has conferred by the present work, a lasting benefit on the Irish nation, and paid a worthy tribute to the memory of one of Ireland's holiest and noblest sons.

ART. VIII.—1. *The French Revolution*, a History. By THOMAS CARLYLE. 3 vols. 3rd edition. London: Frazer.

2.—*Past and Present*; By THOMAS CARLYLE. London: Chapman and Hall, 1843.

3.—*Lectures on Heroes and Hero-worship*; By THOMAS CARLYLE. 3rd edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 1846.

4.—*Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. 3rd edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 1846.

5.—*Latter Day Pamphlets*. By THOMAS CARLYLE. London: Chapman and Hall, 1850.

THE bearing, the direct and immediate bearing which all social questions whatsoever are felt to have upon religion, is strikingly characteristic of our age. True, indeed, that at all times all philosophy worthy of the name is but the handmaid of Theology. Social science, must be founded on some theory of man's moral nature; if it does not set out from religion as postulate, it soon confronts it as problem. Yet heretofore this essential connection was

the less observed, because the great moral principles resulting from revealed religion lay unconsciously conceded as the foundation of all philosophy. Thus many a ray of mature wisdom, illuminating all social relations and arrangements, sprang from intellects to whom the questions (as they deemed them) between sect and sect seemed indifferent enough. Nay, as we know, many valuable truths of social philosophy, unrecognized relics, it may be, of the primal revelation, have been elaborated by Pagans, who were enlightened only by genius and observation, and whose views of the capabilities of man were not distracted by delirious dreams.

The secret is, that the great heresy of our time, the only vital, we may say the only formidable enemy of the Church, is a temporal no less than a spiritual error, and has indeed ostentatiously established itself in the external world of society as its chosen province and domain. Abstractedly this prevalent spirit of the age may be rationalism or pantheism, but we have become far more familiar with it in its popular form of Humanitarianism. The modern lights of the world have exchanged faith in God for faith in man. The hope of immortal blessedness which Christianity awoke in the human soul they could not extinguish. They have therefore transferred it from the individual to the race. Mankind in their view, is marching to some glorious goal of felicity and freedom; his nobler capabilities will be evoked, his lower appetites subdued or transformed, servitude, oppression, penury, and war abolished, equal rights and fraternal love made universal over earth. It is little matter that this syren song was sung before, and resulted in the *fraternité* of 1793. Its voice is heard at this day everywhere outside of the teaching of the Church; and further, it is now almost universally conceded, that between the teaching of the Church and some form of this "apotheosis of humanity" there is no *via media* left. In all degrees we have it, from the weakest sentiment to the most terrible fanaticism,—in every form, from Fourier's sensual *phalangerie*, with all its provision of fuller troughs and richer styes, up to Goethe's stately sensuous temple of the Future, with its high-domed shrines of literature and art. The history of the world has been re-written to teach it; eclectic philosophy has fed it from her nursing bosom;

modern poetry, modern fiction, teem with the same delicious poison. All of them, except the Catholic,

"Sing of what the world will be
When the years have passed away."

The Catholic, taught to hope and labour all things for the salvation of *men*, (for their temporal, too, as well as their eternal good), is also taught, that this fancy of the earthly regeneration of collective *man*, by the development of his natural powers, is a delusive dream; for he is taught who is, and will be while it lasts, the prince of this world. To these theories, then, and to all that smacks of them, to the avowed socialism of some, and the unavowed and unconscious socialism of thousands, the Church is the inveterate, and the more it is considered, the *only* antagonist. She hates it as she hates anarchy, pride, and worship of the senses; and this hostility is abundantly reciprocated. Thus the social question becomes the religious one also. See accordingly, in the French assembly, over France generally, the battle-field of all the contradictions of earth, how this truth has been made manifest. "Socialism or the Catechism"—so stands the dilemma, and so it is accepted. The line of division between parties cuts down to the uttermost depths of human nature, and the meanest question of finance or police is so discussed that it might be moved with perfect relevancy as a previous question, Is this world man's exile or his home?

In this crisis of modern speculation, it is quite impossible not to be arrested by a thinker like Mr. Carlyle, a man of unquestioned genius, whose influence upon the literature of his time has been large and palpable. Possessing a deep, almost fanatical earnestness of character, and having devoted all his powers to the consideration of the questions now agitating mankind, whatever he has written, agree with him or differ with him, cannot fail to awaken serious thought. A complete unbeliever, too, in revealed religion; while his transcendent scorn for the whole class of infidel thought in our days may well call forth a demand to what goal *he* seeks to guide us. We spoke of his influence on his time. It is to be traced, we think, everywhere in the popular writing of the day, but for assignable causes it has of late obviously waned. These pamphlets, his latest production, have, as he says himself, been an alarm and offence to mankind, and by many have been regarded as

so much sheer insanity. To us they have been neither alarming nor offensive, (though filled with matter designed to be most offensive to Catholics,) and if a vein of madness be undeniable, it is madness full of his own peculiar method, the necessary result of his whole theory when brought face to face with indisputable fact. They form the crowning illustration of the extravagant conclusions to which genius, insight, and even true sympathy with mankind may lead their possessor, if, while passionately demanding truth, he passionately and obstinately turns his head and footsteps from the only path that leads to her.

With Carlyle at least—to return for a moment to our exordium—there is no need to contend that religion is the root of all social good—it is his own grand position. The misery and calamity of this age, in his view, all spring from the want of it. No Catholic could write more deeply or truly than he does, from time to time, upon this theme. And this, taken in connection with his own plain abandonment of all Christian belief, does at first puzzle the inexperienced. Not till after considerable study of his writings is the key to these contrarieties found. His philosophy is nowhere detailed in scientific shape, though it comes out more clearly in his “Heroes and Hero-worship” than elsewhere; but it is spread over all his writings, expressed from time to time in a sentence or paragraph written in his singular style, and with a command of forcible language, which we believe to be unparalleled in this age. As we think he may be fairly taken to mark the highest point to which the thought of unbelievers has been yet able to reach in solving the problem of human destiny, it is natural that we should give some serious consideration in this regard, not to his “Latter-day pamphlets” alone, but to the whole series of his writings. With all candour, and according to the utmost of our humble powers, seeking to interpret and digest his theory, we think it may be represented thus.—

The universe, of which man finds himself a part, his own being and destiny there, are, and for ever must remain an inscrutable mystery to him. Finite as he is, his conceptions of the infinite never can be otherwise than narrow and inadequate. Yet a true, though partial insight has been implanted in him. He perceives, for one thing, that the world around him *is* a mystery, demanding and awakening awe and reverential fear; he perceives again that

within him, amid a no less mysterious world of thought and passion, there exists a supreme law of right and wrong—that these differ not in degree, but in kind, with a difference altogether immeasurable—that he is called upon with his whole soul to pursue the one and reject the other. In the former, in valour, labour, self-denial, and loyal obedience, lies the highest well being of man and of society, the source of order, light, and progress; the latter is mere negation, leading to chaos and decay. These two principles, reverence and infinite sense of duty, form the primary and ultimate religion of man; from these all earthly forms of religion have had their birth. For man, in obedience to another profound law of his nature, always seeks to bring the formless into form, and to express his internal convictions, of whatever kind, in some palpable external method consonant to his condition and existing lights. Thus man's spiritual instincts, the soul of religion, as he expresses it, take the shape of creeds or dogmas, and for the most part hitherto base themselves upon supposed traditional facts forming the temporary Theogony. The dogma, as an abstract proposition, is, no doubt, false; the tradition, in its naked historical relation, is fabulous; but embodying, as they do, in the manner suited to the time, the feeling lying deep in good men's minds, and more or less in all minds, they are eagerly seized on, received, *believed*; and the form of religion is identified with its spirit, and believed to be, like it, universal and eternal. Whenever this occurs, society is sound and whole, and works fruitfully and harmoniously. From this basis of hearty belief, arises a superstructure of noble and faithful action. Such ages are eminently progressive, fertile in great men, and great actions, and in results which are a possession to mankind for ever.

But in the progress of generations, men's knowledge and scientific lights increase; their whole habits of thought inevitably change. The old creed is then found incompatible with the new acquisitions. Yet as the only existing symbol of what is best and highest, the old form may long continue, but vital or fruitful no more; on the contrary, becoming more and more untenable to every clear-sighted mind. By many it is professed contrary to their conviction, which is hypocrisy. Many, fearing the light, shut it out from their minds with effort, and persuade themselves that they hold, while they repeat, the belief of their fathers—which is *cant*. Multitudes fall into complete scepticism,

doubt of the thing symbolized as well as of the symbol, of duty as well as the sanctions of duty, and accept nothing as certain but the appetites and their gratification. Such a time—a time of hypocrisy, cant, scepticism, sensuality and frivolity,—is among the most despicable of ages, rich though it may be in external possessions. Honourable and respectable at such a time, and deserving a place in the *second* rank of heroes, is the man, reformer or rebel, who comes manfully forward to attack and destroy the old tradition, then hanging as an encumbrance upon the free souls of men. He is a destroyer of what Mr. Carlyle, for the thousand-and-first time at least, calls *shams*. But high of the highest, and worthy of a throne for ever in the veneration of mankind, is he, the light giver, often long looked for and late in coming, who harmonizes the new acquirements with the ancient truths, and once more embodies the latter in a form and symbol which mankind can recognize and accept as the counterpart of their inner convictions. Such men are, in Carlyle's system, the saviours of the world; in the fact, that the world from time to time produces men of that stamp, and in this other fact, that sooner or later mankind must follow them, lies the world's only chance of regeneration. "Hero-worship," which is but a phase, though the highest phase of the principle of reverence, is to Carlyle the cardinal fact in the history of mankind. The hero may be trodden down and martyred by the malice of his own generation—to the next he will be a God, a prophet, or a priest, all names which the varying dialects and conditions of man use to express the same thing—their infinite veneration for their greatest benefactors. Society thus re-animated, becomes once more sound at heart, and goes on to run its victorious career through another cycle of centuries.

And as with religion, so with all other institutions—so, to take the most prominent example, with Governments. The idea of government, being a contract bargained for between sovereign and subjects, is, as we might conceive, wholly repelled by Mr. Carlyle as an unreal fable. All government is based on this fundamental principle, that it is good for men to be guided voluntarily or perforce by those who are wiser than themselves. This is the central idea of all government, as duty and awe are the central idea of all religion. To have the very wisest appointed governors would be the ideal and unattainable perfection.

of a human commonwealth. Some approximation towards it has from time to time been made. Governors did their substantial duty, and society prospered under them, feeling that the system by means of which they ruled, was, on the whole, good. In time, however, the mode of appointing governors which suited one age, becomes unfitted for the altered habits of another. Rulers having no true sense of their position, grow slothful or corrupt. Government also becomes a *sham*. And if, as unhappily too often occurs, peaceful transition into a fitter order of things is impracticable, insurrection and anarchy become a miserable necessity.

According to this system, society proceeds, not in the way of continuous progress, but by a succession of developments, clearing new ground at every leap, and falling after each into a state of torpor and decay. The proportion which the fruitful and heroic ages bear in the general tract of existence is but small, the charlatan and unheroic ages being in immense majority. And indeed, the blossom or apex of each development is but, as it were, for a moment, just seen, and then lost for ever.

According to this system, all action which succeeds and becomes fruitful, is by that very fact proved to have been right and praiseworthy,—otherwise it would have failed. Thus all conquests, usurpations, founding of dynasties, sects, and systems, though they originated in seas of blood, and in what we have been accustomed to call *crime*; if, in the long run, they proved successful, were in accordance with the laws of the universe, and had justice on their side. It is a maxim he is never weary of repeating, that Right (take it in the long run) is synonymous with Might.

The most signal instance of these principles is, in his eyes, the present age, the spiritual and temporal condition of things in which we and our fathers have lived for near two hundred years in contrast to the ages which preceded. The Christian religion Mr. Carlyle freely concedes to have been the highest thing ever attained by man, and the Catholic Church of the middle ages to have been the only wide or permanent embodiment of Christianity. It was the animating soul and breathing "lungs" of a vast society for upwards of a thousand years, the prolific source of the highest virtue, of boundless heroic effort, and the noblest and fairest fruits in art and letters. For the institution of the priesthood, and especially for the monastic orders, as

they then existed, he has the highest admiration. And this not merely because, as modern lights have begun to discover, they did till the ground and copy the classics, but for a very different reason, for a reason which we may call the truth itself, seen through his medium of vision. Here is parcel of his testimony to the "lazy monks."

"Within doors down at the hill-foot, in our Convent here, we [the monks of St. Edmundsbury] are a peculiar people—hardly conceivable in the Arkwright corn-law ages of mere spinning mills and Joe Mantons. There is yet no Methodism among us, and we speak much of Secularities: no Methodism: our religion is not yet a horrible restless Doubt, still less a far horribler composed Cant; but a great heaven-high Unquestionability, encompassing, interpenetrating the whole of life. Imperfect as we may be, we are here with our litanies, shaven crowns, vows of poverty, to testify incessantly and indisputably to every heart, That this Earthly Life, and *its* riches, and possessions, and good and evil hap, are not intrinsically a reality at all, but *are* a shadow of realities eternal, infinite; that this Time world, as an air image fearfully emblematic, plays and flickers in the grand still mirror of Eternity; and man's little Life has duties that are great, that are alone great, and go up to Heaven and down to Hell. This with our poor litanies we testify, and struggle to testify."—*Past and Present*, p. 90.

In a word, Catholicity was then *true* in his sense, because it was truly believed. The social system which it informed was Feudalism, the military regime of the Germanic and Norse conquerors of Europe. This, too, was in its day a sound and efficient scheme of government. The nobility were in fact superior to the populations beneath them, and had therefore *a right* to govern them. They held their possessions on the terms of defending and guiding the State, and in the main they fulfilled their task, if imperfectly, as the nature of human affairs is, yet substantially and creditably. The duke (etymology is one of his inveterate foibles) was a real *dux*,—the king, *König* or *Cunning*, was one able to govern, and so forth. We may well believe that with such ideas, he treats with slight consideration the old Protestant cant which calls that period a millenium of darkness, "during which nearly all the social institutions whereby we live as civilized men were invented or perfected." On the contrary, he looks upon the middle age of Western Europe, with its Feudal body and Catholic soul, to have been the greatest realized

ideal ever yet attained by man; the greatest yet, but far, ineffably far, from what mankind are capable of achieving. Its culminating point, he places about the time of Dante. Such a poet as Dante is, to him, the interpreter of a whole cycle. Such a poem as the "*Commedia*" comes as the consummate flower and crown, the exponent and eternal representative of what men for long ages had done and thought.

"And so in this Dante, as we said, had ten silent centuries in a very strange way found a voice. The Divina Commedia is of Dante's writing, yet in truth it belongs to ten christian centuries; only the finishing of it is Dante's. So always. The craftsman there,—the smith, with that metal of his, with these tools, with these cunning methods,—how little of all he does is properly his work. All past inventive men there work with him, as indeed—as indeed with all of us in all things. Dante is the spokesman of the middle ages, the thought they lived by stands here in everlasting music. These sublime ideas of his terrible and beautiful are the fruit of the Christian meditation of all the good men who had gone before him. Precious they, but also is not he precious? Much, had not he spoken, would have been dumb, not dead,—yet living, voiceless."—*Heroes and Hero-worship*, pp. 153—4.

Shakespeare, too, he looks upon as another blossom of Catholicity, the poet of the external life of the middle ages as Dante was of the internal.

But this great structure having attained its highest development, followed, he says, the everlasting law, and tended towards decay. The teaching of the Church lost its hold upon the mind of men; secret unbelief began to eat away the heart of the system: Catholicity true before, became then untrue. A destroyer like Luther was called for, and since his time all brave men have followed in his wake. True, Luther was merely a destroyer. Protestantism is essentially negation, "the first stroke of honest demolition to an ancient thing grown false and idolatrous, preparatory, *afar off*, to a new thing, which shall be true and authentically divine." Whatever of positive belief was contained in Protestantism came to little good. For a short period it produced fruit of the heroic stamp in the Puritanism of Oliver Cromwell. Why it was that Puritanism which wears in Carlyle's eyes such celestial splendour, and which, according to all his rules, should have become the heroic faith of the world, withered and died so soon, it

is for him to explain, not us. But so, however, he admits it to be. All the formulas and confessions of Protestantism have become even more obsolete than Catholicity. What was positive in it degenerated into barren pedantry—only the negative element of it remained vital. Protestantism developed into the flat infidelity of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. "The French Revolution was the second act of the Reformation." For feudal forms remaining when all feudal ideas had lost their force, aristocracies became faithless to their duties, became corrupt and selfish, became, in short, another *sham*. From the decay of fidelity in governors sprang decay of loyalty in the governed.

Such was the origin of modern democracy, which in itself, with all its passionate cries of liberty and equality, he regards as nothing more than disguised anarchy, of which the best that can be said is this, that it is a transition to true government in some other form. If such transition could be effected peaceably, it were well, but the blindness of both parties is a fatal barrier to that; and so we have had the French Revolution with all its horrors, and the series of revolutions down to this hour. This whole age is, in his eyes then, an age of decay and transition, without faith, without loyalty, without anything worthy of faith or loyalty; a distracted, anarchic, chaotic age, for which he cannot find epithets too hard. In about two hundred years, or thereabouts, he calculates something like a foundation may turn up for the world again.

Such is a sketch of Carlyle's philosophy, enounced by him in its substantial peculiarities for twenty years at least. It comes forward, we said, with more scientific detail in the *Heroes and Hero-worship* than elsewhere, but it is also elaborated in a very singular manner in his "*Sartor resartus*," or "*Philosophy of clothes*," showing that all that man possesses, from the lowest to the highest, are but garments spun on the "loom of time," and Nature herself but the visible garment of the Divinity. It forms, too, the basis of his *History of the French Revolution*, which on the whole we rank as the most remarkable, and likely to be the most long-lived of his works. In all his former writings, down to these "latter-day pamphlets," a tone of hopefulness for mankind predominates,—in them we seem to hear nothing but the effusions of disappointment and despair.

But in what respect, it may be asked of us, does all this

theory differ from any other speculative infidelity of the day? His praise of the middle ages may go for very little. Such is the fashionable view just now; the cant about dark ages having been quite displaced by the results of that spirit of historical investigation which succeeded the first French Revolution, and which laid bare to any candid mind the invaluable blessings which the Church conferred upon civilization. Even Michelet is eloquent of praise in this sense of the "*pauvre vieille mere de la société moderne.*" Guizot has endless chapters, not to say volumes, in the same spirit. And with these, as with Carlyle, such preterperfect encomium is found quite compatible with the liveliest antipathy to the existing church.

In our eyes, however, there is a vast difference. With the former, the spirit of the middle age was indeed the best thing then possible, but the nineteenth century, with its "*lumières*" and intellectual development, is incontestably superior. With Carlyle this boasted nineteenth century is not worthy to sit at the feet of any age animated by religious faith.

Our verdict upon Carlyle's system we shall give anon, and, indeed, it is not far to seek. But in forming a just estimate of him, we should not forget how fatally prevalent, not long ago, was that philosophy of the eighteenth century, Scotch or French, which denied or disregarded every faculty in man that holds of the infinite, and set the understanding to guage that which passeth all understanding. We, indeed, have lived to be infested with the opposite error, "Germanism," so called, with floods of washy spirituality frothing into vacuum; to have our eyes offended with the sacred phraseology of christianity, divested of all meaning, and turned into a baseless cant. Still, we think there is no doubt that the current of thought which arose in Germany upwards of half a century ago, in revolt against Locke and his school, and which has since then undulated over Europe, though for the most part we find it now merged in pantheism, or diluted into nonsense, has been also a providential agent in the great religious reaction. Transcendentalism is not religion; far indeed from it. But the ideas and emotions which it awakens may, with the simple and pure of heart, lead thither; and surely the philosophy which denies everything transcendent, withers the roots of religion too.

In devoting great power and earnestness to the overthrow

in English minds of the reign of this mechanical philosophy;—in recalling the hearts of an unbelieving generation to the recognition of eternal truths, we feel sure that Carlyle has done good; the more, because he is so impotent to solve a single question that he thus awakens;—because the only solution in which human heart and reason can find rest, is that of the Catholic church. “Man,” he for ever repeats, “is here in the centre of immensities, in the conflux of eternities, with but one life to lead, not in frivolity or self-indulgence; but in noble self-denial.” We often thought, that if the passage which we quote, marked as it is by all his peculiarities, failed to awaken thoughts leading to religious truth, pride should bear the blame,—or shallow *insouciance*, or petted sin.

“In our poor nineteenth century, the writer of these lines has been fortunate enough to see not a few glimpses of romance; he imagines this Nineteenth is hardly a whit less romantic than that Ninth, or any other since centuries began. Apart from Napoleon, and the Dantons, and Mirabeaus, whose fire-words of public speaking, and fire-whirlwinds of cannon and musketry, which, for a season darkened the air, are perhaps at bottom superficial phenomena: he has witnessed in remotest places, much that could be called romantic, even miraculous. He has witnessed over head the infinite Deep, with greater and lesser lights, bright-rolling, silent-beaming, hurled forth by the hand of God; around him, and under his feet the wonderfullest earth, with her winter snow-storms and her summer spice airs; and, unaccountablest of all, *himself* standing there. He stood in the lapse of time; he saw eternity behind him, and before him. The all-encircling mysterious tide of Force thousandfold (for from force of Thought to force of Gravitation, what an interval!) bellowed shoreless on;—bore him too long with it; he too was part of it. From its bosom rose and vanished, in perpetual change, the lordliest Real Phantasmagory which men name *Being*, and ever anew rose and vanished; and even that lordliest many-coloured scene was full, another, yet the same. Oak trees fell, young acorns sprang. Men, too, new-sent from the unknown, he met, of tiniest size, who waxed into stature, into strength of sinew, passionate fire and light. In other men, the light was growing dim, the sinews all feeble; they sank, motionless, into ashes, into invisibility; returned back to the Unknown, beckoning him their mute farewell. He wanders still by the parting spot, cannot hear them, they are far, how far! It was a sight for angels and archangels, for indeed God Himself had made it wholly. One many-glancing Asbestos thread in the web of Universal History, spirit-woven, it rustled there as with the howl of mighty winds through that ‘wild, roaring, Loom of Time.’ Gene-

ration after generation, hundreds of them, or thousands of them from the unknown Beginning, so loud, so stormful busy, rushed torrent-wise, thundering down, down, and fell all silent,—nothing but some feeble reecho, which grew ever feebler, struggling up, and Oblivion swallowed them all. Thousands more to the unknown ending will follow ; and *thou* here, of this present one, hangest as a drop, still sungilt on the giddy edge ; one moment while the darkness has not yet engulfed thee. O Brother ! is *that* what thou callest prosaic of small interest ? Of small interest, and for *thee* ? Awake, poor troubled sleeper, shake off thy torpid nightmare dream. Look, see, behold it, the Flame image, splendours high as Heaven, terrors deep as Hell : this is God's Creation ; this is man's Life. Such things has the writer of these lines witnessed in this poor Nineteenth Century of ours ;—and what are all such to the things he yet hopes to witness,—hopes with truest assurance ? I have painted so much, said the good Jean Paul in his old days, and I have never seen the Ocean ;—the Ocean of Eternity I shall not fail to see.”—DIAMOND NECKLACE MISCELLANIES, vol. v. p. 11.

The “French Revolution,” we said, we considered to be the most remarkable, and likely to be the most long-lived of all his works. In many ways it marks an era in historic composition. It has faults, vices in abundance ; but it has one great merit, that of presenting you with a vivid picture of the time with which it deals. Of the accuracy of the picture we do not speak ; but it was a striking innovation upon the old plan of condensing state papers by way of history. “The style we prefer,” said the official of the India board, “is the *humdrum*.” Whatever Carlyle's style may be, it is certainly not that. Mirabeau, Danton Robespierre, the king and queen, stand out in his pages, characters whom one could almost say he knew, real, complex, human beings, “with blood in their cheeks,” and human passions in their hearts. We say nothing of accuracy ; but this we will say, that any one who has once got the French Revolution into his head as Carlyle has represented it,—so vivid, so graphic, so dramatic, is much likelier to arrive at a true estimate of that history by the modifications which subsequent enquiry may make in his conception—having so real a basis to build upon—than he who begins and ends in the regions of prosy or sentimental detail.

And here we may, in passing, say a word or two, and only a word or two, as to his style, of which the French Revolution is the chief example. A great authority once

compared it to the breaking of *blue* (?) stones on the road; and another dubbed it (we think) "a heathenish lingo, not far removed from the unknown tongue." It is certainly not English style, nor, as we are informed, German, nor belonging to any other human language boasting of composition. It is simply Carlylese; a singularity of expression which we do not call affectation, because it seems to be, in some degree, a fit vehicle of his singularity of thought. It is not his indigenous language either, for his earlier essays are quite free from it, and are written with great purity and grace; nor does it even appear to have become necessary to him; for his article on Walter Scott, written in 1838, has scarcely a trace of it. Such as it is, however, his readers bear with it, and even come to relish it, as giving nerve and point to his ideas; but from all imitators of it we pray to be delivered. Whenever it is our unlucky lot, in paper or periodical, to meet with adjectives of six syllables with a tail to them by way of superlative;—with sentences made out of an epithet and a note of admiration;—with frequent use of the vocative O and persuasive apostrophes addressed to dead men, we pray again, from brats trying to stammer in Carlylese, deliver us.

But the French Revolution is not only a dramatic, it is also a didactic composition, in which he sets himself to preach social morals. Among many false morals, we may mention this true one, which runs as a text through all Carlyle's works, and is one of the many instances in which he is in unison with Catholic ideas; namely, that it is a fundamental delusion to think that the happiness of any nation or society of men consists in, or arises from, any "constitution" ever so liberal. If a people suffer from *unjust* tyranny, in the name of justice let it be abolished; but true freedom consists not in having your passions unrestrained, or in choosing your own governors; but in obedience to just law, and to wise lawgivers. Of the opposite opinion, the belief in the healing virtue of constitution, Rousseau was not the originator, indeed; but the passionate preacher in his "Contract Social" and elsewhere; and accordingly, Carlyle has named it pointedly, "The Gospel according to Jean Jaques." Rousseau's writings were the inspiration of every party in the revolution, Monarchist, Girondin, Jacobin. They believed, and taught the people to believe, that liberty meant univer-

sal suffrage, and that equality and fraternity were attainable through sentimentality and the development of men's prurient passions. Such liberty, says Carlyle, is blind anarchy; such fraternity is close neighbour to deadly hatred. And now, when this had all been too well proved; thirty years after the liberty of Napoleon, and fifty after the fraternity of the guillotine, came Lamartine to preach the same delusive doctrine: and behold, we have *liberte, egalite* and *fraternite* once more; and what frightful things Europe is destined to witness no man can tell, until the populace and their disturbers learn, as we may say in our language as Carlyle in his, that,

"Willing to serve is truly free;
Obedience is best liberty,
And man's first right a bended knee,"

And until the governments of European states, so long practically atheistic, begin once more to take the law of God for their guidance.

Allied to the above errors is the belief in the natural perfectibility of man, in the earthly Elysium which the anti-christian philosophers have substituted for his heavenly home,—a school rife unfortunately at this day, as it was before the French Revolution. All this class of thought Carlyle treats with profound scorn.

"Fools that expect your verdant Millennium, nothing but love and abundance; brooks running wine; winds whispering music, with the whole ground and basis of your existence champed into a mud of sensuality, which daily growing deeper, will soon have no bottom but the abyss."—*French Revolution*, vol. i. p. 53.

The point of the following passage is considerably heightened to us, by the fact of our having read the same precious theory of M. Roux, that the French Revolution was an attempt to realize Christianity, freshly painted and varnished, in no less a place than M. Lamartine's History of the Girondists, where it is diffused with many flowers of rhetoric over several sentimental sections.

"Take, for example, the latest form of speech we have seen propounded on the subject, as adequate to it, almost in these mouths by worthy M. Roux in his *Histoire Parlementaire*, the latest and the strangest: that the French Revolution was a dead-lift effort after eighteen hundred years to realize—the Christian Religion!

Unity, Indivisibility, Brotherhood, or Death, did indeed stand painted on all houses of the living ; also on all cemeteries, or houses of the dead—stood painted, by order of Procureur Chaumette, Here is eternal sleep : but a Christian religion realized by the Guillotine, and Death-Eternal, 'is suspect to me,' as Robespierre was wont to say, '*m'est suspecte.*'

"Alas, no, M. Roux ! a gospel of Brotherhood, not according to any of the four old evangelists, and calling on men to repent and amend *each his own*, wished existence that they might be saved ; but a gospel, rather, as we often hint, according to a new Fifth Evangelist, Jean Jacques, calling on men to amend *each the whole world's* wicked existence, and be saved by making the constitution. A thing different and distant, *toto cœlo*, as they say : the whole breadth of the sky, and further if possible."—*French Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 285.

Touches of humour, arising from insight, are frequent through the whole book : as, for example, relating some extravagant rumour stated at the bar of the assembly : "Plots of aristocrats are too evident in the matter ; for example, one miller has been bribed by a bank note of 200 livres not to grind corn, name unknown to the usher ; but fact proveable, *at least* indubitable." And again on the occasion of some tempestuous scene in the convention, where all order was lost : "President in despair claps on his hat, as a token the country is near ruined." As a piece of graphic narrative, we think the whole account of the royal flight to Varennes can hardly be surpassed.

But as to the didactics of the history, we may say, that although Carlyle everlastingly exhorts other writers, to make away with their "formulas," or fixed theories, in dealing with history, he himself has written his whole book to carry out a formula. His formula is the "death-birth" one, namely, to show how the French revolution meant and was the destruction of an entire old order of things, and foreshadowed the commencement of a new one. Whatever truth there be in this, it has manifestly led him to lengths which, to Christian minds, are not a little revolting. Led him, for instance, to sympathize with the worst of scoundrels, if they have only lent a courageous hand to aid in this so-called death-birth. Danton, stained as he is ineffaceably with the blood of September, and with much other blood, is his second hero ; but his man of men, for whom he challenges the admiration of the world, is Mirabeau.

So long as any fragment of Catholic morality, call it if you choose, the "ascetic," remains in the world, we do not know a character which it can regard with more detestation than Mirabeau's. Gigantic pride and gigantic sensuality are its very staple; combining with his extravagant pride, vanity as extravagant, (a more frequent combination than popular novels give us to suppose,) corrupt, false of tongue, and such a slave to vice that his corpse was shocking to behold,—what verdict can be passed upon him? This simple one, we should think: that he was a man of immense talent and immense wickedness. But this would by no means suit Carlyle, one of whose theories is, that there is no difference between intellectual and moral greatness, and that the former includes the latter. Accordingly he first tells us, that the "morality which can judge Mirabeau is not yet written by man," and then gives us his view of him, thus:

"A man who had swallowed all 'formulas,' who, in these strange times, felt called to live Titanically, and also to die so. As he, for his part, had swallowed all formulas, what formula is there never so comprehensive, that will express truly the *plus* and the *minus*, give us the accurate net result of him? There is hitherto none such. Moralities, not a few, must shrink condemnatory over this Mirabeau: the Morality by which he could be judged has not got uttered in the speech of men. We will say this of him again, that he is a reality, and no Simulacrum;—a living son of nature;—our general mother;—not a hollow artifice and mechanism of conventionalities;—son of nothing,—brother to nothing.

"Be it that his faults and follies are manifold, as himself often lamented with tears. Alas," &c.—*French Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 200.

The "tears," we may observe, were tears not of penitence or remorse, but of passionate spite that his ruined character stood in the way of his ambition, as we learn from Carlyle's authority, Dumont: "Il sentait si bien que, s'il avait joui d'une consideration personnelle, toute la France aurait été a ses pieds, que dans certains momens il aurait consenti a passer au travers des flammes pour purifier le nom de Mirabeau. Je l'ai vu pleurer a demi suffoqué de douleur, en disant avec amertume, J'expie bien cruellement les erreurs de ma jeunesse." Not the faults, then, but their expiation was the subject of his tears.

But a worse error still unto which his fixed idea has led Carlyle, is his gross injustice to the French church and clergy. It is, as we said, his persuasion, which water will not wash, nor fire burn out of him, and to which he makes the most palpable facts give way, that the Catholic church, ever since the Reformation, has continued in a course of corruption and decay ; and that the French church, at the commencement of the Revolution, was a mass of hypocrisy, cant, and dupery. Seizing for this purpose upon some undeniable scandals of the high places of the prelacy ; —scandals, we may add, attributable in every single instance to the unfortunate slavery of that church to the state,—he makes specious handle of them to convey, that the whole priesthood was a descending scale of Dubois's or Rohans. Well, our readers will remember what occurred on the occasion of the decree of the legislative assembly relative to the constitutional clergy. They took it upon them to re-divide the dioceses, and to make the bishops and curés eligible by popular election, which proceeding the Pope, of course, refused to sanction. They then went on to carry it out in his despite, and proffered to every curé an oath, swearing, amongst other things, to uphold this “ civil constitution of the clergy, on pain of expulsion from his parish.” A conscientious priest could no more take such an oath, than he could subscribe the thirty-nine articles. Accordingly, the large majority of the bishops and clergy refused to do so. The civil power drove them out of their parishes, and filled their places with such pliable instruments as they could find. And when the poor men attempted to say mass, the debauched populace of Paris and elsewhere set upon them, hooted them, and assaulted them. Upon this state of things, Mr. Carlyle passes the following equitable and impartial judgment :

“ Shut thy eyes, O Reader ! see not this misery peculiar to these later times—of martyrdom without sincerity, with only cant and contumacy ! A dead Catholic Church is not allowed to lie dead ; no, it is *galvanized* into the detestablest death-life, whereat humanity, we say, shuts its eyes.

“ In such extraordinary manner does dead Catholicism summer-set and caper, skilfully galvanized. For, does the reader enquire into the subject-matter of controversy in this case, what the difference between Orthodoxy or *My doxy* ; and Heterodoxy or *Thy doxy* might here be ? My doxy, is, that an august National Assembly can equalize the extent of bishoprics ; that an equalized bishop, his

creed and formularies being left quite as they were, can swear fidelity to king, law and nation, and so become a constitutional Bishop. Thy doxy, if thine be dissident, is that he cannot; but that he must become an accursed thing. Human ill-nature needs but some Homoioveian iota or even the picture of one; and will flow copiously through the eye of a needle: thus always must mortals go jargoning and fuming,

“And like the ancient Stoics in their porches,
With fine dispute maintain their churches.”

French Rev. vol. ii, p. 207-216.

Martyrs, it seems, not of sincerity, but of cant and contumacy! Now mark, in the first place, that, though the revenues of the *bishops* were reduced, the provision made for the constitutional priests was, in fact, ampler than that enjoyed by the old curès; so that all shadow of pecuniary interest is out of the question. The majority of the French priests suffered poverty, howling obloquy, assaults of the populace, and bitter separation from their flock, at first; and *afterwards* imprisonment, exile, and death in a hundred forms, by the guillotine, by the assassin's knife, by drowning, by the bullet, by starvation, by horrible confinement in plague-ships and crowded dungeons, such as the heart sickens to read of. They suffered and died as befitted them—no more beautiful or tragical page is written in the whole martyrology. And all this, says our profound philosopher, whose whole power of judging human nature is here warped and distorted by his inveterate prejudice, was without sincerity, with only cant and contumacy. And observe, secondly, that the very minuteness of the point in difference between the non-jurant and the constitutional clergy, about which he writes as above in a style which we would call ribaldry and profanity, if, as he says himself, he had any *fanum* to respect, is the fullest proof of the sincerity of the former. For who, with all conceivable earthly considerations, on one side, and the apostacy, in the world's eyes, of so trivial a nature, would have remained “contumacious,” if it were not that in that point of discipline the whole question of the Catholic faith was felt to be laid open? And lastly, it is worth remembering what became of the “uncontumacious” clergy, whose creed and formularies remained unchanged. They said mass blasphemously for a while; and then, almost to a man, broke out into open infidelity; flung down their crosses and robes upon the floor of the

convention hall, and did not raise a whisper to stay the orgies of atheism, permitting or encouraging such scenes as the dragging of chalices and missals at the tails of asses, and the enacting in the churches of scenes more abominable still. Such was the "iota" of difference between the two classes of priests. But, in short, the fixed idea had to be carried out; and so "cant and contumacy" were invented to represent heroic fidelity, just as the ancients had their *avota kai ηθος* to account for the fortitude of the early Christians.

But what is, then, this fixed idea which has so blinded him to facts, and has wrought him up at last to a fanaticism that is almost maniacal? It is, he will scornfully tell us, no *ism* that we can conceive. It is, we take leave to say, essentially the *ism* of Pantheism, the latest as well as the earliest of the heresies, and no great singularity in these days, only most singular in his way of holding it. But what is Pantheism? That is a question which puzzled us for many a day, but which we have at last, we think, got a glimpse of. Pantheism is the worship of *To Παν*, or the Great All. And what is the Great All? The universe, the "Eternal Harmonies," the "Eternal Melodies," the "congeries of Forces," the "Divine Voices," the "Divine Silences," the "Gods," the "Destinies." But what is the articulate meaning of all this? Does Pantheism admit an intelligent superintending being, our Creator and Judge, or does it not? It certainly seems not. In what, then, does it differ from Atheism? We protest, in no respect that we have ever been able to discover. They may stand to represent two different states of mind; and Pantheism may, in this view, be defined as Atheism, *plus* a sense of beauty and awe; but doctrinally, there is not a tittle of difference. If the forces of the world, however wonderful, be without an intelligent Author;—if the laws of the universe, ever so harmonious, be without a Law-giver;—to what, in the name of common sense and serious conviction, to what but Atheism shall we come at last?

In giving our sketch of Carlyle's system, we studiously abstained from introducing the holy name of God, though it is constantly in his mouth. We did so, because it is plain he uses it merely exoterically to express the same thing that he more frequently conveys by the "divine harmonies," and so forth. In like manner, "Atheism," in his phraseology, means merely the mechanical school of

philosophy, and not by any means the denial of the existence of a living God. In fact, there *could* be no room for the idea of a conscious God in Carlyle's system. A God who never gives man, His creature, truth, except to hold it dashed and brewed with lies, to whom the holy religion of one century is blasphemy in the next, and Odinism, Mahometanism, Puritanism, Catholicity, are each in its turn perfectly satisfactory; who looks with pleasure now on the deeds of St. Paul, now on those of Mirabeau; is a being whom no one, who seriously seeks to know his own responsibility to God, could for a moment believe in. Carlyle, at least does not, he "cannot conceive God making the world, and then sitting apart, like an architect, seeing it go." The "Eternal Harmonies" are his only God. This pantheism, if we once rightly understand it, and conceive it working in a character naturally intense, and with (we will assume) a certain Calvinistic devoutness implanted by early education, is the key to all that seems so incongruous in him. Superficially the most inconsistent of writers, his system, as a theory, hangs together with wonderful completeness. As a theory, we say, for in carrying it out, he certainly blinks facts in a more wholesale way than any philosopher we know of out of Laputa. But let us conceive the idea of an all Holy God, with his unchangeable law of truth and sin, to be out of the question; that the universe is a mere congeries of forces, and that society is working by its own powers towards ever new phases; it follows, we think, logically enough, that whoever in his day aids the development to which mankind is tending, whoever gives the world a push in the right direction, is the praiseworthy or virtuous man,—the soldier of "*Kosmos*," or order, sustaining or advancing the best order of things for the time. Thus, St. Benedict, in founding monachism, which produced such rich results, was no doubt a benefactor to many centuries; but so also to *his* centuries, is Richard Arkwright, inventor of the power-loom. Thus, also, when Feudalism had become a nuisance, Mirabeau, in valiantly lending a hand to demolish it, while, at the same time, he tried to control the advancing flood of Jacobinism, was, on the whole, highly virtuous; for, as to his personal peccadilloes, they are of small account, we may assume, in the eyes of the "destinies." This is the new morality, not yet uttered by man, conceivable, if there be no such thing as one holy God

requiring holiness from His creatures, utterly inconceivable if there be.

That Carlyle, like others, standing beneath the stars, and in the middle of this world of wonders, and meditating on them, may have felt promptings and emotions which he knew to be divine, we do not deny, why should we? They are admonitions from God himself. *Il y a dans le coeur humain un fibre religieux*. Byron, no doubt, felt what he has beautifully described; his heart raised on high during his twilight rides in the Ravenna forest. But in what, we ask again, does it all result? A world without a Maker; forces without a guide; the felt communion of human hearts with God for thousands of years a delusion; prayer a madman's soliloquy. And, as to the beginning or the end, as to one's own eternal hopes or fears, or the solution of one among the awful problems of our being, we have but darkness and the unknown. Surely universal scepticism is the necessary refuge from such a system.

There is a passage from the "dream" of Jean Paul Richter in reference to Atheism, which Carlyle is fond of quoting; and, in truth, it is powerful in the extreme. But when this picture is read and dwelt on, let us, in the name of wonder, ask the Pantheist how the frightful reality of it is one whit changed by peopling the universal void with *adjectives*?

"I went through the worlds; I mounted into the Suns; and flew with the Galaxies through the wastes of Heaven; but there is no God! I descended, as far as Being casts its shadow, and looked down into the abyss, and cried, Father, where art thou? But I heard only the everlasting storm which no one guides, and the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung, without a Sun that made it, over the Abyss, and trickled down. And when I looked up to the immeasurable world for the Divine *Eye*, it glared on me with an empty, bottomless, black eye-socket; and Eternity lay upon chaos, eating it, and ruminating it. Cry on, ye dissonances, cry away, ye shadows; for He is not."—*Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 373.

Religion, Carlyle reiterates, is the one thing needful for men, while he treats the Christian religion, in every form of it, as an extinct cant. What religion, then are we to have, we think may be innocently asked? Such a question from individuals of the present day, he treats with unspeakable contempt. "*You* a religion! *You* wretched beings in about two hundred years some credible

religion may arise for men ; but at present, you are about as fit to build a religion, as beavers are to build St. Paul's, with no other trowel but their tails." Or if pressed by the reflection, that it is too hard to doom generations wholesale, and every individual of them to such a curse, he tries to supply us with such a religion as may suit the present state of the world's lights. What will our readers think of the following, gravely proposed to men's adoption eighteen centuries and a half after the preaching of the christian religion ?

"Or let us give a glance at China. Our new friend the Emperor there, is Pontiff of three hundred million men, who do all live and work these many centuries, now authentically patronized by Heaven so far, and therefore must have some religion of a kind. This emperor Pontiff has, in fact, a religious belief of certain Laws of Heaven, observes with a religious rigour his three thousand functionalities given out by men of insight some sixty generations since, as a legible transcript of the same ;—the Heavens do seem to say, not totally an incorrect one. He has not much of a ritual, this Pontiff Emperor ; believes it is likest with the old Monks ; that 'Labour is Worship.' His most public Act of Worship, it appears, is the drawing solemnly, at a certain day, on the green bosom of our Mother Earth, when the heavens, after dead black winter, have again, with their vernal radiances, awakened her, a distinct red Furrow with the Plough-signal, that all the Ploughs of China are to begin ploughing and worshipping. It is notable enough. He, in the sight of the Seen and Unseen Powers, draws his distinct red Furrow there ; saying and praying, in mute Symbolism, so many most eloquent things.

"If you ask this Pontiff Who made him ? what is to become of him and us ? he maintains a dignified reserve, waves his hand and pontiff eyes over the unfathomable deep of Heaven, the 'Tsien,' the azure kingdom of Infinitude, as if asking, Is it doubtful that we are right *well* made ? Can aught that is *wrong* become of us ? He and his three hundred millions (it is their chief punctuality) visit yearly the tombs of their fathers, each man the tomb of his father and mother, alone there in silence, with what of worship or of other thought there may be, pauses solemnly each man, the divine skies all silent over him, the divine Graves, and this divinest Grave, all silent under him ; the pulsings of his own soul, if he have any soul alone audible. Truly it may be a kind of worship. Truly, if a man cannot get some glimpse into the Eternities, looking through this portal ; through what other need he try it ?"—*Past and Present*, p. 314.

That the emperor of China is a Pantheist in his way, we

make no doubt; but whether his Pantheism begins and ends as above, we seriously question. We suspect there is superadded a good deal of worship of graven images; and this brings us to the most serious reflection we have to make on the whole system. Pantheism, theoretically speaking, may be defined as the devout feeling of an atheist; but practically, it is a very different thing. It is not a modern speculation; it is the oldest and the widest error that has ever been spread upon the earth; it is, indeed, the essence of all Paganism, as Carlyle himself is at pains to make manifest. The long extract which we give elucidates, far beyond our attempts, all that we have endeavoured to convey.

“You remember that fancy of Aristotle’s, of a man who had grown to maturity in some dark distance, and was brought on a sudden into the upper air to see the sun rise. What would his wonder be, says the Philosopher, his rapt astonishment at the sight we daily witness with indifference? With the free open sense of a child, yet with the ripe faculty of a man, his whole heart would be kindled by that sight; he would discern it well to be God-like; his soul would fall down in worship before it. Now just such a child-like greatness was in the primitive nations. The first Pagan thinker among rude men, the first man that began to think, was precisely the child-man of Aristotle. Simple, open as a child, yet with the depth and strength of a man. Nature had as yet no name to him; he had not yet united under a name the infinite variety of sights, sounds, shapes, and motions, which we now collectively name Universe, Nature, or the like, and so with a name dismiss it from us. To the wild, deep-hearted man, all was yet new, not veiled under names or formulas; it stood naked, flashing in on him there, beautiful, awful, unspeakable. Nature was to this man what to the thinker and Prophet,—it for ever is *preter-natural*. This green, flowery, rock-built earth; the trees, the mountains, rivers, many-sounding seas; that great deep sea of azure that swims overhead; the winds sweeping through it; the black cloud fashioning itself together, now pouring out fire, now hail and rain, what is it? Ay, what? At bottom we do not yet know; we can never know at all. It is not by our superior insight that we escape the difficulty, it is by our superior levity, our inattention, our want of insight. It is by not thinking that we cease to wonder at it. Hardened round us, encasing wholly every notion we form, is a wrap-page of traditions, hearsays, mere words. We call that fire of the black thunder-cloud, electricity; and lecture learned about it, and grind the like of it out of glass and silk; but what is it? What made it? Whence comes it? Whither goes it? Science has done much for us; but it is a poor science that would hide from us

the great, deep, sacred infinitude of Nescience, whither we can never penetrate, on which all science swims, as a mere superficial film. This world, after all our science and sciences, is still a miracle, wonderful, inscrutable, *magical*, and more to whosoever will *think* of it.

"That great mystery of Time, were there no other, the illimitable, silent, never-resting thing called Time, rolling, rushing on, swift, silent, like an all-embracing ocean tide, on which we and all the universe swim like exhalations, like apparitions, which *are* and then *are not*; this is for ever very literally a miracle, a thing to strike us dumb; for we have no word to speak about it. This Universe, ah me! What would the wild man know of it? what can we yet know? That it is a Force, and thousandfold complexity of Forces;—a Force which is *not we*. That is all; it is not we; it is altogether different from *us*. Force, Force, everywhere Force; we ourselves a mysterious Force in the centre of that. 'There is not a leaf rotting on the highway but has Force in it; how else could it rot?' Nay, surely to the Atheistic Thinker, if such a one were possible, it must be a miracle too;—this large, illimitable whirlwind of Force which envelopes us here;—never-resting whirlwind, high as immensity, old as eternity. What is it? God's creation, the religious people answer; it is the Almighty God's. Atheistic science babbles poorly of it with scientific nomenclatures, experiments, and what not: as if it were a poor dead thing to be bottled in Leyden jars, and sold over counters. But the natural sense of man, in all times, if he will honestly apply his sense, proclaims it to be a living thing;—ah, an unspeakable god-like thing, towards which, the best attitude for us, after never so much science, is awe, devout prostration and humility of soul; worship, if not in words, then in silence.

* * * * *

"And look what perennial fibre of truth was in that. To us, also, through every star, through every blade of grass, is not a God made visible if we will open our minds and eyes? We do not worship in that way now; but it is not reckoned still a merit proof of what we call a 'poetic nature,' that we recognise how every object has a divine beauty in it, how every object still verily is a 'window through which we may look into infinitude itself.' He that can discern the loveliness of things, we call him Poet Painter. Man of Genius, gifted, loveable. These poor Sabeans did even what he does; in their own fashion soever was a merit better than what the entirely stupid man did, what the horse and camel did; namely, nothing.

* * * * *

"And now, if worship even of a star had some meaning in it, how much more might that of a hero? Worship of a Hero is tran-

scendent admiration of a great Man. I say great men are still admirable. No nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than himself, dwells in the breast of man. It is to this hour, and at all hours, the vivifying influence in man's life. Religion, I find, stands upon it, not Paganism only, but far higher and truer religions, all religion hitherto known. Hero worship, heart-felt, prostrate admiration, submission, burning boundless for a noblest, god-like Form of man, is not that the germ of christianity itself? The greatest of all Heroes is one whom we do not name here. Let sacred silence meditate that sacred matter; you will find it in the ultimate perfection of a principle extant throughout man's whole history on earth."—*Heroes and Hero Worship*, pp. 10-18.

Even so. This is the apex of modern speculation. Heathenism and Christianity are fundamentally one and the same. But what we desire to impress is not the falsehood, but the truth contained in the above passage. It is perfectly true, that when sin had defaced the image of the true God, awe and terror at the mysterious powers of nature, and admiration for great men, united with another principle to produce the adoration of creatures or idols. This principle, which Carlyle has rather overlooked, is the ineradicable tendency of man to refer these mysterious powers of nature to the operation of a conscious divinity. Prayer, the universal custom, necessarily supposes it. Thus, the void left by true religion was filled, as it will for ever be, not by rationalism theories, but by superstition.

“*She, mid the lightning's blaze and thunder's sound,
When rocked the mountains, and when groaned the ground,
She taught the weak to bend, the proud to pray,
To powers unseen, and mightier far than they.
She from the rending earth and bursting skies,
Saw gods descend, and fiends infernal rise.*”

And so it would be again in the midst of all your so-called enlightenment. If modern Pantheism could ever become more than a philosophic speculation—if it could descend among the mass of men to serve them for a religion, so surely would it issue in a new Heathenism. It has done so already in spirit wherever its influence has extended. What else is that worship of the senses, which we see everywhere infecting modern French fiction, and which Carlyle himself, in his trenchant way, has named

after the vilest of the heathen rites? But we say it would soon be Heathenism in form. If Hebert, Chaumette, and the rest, had succeeded really in extirpating the Christian religion from France, how long would it have been before the people would have paid idolatrous worship to their goddess of reason, and believed that their plaster statue of nature was actually instinct with a divine power? The deities of their *Sansculottides*, Genius, and Labour, and Reward, would infallibly have been as much personified as Pallas or Apollo, and shared with fouler divinities the worship of a people thus brought back to Heathenism by those *lumières* for which Christianity was too superstitious.

As to the other branch of the system, the doctrine of the mutability of religious truth, and its varying developments from age to age, what can we say but that it is the logical complement of the Pantheistic hypothesis? Reject revelation, deny all objective truth, figure religion as a web spun by human thought and its attainments upon "the loom of time," or rather, perhaps, as the phantasmagoria which the world of outer and inner existence daguerreotypes upon the human phantasy, and there is no reason why it should not shift in shifting lights and points of view through all time. And if any infidel philosopher can comfort himself in his own desolation with this theory, and with the reflection that this is an age of "transition," in which religion is not possible for man, we can let him do so, with pity. But if, as is commonly the case, the doctrine be flung in our teeth, not to round off their own principles, but as a substantive truth antagonistic to ours, in that case we say that as applied to Catholicity, it is false; false historically, and false metaphysically. Other religions, they say, flourished and fell, Christianity flourished, but is falling; it does not square with the modern mind; the current of European thought is against it, and it subsists only in decay. We say, in answer, simply that if ever a time existed in which the supernatural life of the Catholic Church ought to be manifest even to the eyes of fools, it is this very middle of the nineteenth century.

"The current of European thought," they authoritatively argue. Yes: there has been an enormous deal of sceptical and atheistical speculation during the last hundred and fifty years, and we see the issue of it in a wide

revolt against all the powers of Heaven and earth. No doubt it is strong: we admit its strength, and began by admitting it; and it may be strong enough hereafter to shed Christian blood in seas; but whence is its strength? from the evil or the good principle; from what is earthy or what is heavenly in our nature? "Christianity supplanted Paganism," say the philosophers, "and shall be itself supplanted." Christianity supplanted Paganism, humanly speaking, and by the confession of the infidel historian, by its superior *holiness*, by its sublime virtues, and no less by its sublime mysteries. And now the force which they analogically argue will subdue Christianity, is identically the same over which Christianity thus triumphed—the force of pride, ambition, self-sufficiency, and the baseless theories of philosophers. We say that whatever *religious* thought is in the world; whatever seeks for godliness, is visibly setting not from but towards the Catholic Church, and is swelling the tide of her everlasting waters. If indeed any one choose to make his daily food of the confections of the infidels, if he breakfast upon a lecture of Emerson's, make a solid meal of the philosophy of Conte or Cousin, and a spicy supper of a novel of George Sand, choosing to name all that European thought, we cannot be surprised that Catholic doctrines or mysteries should be a loathing to him. But to our mind, the opinion of the court of Charles the Second would be just as good a criterion of the value of the virtue of purity.

So much for "modern thought," when adduced by way of authority. But the objection is often put by way of an appeal to individual intellect, and in a form which is at least rational and intelligible. It is argued thus. Without investigating the divine authority for doctrines, they may become incredible in the course of human progress, because scientific facts are discovered which the intellect cannot refuse to give assent to; if these discoveries are plainly at variance with the dogma, the dogma must give way. We admit the consequence in any plain case of the kind. If the Indian tortoise supporting the earth were a doctrine of religion, the circumnavigation of the globe would dissipate it. Upon this basis, when driven to the wall, the supporters of the theory of mutations rest. It is worth while, then, to examine what instance they adduce, to show the present incredibility of Catholicity. Here it

is in Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero-worship." "Dante's Mountain of Purgatory," he says, "does *not* stand in the ocean of the other Hemisphere, once Columbus has sailed thither. Men find no such thing extant in the other Hemisphere. It is not there. It must cease to be believed to be there. So with all beliefs whatever in this world—all systems of belief and systems of practice that spring from these." There is the decisive blow at Catholicity. He takes the fancy of a poet, giving locality, as poets do, to the unseen, and which the poet himself knew to be a fancy, for the dogma of a creed, and then complacently destroys it. In the same manner, of course, the Christian belief in heaven *above* and hell *beneath* is destroyed by the discovery of the antipodes. It is a standing observation, that Protestants entertain themselves by building up doctrines for Catholics, and then hurling them down, but Exeter Hall itself never carried it to such a puerile length as this.

The truth is, that writings like Carlyle's have tended to foster an impression, not put into words, but indistinctly felt, that the spiritual faculties of man are in some inconceivable way different in this age from what they were in former ages. High acute discursive intellects of past times, they say, believed the Christian dogmas with their whole hearts,—we can no longer believe them, because, and only because it is a different era. Such is the impression, held, too, for the most part, in a languid pick-tooth way, indicating actual satisfaction at having such a theory to rest on. A great deal, we will admit, changes among men, their habits, languages, dynasties, social forms, all their earthly acquisitions wax and wane; but till the philosophy of clothes can establish that human beings get a new osseous or nervous structure from age to age, we will believe that their spiritual nature remains for ever the same. In the nineteenth century, as in the tenth, man has the same yearnings after infinite good, the same power of sin within him to combat, and the same impotence to contend against it by his natural powers; he is surrounded by the same eternal problem, a problem then as now, and now as then insoluble except by one solution. And that solution is no subjective hypothesis, but an external objective fact; the question is solely whether God has given a revelation to man. If there be a living God, and if He has made known His will to man, it is surely of little weight to the enquirer what the

tone of modern "thought" may be upon the subject. If not—why then it is little matter either.

We know not whether to others, but to us the refutation of these fancies breaks even more luminously than elsewhere from the little book of the Confessions of St. Augustine. Born in the decadence of the Roman Empire, long before the birth of Feudalism, or those middle ages, in which, and which alone, it is the modern cant to fix the reign of the Catholic Church; separated from us by fifteen centuries of time, by the wreck of an old, and the growth of a new civilization, what is there, we ask, in the history of that great man's mind and faith, that might not be literally repeated at this day? The questions that agitated him, were not cognate merely with those now agitated, they were the same, the very same—the nature of God, and the origin of evil, and the immutable chain of causes—as indeed there is not a metaphysical difficulty against religion that does not date from the farthest antiquity. When St. Augustine, in his nineteenth year, moved by the reading of Cicero's Hortensius, devoted his whole heart and life to the service of wisdom, he had got, as we believe, to the very point where the best of the rationalists would leave us at this day, after having abandoned Christianity. "Spirituality," if that was his need, he had to overflowing in Plato and the Platonists. His own book, "*de pulchro et apto*," written while he was yet a Pagan, was, we doubt not, equal to any moral or æsthetical treatise which the infidelity of Europe has yet produced. Rising into fame and eminence, rich in the love of friends, and holding with them high discourse (such as it needs no effort to conceive) upon the ways of God and man: was not his life, in the eyes of the rationalist, a noble and spiritual one? Alas! he knew it himself to be base and miserable. He felt himself girt by a coil of sin, which all his strength was impotent to break. He did not seek "spirituality," but truth, and his own salvation; and he saw everywhere around him opinion, and theory, and jarring speculation, the pride of the philosophers, the dreams of the Manicheans—Eternal Truth nowhere, or else within the Catholic fold. Who can ever forget the final hour of his conversion? The casual visitor, the topic of the hour, giving force and direction to all that his conscience had been meditating, then the providential passage of St. Paul stirring his heart from its inmost depths, and at last the storm of

penitential tears; and he had embraced God and God's Church, and sin and doubt lay behind him for evermore. It is beautiful, but nothing more than has been witnessed in every age of the Church since, and through God's mercy most amply in our own. The same resting place ever remains for the like unrest. Now as then, there is everywhere opinion and conflicting theory: one gives you his flashy fancy, to account for the origin of all religions; another builds up his system from the lowest human appetites; a third will scientifically explain how the human being was developed out of the brute and the reptile. The hypothesis of one generation is the refuse of the next—often the noisy book of one year is the waste paper of the following. "Who," asks Burke, "now reads Toland or Tindal?" who, we ask, ever dips into the redoubtable *encyclopædie*, or turns a page of the Patriarch of Ferney himself? They have given place to other regenerators of their species, "fireside philanthropists, great at the pen," who are worshippers of Beauty and the Arts, and will teach you how to nourish high thoughts, yet at the same time gratify your senses, without fear of having your conscience wrung by ascetic morality.

And in the midst of all this, the Catholic Church, now as of old, now more than of old—for she counts within her pale more subjects than at any time since she received her Charter from her Founder—does her appointed work, saving the souls of human beings, weaning them from sin, and leading them to God. The feet of her ministers and consecrated handmaids are found assiduous at the side of the dying and disconsolate. Year after year she buds with her spontaneous life, in new fruits of charity and piety. The philosophers abandon man to his sins and sufferings, while they dream of a gorgeous future for the race; she, with impressive finger, touches the individual heart, leads it where before the sacred altar God's grace descends upon it, sensibly, like the gentle rain from heaven infusing strength and peace, prompting to penitence and all virtue. *Nam et ipsi sancti tui, Domine, qui tecum jam in regno cælorum exultant, in fide et patientiâ magna, dum viverent, adventum gloriæ tuæ expectaverunt. Quod illi crediderunt, ego credo: quod illi speraverunt, ego spero: ubi illi pervenerunt, ibi per gratiam tuam me consecuturum confido.*

It is worth while to observe, how differently two men

like Carlyle and Macaulay regard the Church, each being in his way inveterately hostile to her. Macaulay, without earnest opinion of any kind, but clear-sighted enough as to outward facts, sees the wonder of her past and present existence, that nothing on earth is, or ever was like to her. From her past history he foretells new triumphs and her vigorous youth when the British Empire will be a name. Yet with a moral blindness, the like of which is not in Carlyle or elsewhere, he attributes this eternity of greatness to a mere tradition of cunning; he believes that the Catholic system is essentially false, and that to falsehood, supported "by a judicious use of enthusiasm," is given the kingdom of earth. Did the worst Manicheism ever propound a more revolting doctrine? Carlyle, with a moral sense infinitely higher, having come to regard the Catholic Church as false, irresistibly infers that she must die, and invariably assumes that she is dying. According to his theory, her death-knell was struck three centuries ago by Luther; and by right she should have been growing hourly since more decrepid, distracted, and corrupt. Such is his assertion, made with complacent assurance in his earlier works, with louder asseverations in his later; and at last with shrieks and execrations in these Pamphlets, when the contrary fact was too plainly manifested before him.

The Pamphlets are themselves no more than the natural outcome of his system, and contain nothing that was not more or less developed in his former writings. They are, in brief, to the effect that this is an anarchic, mutinous time, in which all authority has fallen into contempt, and in which it, above all things, behoves the able men of the world to put themselves at the head of the world's affairs, if universal ruin is not to be the result; that for one thing philanthropic twaddle and misplaced tenderness to criminals will not save us; that a commencement of reform is to be made in the administrative, not the legislative departments, for the true function of a parliament was, at its beginning, and always should be, that of an advising, not a governing body; and that speech-making, ("stump oratory,") usurping the place of practical work, is a crying nuisance in these days, demanding loudly to be abated.

With the greater part of the substance of all this, we will not deny that we concur; but through all there runs

the same fatal taint of his aversion to Christianity in all existing forms. For example, his second pamphlet on "Model-prisons," deals with the common opinion, that the foundation of the right of society to inflict punishment is example to others, and improvement of the criminal himself. Carlyle naturally scouts this theory. Justice is done by society *as* justice, and in virtue of an inherent or delegated right to visit crime with punishment;—the terror and the example may be the concomitants, and may be also the measure, of the punishment, but never could confer the right. Yet even this principle, fundamentally true, is dealt with by him in a way to make it even falser and far more hateful than the system it opposes. According to him the scoundrel is unimproveable, irreclaimable;—if he be hastening to the gallows, clear the road for him; if he choose to go to Hell, send him thither with all dispatch, extinguish him at least out of human society as a mutinous wild beast. How abhorrent the spirit of all this is to the teaching of our Lord, and of our Lord's Church, we need scarce observe.

In the seventh pamphlet he treats, with great power and in a spirit of the deadliest sarcasm, of that sordid worship of money, with which England is overridden. Can anything be conceived better, for example, than the following address of the practical English mind, supposed to be offered to king Hudson in the days of his glory? "Yes, you are something like the Ideal of a Man; you are he I would give my right arm and leg, and accept a potbelly with gout and an appetite for strong waters to be like! You out of nothing can make a world, or huge fortune of gold. A divine intellect is in you, which Earth, and Heaven, and Capel Court itself acknowledges; at the word of which are done miracles. You find a dying railway; you say to it, Live, blossom anew with scrip;—and it lives and blossoms into umbrageous flowery scrip, to enrich with golden apples the hungry souls of men. Divine miracle! the like of which what god ever did? Hudson—though I mumble about my thirty-nine articles and the service of *other* divinities—Hudson is my god; and to him I will sacrifice this twenty pound note, if perhaps he will be propitious to me."

The worship of King Hudson leads him to the subject of religion generally, with which he deals in the remainder of the seventh, and in the eighth Pamphlet. Here, at

least, he speaks without reserve. Never before was his pantheism, his doctrine, that all religion is a merely human development, so emphatically pronounced. "To the primitive man all Forces of Nature were divine," &c. "Not because Heaven existed, did men know good from evil, the because, I invite you to consider, lay quite the other way. It was *because* men, having hearts as well as stomachs, felt then, and knew through all their being, the difference between good and evil, that heaven and hell first came to exist." "We must make," he passionately cries, "our *exodus* from Houndsditch," cast off all our old Hebrew rags and tatters. In fact, that three centuries after Luther gave "the first blow of demolition" to the Christian system, it should still subsist to such an extent as it does, and above all, that the Catholic Church should still subsist, fills him with a rage that is almost appalling. Looking round for the cause of this, he fixes (not without a shadow of truth) upon Saint Ignatius, upon whom accordingly he pours all the torrent of his wrath. It is curious to see how utterly, in his anger at what St. Ignatius has done, he loses all true appreciation of facts, and even abandons all his own principles of the nobleness of heroic effort. "St. Ignatius," he says, was bad by nature, and by destiny swollen into a very Ahriman of badness." His life before his conversion, the life of a brave young cavalier, not sinless, but stained with no excessive sin, he calls that of "a degraded ferocious human pig, one of the most perfect scoundrels;" and yet venial compared with what he afterwards became. That he should have repented of his former life was right, and Carlyle honours him for it; but that he should have then sought counsel of the Catholic Church instead of the "Eternal Oracles," that he should have sought to save his soul instead of "consenting to be damned;" and above all, that he should have devoted himself and his order to the service of the Church; this is his inexplicable sin. "How many three-hatted Papas and scandalous consecrated Phantasms, cleric and laic, does it (Jesuitism) still retain in existence in all corners of this afflicted world?" "The execution it has done upon the souls of men is enormous and tremendous,"—meaning, that in his view the Jesuits have done more than any body of men to preserve Christianity from the assaults of its enemies;—surely a high tribute to the Society. Its virtues, obedience, and others he does not deny, nor its shining exam-

ples of what human energy and faculty are equal to ; but "obedience to what is wrong and false."—"Good Heavens!" he says, "is there any name for such a depth of cowardice and calamity?" How it comes to pass that these virtues so grow and flourish within what is wrong and false, and not outside of it, might, we think, awaken in him some salutary misgivings. In the same way he admits, that the class of good men in the world are, almost without exception, on the false or Christian side ; and that on the other side are, for the most part, "mutinous, angry, discontented persons, and a class rather worthy to be called bad." Falsehood everywhere with the good, truth everywhere with the bad—what a frightful conclusion ! And frightful he considers it, for he curses his day in words the like of which were never spoken or printed before.

"We have to report that Human Speech is not true ! That it is false to a degree never witnessed in this world till lately. Such a subtle virus of falsity in the very essence of it as far excels all open lying or prior kinds of falsity ; false with consciousness of being sincere ! The heart of the world is corrupted to the core ; a detestable devil's-poison circulates in the life-blood of mankind ; taints with abominable deadly malady all that men do. Such a curse never fell on man before. Did the human species ever lie in such a soak of horrors—sunk like steeping flax beneath the fetid hell-waters—in all spiritual respects dead, dead ; voiceless towards heaven for centuries back ; merely sending up in the form of mute prayer, such an odour as the angels never smelt before ? Horrible ! yes, how could it be other than horrible ? Like the valley of Jehosaphat, it lies around us, one nightmare wilderness, and wreck of dead men's bones, this false modern world, and no rapt Ezechiel in prophetic vision imaged to himself things sadder, more horrible and terrible, than the eyes of men, if they are awake, may now deliberately see."—Latter Day Pamphlets, No. ix.: Jesuitism.

To most readers this will seem mere blind frenzy. Frenzy, indeed, it is, and blind enough ; but considering the character and previous conclusions of the writer, neither unnatural, nor altogether irrational. For, having not only rejected Christianity, but become possessed in his whole nature by the conviction, that no one *can* sincerely believe in Christianity at present, what a hypocritical, horrible aspect must the world wear to him ? And further, is not his complaint of the mass of falsity which he finds around him in great measure, just ? The world of letters and of statesmen having cast off supernatural Faith, what could it become

but false in all spiritual matters; canting, frivolous, and insincere, poisoning all who seek for truth there? And, in England above all, does he not actually witness the very thing which he describes with a pen dipped in vitriol, the majority of men, holding their thirty-nine articles, not as a faith, nor even as an opinion, but as a portion of their respectability, content to dwell in decencies for ever, and afraid, or indisposed, to test their truth, keeping them in a corner of their brain for Sundays, while they give their whole heart and strength to the worship of money and material means. He sees that sight in England; and on the Continent he sees, on one side, the Catholicism which he hates and rejects; and, on the other, all the powers of moral and social licentiousness. Literature and art, which were to have constituted the religion of the New Era, he now at last finds, will, unless religion drawn from some other source inspire them, inevitably become corrupt, and the ministers of corruption, as they are now. In the midst of all this, it is not his despair, but rather the spark of hope which he still professes to feel, that excites our wonder.

Certainly, to a Catholic, it is matter of exultation, and even if thoughts so awful will admit it, of laughter, to see the inextricable coil in which these philosophers writhe in trying to read without Faith the riddle of the world. "The Catholic system," says Carlyle, "is fearful and wonderful to the seeing eye and thinking heart, in these days." "*That*," he exclaims, speaking of our God, "is not the Creator of the universe—go out into the universe and look." It is indeed fearful and wonderful in our days and in all days. Go, we also say, and contemplate the universe—we will not soften for you a single difficulty, we will interpose no haze of idealism between the proud imagination of the philosopher and the reality of the tremendous mysteries by which it is so choked; we rejoice to enhance the difficulties, rather to bring them out into clearer light and bolder relief. Consider, then, the universe; look on the innumerable worlds and systems in the midst of which our globe is an undistinguished speck, conceive yourself then transported to the farthest of those orbs on the verge of creation, over distances which the very light-beams take myriads of ages to traverse; imagine the new universe, the new galaxies and constellations breaking on you there, and those that lie beyond, and still

beyond, through all the endless tracts of infinitude, and then bring home the thought, that the Creator of All lay once a mute infant in his mother's lap, unrecognized, in an obscure corner of this 'paltry planet:' nay more, that the same Almighty Creator is present, daily, God and Man, upon a million altars, the sacrifice and food of his creatures. *There* is the foundation of the Catholic system; say, how comes it to be in existence at all at this day? But that it should exist in the fulness of strength and unity—the world's *thought*, as they choose to term it, as impotent against it, as the world's swords or shackles—exist with a structure vast, organic, and complete beyond parallel, and further, that from the philosophers themselves should be wrung the admission, that the Church, so based, has been the mightiest agent of good the world ever saw;—that obedience, subordination, and that silent fruitful labour, which among modern theorists is so lauded and so lacked, should be her especial mark—works of charity and piety should for ever spring from her, spontaneous and abundant as the blossoms on the trees—that the spirit of heroic action and heroic suffering should be of the very essence of her being, while yet she directs her efforts, not to produce singularity of virtue, but to regulate and sanctify daily life, and that her highest self-sacrifices should (far removed from all Fakirism) be coexistent with clear judgment and calm will—that leading towards heaven, she should comprehend earth and its ways and workings so intimately and instinctively—that all attempts to separate her characteristics from herself, and make her virtues grow in other soils, have ever failed, and that at this hour she should stand conspicuously to all the only principle of permanence upon earth—this is the overwhelming enigma for ever inexplicable to the unbelieving.

Mindful of these things, with what feelings does the Catholic look out on the world of wild speculation and wilder passions? With inner joy, with pity and fear, and with shame too, that so many of these men should be ardent in search of the truth which they know not, while he is so tepid in the service of the truth which he knows. These lessons he may learn from the philosophers; he can learn little else from them. Whatever of spirituality, of elevation of the spirit and depression of the sense they inculcate, he finds a thousand times richer and fuller in Catholic writings, with sanctions and precepts to the

others altogether unknown. Whatever of truth they have she teaches; whatever of falsehood, she reprobates. To take one example out of hundreds: Carlyle's hero-worship represents, no doubt, a true principle of our nature, but in him so distorted and exaggerated, that the truth of it can scarcely be recognized. His system presents Odin, St. Paul, Mirabeau, and Arkwright, successively for our worship. Turn from that to the hero-worship of the Catholic Church,—her heroes whom she offers for our veneration, for our imitation, are the saints and servants of one unchangeable living God, who have in every age laboured and suffered that His will might be done,—not the one anathematizing and supplanting the other, but all in communion together, forming an unbroken line of light and holiness from the beginning of the world, and to us, not dead models merely, but living friends and associates.

As to the future, about which we hear so much, why should we waste our time in vain speculations about it? The future will be best shaped by each of us doing faithfully his duty in his day. The form of feudalism is passing, as all earthly forms must pass. Feudalism was not the Church, never was specially the Church's friend, often was her powerful enemy. It is now being abrogated, and what will take its place none can tell, certain only that it will be very different from what the wisest of us all forecasts. It may be, after all, that the principle of order will hold its ground, and accomplish necessary change, with occasional convulsion, keeping the spirit of anarchy, for the most part, chained beneath its feet. If so, the victor in that mighty triumph will be the Church alone. It may be that God has destined European civilization to be torn in pieces by frantic faction, and then trodden over by banded Scythian hordes. If so, it will be no more than what happened before upon a scale so gigantic that we can scarce fancy its recurrence. And again, as before, the Church will remain amid the chaos, the element of new construction, diffusing vital virtue and vital warmth throughout the mass; and purging downwards the black Tartareous, cold infernal dregs, adverse to life. Centuries will solve the problem for the world; a few years will solve it for each of us.

ART. IX.—*Lectures on Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Submitting to the Catholic Church.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. 8vo. London: Burns and Lambert. 1850.

IT is often said, that the history of a scholar is the history of his books. There are few writers, and especially few theological writers, of whom this is more true, than of the distinguished author of the *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*. Even in the absence of the key to certain passages of private history which these Lectures supply, it would be impossible for any one at all intimately acquainted with Dr. Newman's writings, not to perceive that they all bear a clear and definite personal relation to the author, and that each of them represents some new and distinct reality in the development of his mind. It is not merely that he will recognise them, at a glance, as steps of a regularly progressive series, commencing, at least as far as principles are concerned, with what may almost be called the foundation, of the Christian faith, and following it up into all the minutest details of its dogmatical completeness. To trace out such a progress as this, would be, in itself, a very curious and interesting study. But in Dr. Newman's case, it possesses peculiar attractions. The interest of all, even the most purely and abstractly dogmatical of his publications, is heightened by the evidence of genuineness and reality which they all present. There is an air of earnestness and truth in every thing which he has written, that brings the writer, in his own person, before us, in every page. We cannot help constantly feeling, in what is addressed to ourselves, the workings of his own mind, even where there is not the remotest personal allusion; and as each new view is developed in succession, we are led on, step by step, with the full consciousness that our guide has traced for himself the way by which he leads us.

And it is eminently, and indeed avowedly, so in these *Lectures upon Anglican Difficulties*. In these, however, the personal relation is retrospective. The author himself relates in many most interesting passages, the progress of that mental history which the several works practically reveal. His argumentation is addressed, in great part, not so much

to his hearers as to his former self. The "difficulties" which he combats, are those which had beset his own course; the obstacles which he removes from the paths of others, are those which it has been the reward of his own long and painful struggle to overcome. Indeed, the very necessity of dealing thus with such a subject has formed, by his own avowal, one of his greatest embarrassments in the undertaking. The apprehension, or rather the certainty, that in treating it at all he would be "compelled to speak of himself," made him sensitively unwilling to undertake the course of Lectures. He foresaw that he "could not address his audience on the subjects which he proposed, without introducing himself into the discussion;" he could not refer to the past, without alluding to matters in which he had had a part; he could not show that interest in his hearers' state of mind and course of thought which he really felt, "without showing that he therefore understood it, because he had before now experienced it himself:" and he was haunted by the anticipation, doubly painful to a mind so modest as his, that "in drawing out the events of former years, and the motives of past transactions, and the operation of common principles, and the complexion of old habits and opinions, he should be, in no slight degree, constructing, what he has ever avoided, a defence of himself."—(p. 322.)

It is only just to add that, as may be inferred from such principles as these, the difficulty here anticipated has been most successfully overcome. We never remember to have seen the trying subject of "self," treated with so much judgment and so much taste as in these Lectures. There is a graceful union of modesty and frankness in the tone of all that relates to the author's own person, removed alike from arrogance and from affected reserve, which, while it excites our interest in the highest degree, and imparts a character of life and reality to the narrative, yet never jars upon that instinctive sensitiveness by which we shrink from every undue exhibition of egotism, however skilfully disguised.

There is another most pleasing characteristic of these Lectures which may of course be traced to the same source—the tone which pervades them of trustful confidence in the principles by which the author himself had been influenced, and of affectionate tenderness for those with whom he once held them in common; for the difficulties by which they are surrounded; for the prejudices

which hold them back; for the manifold and distracting ties from which he is now set free, but which still fetter their every movement. "It needed no prophetic gift," he feelingly avows, in his closing Lecture, "to be sure, that others must take ultimately the course which I had taken, though I could not foretell the time or the occasion; no gift to foresee that those who did not choose to plunge into the gulf of scepticism must at length fall back upon the Catholic Church. Nor did it require in me much faith in you, my dear brethren, much love for you, to be sure that, though there were close around you men who look like you but are not, that you, the children of the movement, were too conscientious, too much in earnest, not to be destined by that God, who made you what you are, to greater things. Others may have scoffed at you, but I never; others may have made light of your principles, or your sincerity, but never I; others may have predicted evil of you, I have only felt vexed at the prediction. I have laughed indeed, I have scorned, and scorn and laugh I must, when men set up an outside instead of the inside of religion—when they affect more than they can sustain—when they indulge in pomp or in minutiae, which are only then becoming when there is something to be proud of, something to be anxious for. If I have been excessive here, if I have confused what is defective with what is hollow, or have mistaken aspiration for pretence, or have been severe upon infirmities, towards which self-knowledge would have made me tender, I wish it otherwise. Still, whatever my faults in this matter, I have ever been trustful in that true Catholic spirit which has lived in the movement of which you are partakers. I have been steady in my loyalty to that supernatural influence among you, which made me what I am,—which, in its good time, shall make you what you shall be."—pp. 323—24.

Hence it will be seen that these Lectures are addressed exclusively to one particular class, which the author affectionately describes as the "children of the movement." They neither profess to offer any direct evidences of Catholicity, nor any refutation of the general and popular difficulties which are urged against it. It would be hard to find a writer better qualified than Dr. Newman, not only by positive acquirements, but also and even more, by the character of his mind and his peculiar habits of

thought, for the examination of the great questions involved in these fundamental discussions. We trust, that if the fitting circumstances should arise, he will find it expedient to address himself to them in detail. The singular union of depth and acuteness which characterizes all his views; his extraordinary power of analysis; his instinctive faculty of detecting and tracing out the analogies of reason and of revelation; his wonderful capacity for illustration; and, rarer still, the beautifully simple, natural, and persuasive order into which all his varied materials fall, apparently without an effort;—seem to point him out as especially qualified for the investigation of questions which resolve themselves ultimately into the foundations of faith. But although such are his undoubted qualifications; although he is no less fitted to argue upon the loosest principles of rationalism than upon the highest assumptions of High-church dogmatism; though he might be no less at home in controversy with those who are “very far from the Church,” than with those “who are very near her;” yet it cannot be doubted, at the same time, that his first and most natural mission is to those who are following the course by which he has himself been led to the threshold of the faith; and that, as he himself has beautifully expressed it, the first duty of Catholics is to house those in who are near their doors.”

And this is the purpose of the *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*. Assuming the principles on which the so-called “Movement of 1833” had its origin;—following up the successive steps in its progress, in so far as it was common to all the members of the party; and occasionally urging home with special force the peculiar views of those who cling to it even after the first great secession; the author shows that these principles cannot find their full, natural, and legitimate development, in any other community than the Roman Catholic Church.

The Lectures, therefore, may be divided into two sections. In the first, (Lect. I—VII.) it is shown that in accordance with its own principles, the movement could not have any other termination than in the Church of Rome. And, as this, of its own nature, is but a negative argument, the purpose of the remaining Lectures, (VIII—XII.) is to meet the difficulties commonly made by Anglicans against joining the Roman Communion.

Starting, therefore, with that acknowledged principle

on which the whole Tractarian system was founded, and which it was the first object of that system to reform, viz:—the enslaved and degraded condition of the National Church, which was felt to have become “a mere establishment, a department of Government—or a function or operation of the State—without a substance—a mere collection of officials depending on and living in the supreme civil power”—the author shows, by an irresistible train of argument, at once profound and popular, that this Movement, imperfect, halting, and superficial as it has proved, was nevertheless uncongenial to the National Church, contented as she was and is, with her actual condition; that it did not originate with her; that its progress, even such as it has been, has not come from her, but without her aid and in her despite; that whatever of life, or energy, or grace it has had, came not from her; and that its tendency and direction have not, in the designs of Providence, been towards her, nor towards any party in her, nor towards what some of the followers of the movement have called a “Branch Church,” nor finally towards a sect, external to the National Church, yet stopping short of the Communion of Rome.

It will be seen that the questions opened out in this portion of the work, are in great measure entirely new, and indeed arise altogether from the perfectly novel characters of this extraordinary religious revolution. Even to those, therefore, who are most familiar with our controversial theology, the “Lectures on Anglican Difficulties” will have all the charm of novelty; and we are well sensible that there are no means by which we could render our pages more attractive than by extracting copiously from them. But we are restrained from so doing, not only by the pressure of other matter upon our space, but also by the hope that, even before this paper shall be in the hands of our readers, the work itself will be within the reach of all who desire to examine it for themselves. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with a very few specimens from this portion of the Lectures. Perhaps we shall not easily find a more characteristic one than in the Second Lecture on the uncongeniality of the National Church with the Movement of 1833. It consists simply in the application of a test.

“We know that it is the property of life to be impatient of any

foreign substance in the body to which it belongs. It will be sovereign in its own domain, and it conflicts with what it cannot assimilate into itself, and is irritated and disordered till it has expelled it. Such expulsion, then, is, emphatically, a test of uncongeniality, for it shows that the substance ejected, not only is not one with the body that rejects it, but cannot be made one with it; that its introduction is not only useless, or superfluous, or adventitious, but that it is intolerable. For instance, it is usual for High Churchmen to speak of the Establishment as patient, in matter of fact, both of Catholic and Protestant principles;—most true as regards Protestant, and it will illustrate my point to give instances of it. No one can doubt, then, that neither Lutheranism nor Calvinism is the exact doctrine of the Church of England, yet either heresy can readily coalesce with it in matter of fact. Persons of Lutheran and Calvinistic, and Luthero-Calvinist bodies, are and have been chosen without scruple by the English people for husbands and wives, for sponsors, for missionaries, for deans and canons, without any formal transition from communion to communion. The Anglican Prelates write complimentary letters to what they call the foreign Protestant Churches, and they attend, with their clergy and laity, Protestant places of worship abroad. William III. was called to the throne, though a Calvinist, and George I., though a Lutheran, and that in order to exclude a family who adhered to the religion of Rome. The national religion then has a congeniality with Lutheranism and Calvinism, which it has not, for instance, with the Greek religion, or the Jewish. Religions, as they come, whatever they be, are not indifferent to it; it takes up one, it precipitates another; it, as every religion, has a life, a spirit, a genius of its own, in which doctrines lie implicit, out of which they are developed, and by which they are attracted into it from without, and assimilated to it.”—pp. 45, 46.

As an illustration of this principle, he refers to what forms the great charm of the “*Essay on Development*,”—those very striking scenes in history,—the attempt to force Arianism on the people of Milan during the pontificate of the Archbishop St. Ambrose; the equally abortive attempt to introduce the Anglican Liturgy in the church of St. Giles, in Edinburgh, in 1635; and the memorable scenes in London, on occasion of the imprisonment and trial of the Seven Bishops under James II. Each of these events is in itself an evidence of the religious opinions and feelings which it would be impossible to mistake, of the several communities in which they occurred. To the religious views of the Establishment Dr. Newman applies the same test.

“When the note of Catholicism, as it may be called, was struck seventeen years since, and while it has sounded louder and louder in the national ear, what has been the response of the national sentiment? It had many things surely in its favour; it sounded from a centre which commanded attention—it sounded strong and full; nor was it intermitted or checked or lowered by the opposition, nor drowned by the clamour which it occasioned, while, at length, it was re-echoed and repeated from other centres with zeal and energy and sincerity and effect, as great as any cause could even desire or could ask for. So far, no movement could have more advantage with it than it had; and, as it proceeded, it did not content itself with propagating an abstract theology, but it took a part in the public events of the day; it interfered with court, with ministers, with university matters, and with counter-movements of whatever kind.

“And, moreover, which is much to the purpose, it appealed to the people, and that on the very ground that it was Apostolical in its nature. It made the experiment of this appeal the very test of its Apostolicity. ‘I shall offend many men,’ said one of its organs, ‘when I say, we must look to the people; but let them give me a hearing. Well can I understand their feelings. Who, at first sight, does not dislike the thoughts of gentlemen and clergymen depending for their maintenance and their reputation on their flocks? of their strength, as a visible power, lying, not in their birth, the patronage of the great, or the endowments of the Church, as hitherto, but in the homage of a multitude? But, in truth, the prospect is not so bad as it seems at first sight. The chief and obvious objection to the clergy being thrown on the people, lies in the probable lowering of Christian views, and the adulation of the vulgar, which would be its consequence; and the state of dissenters is appealed to as an evidence of the danger. But let us recollect that we are an Apostolical body; we were not made, nor can be unmade, by our flocks; and, if our influence is to depend on them, yet the Sacraments reside with us. We have that with us, which none but ourselves possess, the mantle of the Apostles; and this, properly understood and cherished, will ever keep us from being the creatures of a population.’

“Here then was a challenge to the nation to decide between the movement and its opponents; and how did the nation meet it? When clergymen of Latitudinarian theology were promoted to dignities, did the faithful of the diocese, or of the episcopal city, rise in insurrection? Did parishioners blockade a church's doors to keep out a new incumbent, who refused to read the Athanasian Creed? Did vestries feel an instinctive reverence for the altar, as soon as that reverence was preached? Did the organs of public opinion pursue with their invectives those who became dissenters or Irvingites? Was it a subject of popular indignation, discussed and denounced in railway trains, and omnibusses, and steam-boats,

in clubs and shops, in episcopal charges, and at visitation dinners, if a clergyman explained away the baptismal service, or professed his intention to leave out portions of it in ministration? Did it rouse the guards or the artillery to find that the Bishop where they were stationed was a Sabellian? Was it a subject for public meetings if a recognition was attempted of foreign Protestant ordinations? Did animosity to heretics of the day go so far as to lead speakers to ridicule their persons and their features, amid the cheer of sympathetic hearers? Did petitions load the tables of the Commons from the mothers of England or young men's associations, because the Queen went to a Presbyterian service, or a high minister of state was an infidel? Did the Bishops cry out and stop their ears on hearing that one of their body denied original sin or the grace of ordination? Was there nothing in the course of the controversy to show what the nation thought of the controversy?Yes, I hear a cry from an episcopal city; I have before my eyes one scene, and it is a type and earnest of many more. Once in a way, there were those among the authorities of the Establishment who made certain recommendations concerning the mode of conducting Divine worship: simple these in themselves, and perfectly innocuous, but they looked like the breath, the shadow of the movement, they seemed an omen of something more to come; they were the symptoms of some sort of ecclesiastical favour bestowed on its adherents. The newspapers, the organs of the political, mammon-loving community, of those vast multitudes in all ranks, who are allowed by the Anglican Church to do nearly what they will for six, if not seven days in the week, who, in spite of the theological controversies rolling over their heads, could buy and sell and manufacture and trade at their pleasure; who might be unconcerned, if they would, and go their own way, and 'live and let live,' the organs, I say, of these multitudes kindle with indignation, and menace, and revile, and denounce, because the Bishops in question suffer their clergy to deliver their sermons, as well as the prayers, in a surplice. It becomes a matter of popular interest. There are mobs in the street, houses are threatened, life is in danger, because only the gleam of Apostolical principles, in their faintest, wannest expression, is cast inside a building which is the home of the national religion. The very moment that Catholicism ventures out of books, and cloisters, and studies, towards the national house of prayer, when it lifts its hand, or its very eyebrow towards this people so tolerant of heresy, at once the dull and earthly mass is on fire. It would be little or nothing, though the minister baptized without water, though he gave away the consecrated wine, though he denounced fasting, though he laughed at virginity, though he interchanged pulpits with a Wesleyan or Baptist, though he defied his Bishop; he might be blamed, he might be disliked, he might be remonstrated with; but he would not touch the feelings of men; he would not inflame their minds; but, bring home to

them the very thought of Catholicism, hold up a surplice, and the religious building is as full of excitement and tumult as St. Victor's at Milan, in the cause of orthodoxy, or St. Giles's, Edinburgh, for the Kirk.

"The uproar commenced," says a contemporary account, "with a general coughing down; several persons then moved to the door, making a great noise in their progress; a young woman went off in a fit of hysterics, uttering loud shrieks, whilst a mob outside besieged the doors of the building. A cry of 'fire' was raised, followed by an announcement that the church doors were closed, and a rush was made to burst them open. Some cried out, 'Turn him out,' pull it off him.' In the galleries the uproar was at its height, whistling, cat-calls, hurraing and such cries as are heard in theatres, echoed throughout the edifice. The preacher still persisted to read his text, but was quite inaudible; and the row increased, some of the congregation waving their hats, standing on the seats, jumping over them, bawling, roaring and gesticulating, like a mob at an election. The reverend gentleman, in the midst of the confusion, dispatched a message to the mayor, requesting his assistance, when one of the congregation addressed the people, and also requested the preacher to remove the cause of the ill-feeling which had been excited. Then another addressed him in no measured terms, and insisted on his leaving the pulpit. At length the mayor, the superintendent of the police, several constables, also the chancellor and the archdeacon, arrived. The mayor enforced silence, and, after admonishing the people, requested the clergyman to leave the pulpit for a few minutes, which he declined to do,—gave out his text, and proceeded with his discourse. The damage done to the interior of the church is said to be very considerable.' I believe I am right in supposing that the surplice has vanished from that pulpit from that day forward. Here at length certainly are signs of life, but not the life of the Catholic Church."—pp. 50—54.

And what is here inferred from the public and popular manifestations of feeling, is again made equally clear from the official and authoritative declaration of the recognised organs of the Church, if she can be said to have any. We hardly ever remember to have read anything more complete and more crushing, than the following contrast of the professions of the Movement, as they were embodied in the "Tracts for the Times," and its other organs, and the actual practice of the Establishment, as it has since been evinced in its most solemn and authoritative official acts.

"The movement, then, and the Establishment, were in simple antagonism from the first, although neither party knew it; they were logical contradictories; they could not be true together; what

was the life of the one, was the death of the other. The sole ambition of the Establishment was to be the creature of the State; the sole aspiration of the movement was to force it to act for itself. The movement went forth on the face of the country : it read, it preached, it published ; it addressed itself to logic and to poetry : it was antiquarian and architect, only to do for the Establishment, what the Establishment considered the most intolerable of disservices : every breath, every sigh, every aspiration, every effort of the movement was an affront or an offence to the Establishment. In its very first Tract, it could wish nothing better for the Bishops of the Establishment than martyrdom, and, as the very easiest escape, it augured for them the loss of their temporal possessions. It was easy to foresee what response the Establishment would make to its officious defenders, as soon as it could recover from its surprise ; but experience was necessary to teach this to men who knew more of St. Athanasius than of the Privy Council or the Court of Arches.

“ ‘Why should any man in Britain,’ asks a Tract, ‘fear or hesitate boldly to assert the authority of the Bishops and pastors of the Church on grounds strictly evangelical and spiritual?’ ‘Reverend Sir,’ answered the Primate, to a protest against a Bishop elect, accused of heresy, ‘It is not within the bounds of any authority possessed by me to give you an opportunity of proving your objections ; finding, therefore, nothing in which I could act in compliance with your remonstrance, I proceeded, in the execution of my office, to obey Her Majesty’s mandate for Dr. Hampden’s consecration in the usual form.’

“ ‘Are we contented,’ asks another Tract, ‘to be accounted the mere creation of the State, as schoolmasters and teachers may be, as soldiers, or magistrates, or other public officers ? Did the State make us ? Can it unmake us ? Can it send out missionaries ? Can it arrange dioceses ?’ ‘William the Fourth,’ answers the first magistrate of the State, ‘by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain, and Ireland, king, defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting ; We, having great confidence in the learning, morals, and probity of our well-beloved and venerable William Grant Broughton, do name and appoint him to be Bishop and ordinary pastor of the see of Australia, so that he shall be, and shall be taken to be Bishop of the Bishop’s see, and may, by virtue of this our nomination and appointment, enter into and possess the said Bishop’s see as the Bishop thereof, without any let or impediment of us ; and we do hereby declare, that, if we, our heirs and successors, shall think fit to recall or revoke the appointment of the said Bishop of Australia, or his successors, that every such Bishop shall, to all intent and purposes, cease to be Bishop of Australia.’

“ ‘Confirmation is an ordinance,’ says the Tract, ‘in which the Bishop witnesses Christ. Our Lord and Saviour confirms us with

the Spirit of all goodness ; the Bishop is His figure and likeness, when he lays his hands on the heads of children. Then Christ comes to them, to confirm in them the grace of Baptism.' 'And we do hereby give and grant to the Bishop of Australia,' proceeds His Majesty, 'and his successors, Bishops of Australia, full power and authority to confirm those that are baptized and come to years of discretion, and to perform all other functions peculiar and appropriate to the office of Bishop within the limits of the said see of Australia.'

" 'Moreover,' says the Tract, 'the Bishop rules the Church here below, as Christ rules it above ; and is commissioned to make us clergymen God's ministers. He is Christ's instrument.' 'And we do by these presents give and grant to the said Bishop and his successors, Bishops of Australia, full power and authority to admit into the holy orders of deacon and priest respectively any person whom he shall deem duly qualified, and to punish and correct chaplains, ministers, priests, and deacons, according to their demerits.'

" 'The Bishop speaks in me,' says the Tract, 'as Christ wrought in him, and as God sent Christ ; thus the whole plan of salvation hangs together ; Christ the true Mediator ; His servant, the Bishop, His earthly likeness ; mankind, the subjects of His teaching ; God, the author of salvation.' And the Queen answers, 'We do hereby signify to the Most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, our nomination of the said Augustus, requiring, and, by the faith and love whereby he is bound unto Us, commanding the said Most Reverend Father in God, to ordain and consecrate the said Augustus.' And the consecrated prelate echoes from across the ocean against the Catholic pastor of the country, 'Augustus,' by the grace of God, and the favour of Queen Victoria, Bishop.'

" 'You will, in time to come,' says the Tract, 'honour us with a purer honour, than many men do now, as those who are intrusted with the keys of heaven and hell, as the heralds of mercy, as the denouncers of woe to wicked men, as intrusted with the awful and mysterious privilege of dispensing Christ's Body and Blood.' And a first Episcopal charge replies in the words of the homily, 'Let us diligently search the well of life, and not run after the stinking puddles of tradition, devised by man's imagination.' A second, 'It is a subject of deep concern that any of our body should prepare men of ardent feelings and warm imaginations for a return to the Roman Mass-book.' And a third, 'Already are the foundations of apostacy laid : if we once admit another Gospel, Antichrist is at the door. I am full of fear : every thing is at stake ; there seems to be something judicial in the rapid spread of these opinions.' And a fourth, 'It is impossible not to remark upon the subtle wile of the Adversary ; it has been signally and unexpectedly exemplified in the present day by the revival of errors which might have been

supposed buried for ever.' And a fifth, 'Under the spurious presence of deference to antiquity and respect for primitive models, the foundations of our Protestant Church are undermined by men who dwell within her walls, and those who sit in the Reformers' seat are traducing the Reformation.' 'Our glory is in jeopardy,' says a sixth. 'Why all this tenderness for the very centre and core of corruption?' asks a seventh. 'Among other marvels of the present day,' says an eighth, 'may be accounted the irreverent and unbecoming language applied to the chief promoters of the Reformation in this land. The quick and extensive propagation of opinions, tending to exalt the claims of the Church and of the Clergy, can be no proof of their soundness.' 'Reunion with Rome has been rendered impossible,' says a ninth, 'yet I am not without hope that more cordial union may, in time, be effected among all Protestant Churches.' 'Most of the Bishops,' says a tenth, 'have spoken in terms of disapproval of the 'Tracts for the Times,' and I certainly believe the system to be most pernicious, and one which is calculated to produce the most lamentable schism in a Church already fearfully disunited.' 'Up to this moment,' says an eleventh, 'the movement is advancing, under just the same pacific professions, and the same imputations are still cast upon all who in any way impede its progress. Even the English Bishops, who have officially expressed any disapprobation of the principles or proceedings of the party, have not escaped such animadversions.' 'Tractarianism is the masterpiece of Satan,' says a twelfth.

"But there was a judgment more cruel still, because its apparent tendency lay the other way; but it was the infelicity of the agents in the movement, that, the National Church feeling as it did, their doctrines could not be sheltered except at the expense of their principles. 'A Bishop's lightest word, *ex Cathedrâ*, is heavy,' said a writer of the 'Tracts for the Times.' 'His judgment on a book cannot be light. It is a rare occurrence.' And an Archbishop answered, 'Many persons look with considerable interest to the declarations on such matters that from time to time are put forth by Bishops in their Charges, or on other occasions. But on most of the points to which I have been alluding, a Bishop's declarations have no more weight, except what they derive from his personal character, than any anonymous pamphlet would have. The points are mostly such as he has no official power to decide, even in reference to his own diocese; and as to legislation for the Church, or authoritative declarations on many of the most important matters, neither any one Bishop, nor all collectively, have any more right of this kind, than the ordinary magistrates have, to take on themselves the functions of *Parliament*.'

"It is hardly necessary to prolong the exhibition of the controversy, or to recall to your recollection the tone of invective in which each party relieved the keen and vehement feelings which its opponents excited; how the originators of the movement called

Jewell 'an irreverent Dissenter;' were ever 'thinking worse and worse of the Reformers;' 'hated the Reformation and the Reformers more and more;' thought them the false prophet of the Apocalypse; described the National Church as having 'blasphemed tradition and the Sacraments;' were 'more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist;' thought the principle on which it was founded 'as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism;' and considered the Establishment their 'upas-tree,' 'an incubus on the country;' and its reformed condition, 'a limb badly set, which must be broken before it could be righted;'—and how they were called in turn 'superstitious,' 'zealots,' 'mystical,' 'malignants,' 'Oxford heretics,' 'Jesuits in disguise,' 'tamperers with Popish idolatry,' 'agents of Satan,' 'a synagogue of Satan,' 'snakes in the grass,' 'walking about our beloved Church, polluting the sacred edifice, and leaving their slime about her altars;' 'whose head,' it was added, 'may God crush.'"—pp. 88—94.

The concluding Lectures, however, afford a greater opportunity for the display of the peculiar talent of the author. They are devoted to the examination of the peculiar difficulties by which Anglicans, even though satisfied of the untenableness of their position in their own church, may be deterred from attaching themselves, nevertheless, to the communion of Rome. Such are (1) the popular objections to the Sanctity of the Church, from the social and political, and, still more, the religious, condition of Catholic countries; (2) the objections to the Unity of the Church, from the differences which exist among Catholics; (3) the objections to the Catholicity of the Church, from the existence of numerous and flourishing Christian communities outside of its pale; and (4) the objections to the Apostolicity of the Church, from the general tenor of Christian History. There is in the manner of treating all these important questions, a rare union of vigour and originality with solidity and strength, which reminds us of the very best passages in the admirable *Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles*; the first, we well remember, of the author's works, which gave us almost a certainty that he could not long remain estranged from the Church.

Take the following fragments of his reply to the objection from the alleged social and political inferiority of Catholic to Protestant countries, which Mr. Macaulay has put with so much ingenuity in his *History of England*.

“The world believes in the world’s ends as the greatest of goods ; it wishes society to be governed simply and entirely for the sake of this world. Provided it could gain one little islet in the main, one foot upon the coast, if it could cheapen tea by sixpence a pound, or make its flag respected among the Esquimaux or Otaheitans, at the cost of a hundred lives and a hundred souls, it would think it a very good bargain. What does it know of hell ? it disbelieves it ; it spits upon, it abominates, it curses, its very name and notion. Next, as to the devil, it does not believe in him either. We next come to the flesh, and it is free to confess that it does not think there is any great harm in following the instincts of that nature which, perhaps it goes on to say, God has given. How could it be otherwise ? who ever heard of the world fighting with the flesh and the devil ? Well, then, what is its notion of evil ? Evil, says the world, is whatever is an offence to me, whatever obscures my majesty, whatever disturbs my peace. Order, peace, tranquillity, popular contentment, plenty, prosperity, advance in arts and sciences, literature, refinement, splendour, this is my millennium, or rather my elysium, my swerga ; I acknowledge no whole, no individuality, but my own ; the units which compose me are but parts of me ; they have no perfection in themselves, no end but in me ; in my glory is their bliss, and in the hidings of my countenance they come to nought.

“Such is the philosophy and practice of the world ;—now the Church looks and moves in a simply opposite direction. It contemplates, not the whole, but the parts ; not a nation, but the men who form it ; not society in the first place, but in the second place, and in the first place individuals ; it looks, beyond the outward act, on and into the thought, the motive, the intention, and the will ; it looks beyond the world, and detects and moves against the devil, who is sitting in ambush behind it. It has, then, a foe in view, nay, it has a battle field, to which the world is blind ; its proper battle field is the heart of the individual, and its true foe is Satan.”—pp. 195—96.

“This, then, is the point I insist upon, in answer to the objection which you have to-day urged against me. The Church aims, not at making a show, but at doing a work. She regards this world, and all that is in it, as a mere shade, as dust and ashes, compared with the value of one single soul. She holds that, unless she can, in her own way, do good to souls, it is no use her doing any thing : she holds that it were better for sun and moon to drop from heaven, for the earth to fail, and for all the many millions who are upon it to die of starvation in extremest agony, as far as temporal affliction goes, than that one soul, I will not say, should be lost, but should commit one single venial sin, should tell one wilful untruth, though it harmed no one, or steal one poor farthing without excuse. She considers the action of this world and the action of the soul simply

incommensurate, viewed in their respective spheres; she would rather save the soul of one single wild bandit of Calabria, or whining beggar of Palermo, than draw a hundred lines of railroad through the length of Italy, or carry out a sanitary reform, in its fullest details, in every city of Sicily, except so far as these great national works tended to some spiritual good beyond them.

"Such is the Church, O ye men of the world, and now you know her. Such she is, such she will be, and though she aims at your good, it is in her own way,—and if you oppose her, she defies you. She has her mission, and do it she will, whether she be in rags, or in fine linen; whether with awkward or with refined carriage; whether by means of uncultivated intellects, or with the grace of accomplishments. Not that, in fact, she is not the source of numberless temporal and moral blessings to you also; the history of ages testifies it; but she makes no promises; she is sent to seek the lost;—that is her first object, and she will fulfil it, whatever comes of it.

"And now in saying this, I think I have gone a great way towards suggesting one main solution of the difficulty which I proposed to consider. The question was this:—How is it, that at this time Catholic countries happen to be behind Protestants in civilization? In answer, I do not determine how far the fact is so, or what explanation there may be of the appearance of it; but any how the fact is surely no objection to Catholicism, unless Catholicism has professed, or ought to have professed, directly to promote mere civilization;—on the other hand, it has a work of its own, and this work, I have said or implied, is, first, *different* from that of the world; next, *difficult of attainment*, compared with that of the world; and lastly, *secret* from the world in its parts and consequences. If, then, Spain or Italy be deficient in secular progress, if the national mind in those countries be but partially formed, if it be unable to develope into civil institutions, if it have no moral instinct of deference to a policeman, if the national finances be in disorder, if the people be excitable, and open to deception from political pretenders, if it know little or nothing of arts, sciences, and literature;—I repeat I do not admit all this, except hypothetically; I think it an exaggeration;—then all I can say, is, that it is not wonderful that civil institutions, which profess these objects, should succeed better than the Church, which does not. Not till the State is blamed for not making Saints, may it fairly be laid to the fault of the Church that she cannot invent a steam-engine or construct a tariff. It is in truth merely because she has often done so much more than she professes, it is really in consequence of her very exuberance of benefit to the world, that the world is disappointed that she does not display that exuberance always—like some hangers-on of the great, who come at length to think they have a claim on their bounty."—pp. 199—201.

And again, on the objection to the Unity of the Roman Church, taken from the dissensions among Catholics.

"But we have not yet got to the real point of the question which lies before us: you allege these differences in the Catholic Church, my brethren, as a reason for not submitting to her authority. Now, in order to ascertain their force in this point of view, let it be considered that the primary question, with every serious inquirer, is the question of salvation. I am speaking to those who feel this to be so; not to those who make religion a sort of literature or philosophy, but to those who desire, both in their creed and in their conduct, to approve themselves to their Maker and to save their souls. This being taken for granted, it immediately follows to ask, 'What must I *do* to be saved?' and 'who is to *teach* me?' and next, can Protestantism, can the National Church teach me? No, is the answer of common sense, for this simple reason, because of the variations and discordances in teaching of both the one and the other. The National Church is no guide into the truth, because no one knows what it holds and what it commands: one party says this, and a second party says that, and a third says neither this nor that. I must seek the truth then elsewhere; and then the question follows, Shall I seek it in the communion of Rome? In answer, this objection is instantly made, 'You cannot find the truth in Rome, for there are as many divisions there as in the national communion.' Who would not suppose the objection to mean, that these divisions were such as to make it difficult or impossible to ascertain what it was that the Roman communion taught? Who would not suppose that there was within it a difference of creed and of dogmatic teaching? whereas the state of the case is just the reverse. No one can pretend that the quarrels in the Catholic Church are questions of faith, or have tended in any way to obscure or impair what she declares to be such, and what is acknowledged to be such by the very parties in those quarrels. That Dominicans and Franciscans have been zealous respectively for certain doctrinal views, over and above the declared faith of the Church, throws no doubt upon that faith; how does it follow that they differ in questions of faith, because they differ in questions not of faith? Rather, I would say, if a number of parties, distinct from each other, give the same testimony, their differences do but strengthen the evidence for the truth of those matters in which they all are agreed; and the greater the difference the more remarkable is the unanimity. The question is, 'Where can I be taught, who cannot be taught by the national communion, because it does not teach?' and the Protestant warning runs, 'Not in the Catholic Church, because she, in spite of all subordinate differences among her members, does teach.'

"In truth, she not only teaches in spite of those differences, but she has ever taught by means of them. Those very differences on

further points have themselves implied and brought out their absolute faith in the doctrines which are previous to them. The doctrines of faith are the common basis of the combatants, the ground on which they contend, their ultimate authority, and their arbitrating rule. They are assumed, and introduced, and commented on, and enforced, in every stage of the alternate disputation; and I will venture to say, that, if you wish to get a good view of the unity, consistency, solidity, and reality of Catholic teaching, your best way is to get up the controversy on grace, or on the Immaculate Conception. No one can do so without acquiring a mass of theological knowledge, and sinking in his intellect a foundation of dogmatic truth, which is simply antecedent and common to the rival schools, and which they do but exhibit and elucidate. To suppose that they perplex an inquirer or a convert, is to fancy that litigation destroys the principles and the science of law, or that spelling out words of five syllables makes a child forget his alphabet. On the other hand, place your unfortunate inquirer between Luther and Calvin, if the Holy Eucharist is his subject; or, if he is determining the rule of faith, between Bramhall and Chillingworth, Bull and Hoadley, and what residuum will be left, when you have eliminated the contrarieties?"—pp. 254—56.

Considered in a personal point of view, however, there is none of the Lectures so interesting as the twelfth and concluding one. It is, in truth, a history of the author's own progress in the gradual discovery of Catholic truth, told with exceeding simplicity and modesty, and yet with the most perfect unreserve. We have no hesitation in saying, that although it is but the merest outline—hardly even a sketch—the impression which it gives us of the author's powers of mind, of his extraordinary familiarity with even the most obscure of the ancient controversies, his faculty of seizing all the strong points of a precedent and applying them to the case which may be under consideration, has been almost greater than that produced by the most elaborate of his former publications: we can hardly even except the *Athanasius* itself, the most wonderful of them all, and not inferior to the most successful efforts of the Maurists in their proudest days. The comparison of the *Via Media* of the movement of 1833, with the *Via Media* attempted in the controversy upon the Trinity, and again, in that upon the Incarnation, is one of the most interesting historical parallels we ever remember to have read; and although it is little more than hinted at in the Lecture; though the author

has not attempted to carry it out into the later stages of the history; to contrast the Report of our modern Privy Council with the Henoticon of Zeno, or to compare Mr. Gorham with Eutyches, or Archbishop Sumner with Aca-cius of Constantinople: yet the points which are touched, are brought out in such a way as to produce an irresistible effect, even upon those who are most wedded to the high hopes with which the originators of the *Via Media* of Anglicanism first mapped it out for their followers. We can only make room for the general observations with which he closes this portion of the subject, and which are doubly interesting as containing a brief but lucid statement of his favourite theory of Doctrinal Development.

“Recollect, my brethren, I am going into these details, not as if I thought of convincing you on the spot by a view of history which convinced me after careful consideration, nor as if I called on you to be convinced by what convinced me at all (for the methods of conviction are numberless, and one man approaches the Church by this road, another by that), but merely in order to show you how it was that Antiquity, instead of leading me from the Holy See, as it leads many, on the contrary drew me on to submit to its claims. But, even had I worked out for you these various arguments ever so fully, I should have brought before you but a secondary portion of the testimony, which the ancient Church seemed to me to supply to its identity with the modern. What was far more striking to me than the ecclesiastical phenomena which I have been drawing out, remarkable as they are, is a subject of investigation which is not of a nature to introduce into a popular Lecture; I mean, the history of the doctrinal definitions of the Church. It is well known that, though the creed of the Church has been one and the same from the beginning, yet it has been so deeply lodged in her bosom as to be held by individuals more or less implicitly, instead of being delivered from the first in those special statements, or what are called definitions, under which it is now presented to us, and which preclude mistake or ignorance. These definitions, which are but the expression of portions of the one dogma which has ever been received by the Church, are the work of time; they have grown to their present shape and number in the course of eighteen centuries, under the exigency of successive events, such as heresies and the like, and they may of course receive still further additions as time goes on. Now this process of doctrinal development, as you might suppose, is not of an accidental or random character; it is conducted upon laws, as every thing else which comes from God; and the study of its laws and of its exhibition, or, in other words, the science and history of the formation of theology, was a subject which had interested me more than any thing else from the

time I first began to read the Fathers, and which had engaged my attention in a special way. Now it was gradually brought home to me, in the course of my reading, so gradually, that I cannot trace the steps of my conviction, that the decrees of later Councils, or what Anglicans call the Roman corruptions, were but instances of that very same doctrinal law which was to be found in the history of the early Church ; and that in the sense in which the dogmatic truth of the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin may be said in the lapse of centuries to have grown upon the consciousness of individuals, in that same sense did in the first age the mystery of the Blessed Trinity also gradually shine out and manifest itself more and more completely before their minds. Here was at once an answer to the objections urged by Anglicans against the present teaching of Rome ; but not only an answer to objections, but a positive argument in its favour ; for the immutability and uninterrupted action of the laws in question throughout the course of Church history is a plain note of identity between the Catholic Church of the first ages and that which now goes by the name :—just as the argument from the analogy of natural and revealed religion is at once an answer to difficulties in the latter, and a direct proof that Christianity has the same Author as the physical and moral world. But the force of this, to me ineffably cogent argument, I cannot hope to convey to another.”—pp. 320—22.

But we have no hope of being able by these few extracts, which we have selected almost at random, or by the brief outline which we have attempted of their contents, to give anything like an accurate notion of these memorable Lectures, the delivery of which may well be regarded as one of the great epochs in this auspicious movement. There are few more pregnant writers than Dr. Newman. His style, even as much as his matter, is eminently suggestive. He is one of that class of thinkers to whom he alludes in one of his Lectures, whom no one can approach without being himself set thinking, and whose thoughts must therefore necessarily suffer by passing through the hands of an interpreter. His Lectures must be read in their integrity, in order to be fully appreciated ; and we are sure there is not one, whether friend or foe, who will not rise from their perusal, prepared to unite with us in the earnest hope that he may soon be induced to resume them, and to complete in a similar course, the tempting list of subjects to which he alludes in his preface, and which are hardly inferior in interest or importance to those which form the matter of his present volume.

- ART. X.—1. *On Narcotism by the Inhalation of Vapours*, by JOHN SNOW, M.D. (In *London Medical Gazette*.) London: Longmans', 1848.
- 2.—*Surgical Experience of Chloroform*, by Professor MILLER. Edinburgh, 1848.
- 3.—*De l'Insensibilité produite par le Chloroforme et par l'Ether, et des opérations sans douleur*, par le Dr. C. SEDILLOT. Paris: Bailliere, 1848.
- 4.—*The Advantages of Ether and Chloroform in Operative Surgery*. An Address delivered to the Hunterian Society, by T. B. CURLING. London: Highley, 1848.
- 5.—*Effects of Chloroform and of Chloric Ether, as Narcotic agents*, by J. C. WARREN, M. D. Boston, (U. S.): Ticknor and Co., 1849.
- 6.—*London Medical Gazette, Medical Times, and Lancet*. London: 1847—50.

IN the month of October, 1846, a dentist at Boston named Morton, confessedly ignorant of chemistry and physiology, was experimenting at random on the effects of a variety of substances in rendering the human body insensible to pain. Among other things, Dr. Jackson, a lecturer on chemistry, said he had better try the vapour of sulphuric ether. He took the advice, and tested its powers first upon himself and then upon others with unexpected success. He found that when this vapour had been inhaled for a short time, the teeth could be drawn out without the patient being conscious of the slightest bodily suffering. Surprised and half incredulous, he devised a suitable apparatus for administering this new agent, and communicated his discovery to Dr. Warren, surgeon of the Massachusetts' General Hospital; who, after satisfying himself of its efficacy, was the first to perform an important operation under its influence. Further publicity was afforded by the reading of a paper on the subject by Dr. Bigelow, before the Boston Medical Society on the 3rd of November. On the 17th of December the news arrived in England, being received simultaneously at Bristol and in London. That joyful Christmas tide was etherization first employed in this country, by the late Mr. Liston, in the amputation of a thigh, at the North London Hospital.

On the exulting wings of fresh-raised fresh-gratified hope sped the news through the land, and before the end of the year there was scarce a large hospital in Britain where success had not attended on a trial of the new wonder. No one waited for the next mail from America. And it was as well that they did not; for it brought a notice couched in apparently legal form, that those who had been the channels through which this boon had been conferred on the human race, wished to secure to themselves a monopoly of its employment, and were making a vain effort to *patent the invention*. Had this been published before it had been so universally employed, possibly some mistrust in their rights might have hampered the hands of English surgeons. But in point of fact the laws are wiser than had been calculated on; and though an improvement in detail or application is rewarded by a limited monopoly, the discovery of a new principle cannot be patented. All encouragement is given to men to exercise that industry of mind which perfects the method of performance; and society is quite willing to pay for what can no doubt be had by paying for it. But there is either experience, or a sort of instinctive feeling, that not a single new principle would be gained by inciting a multitude to aim at it; while, by confining any great portion of the benefits to those who are the humble instruments of its introduction, we feel that we should be holding out a prize which would not be gained by those who enter the lists to compete, and could not therefore be an incentive to action.

To proceed with our history. During the year 1847, experiments were tried on a variety of substances more or less allied to sulphuric ether; and other artificial products of alcohol were discovered to possess similar powers of entirely deadening the body, for a time, to pain. Chlorhydric and nitric ether especially were found efficacious, and were recommended, on some grounds, as more convenient than the original agent. The use of one or other of them became all but universal in important surgical operations.

Among the most energetic of these experimenters, were Dr. Simpson of Edinburgh, and his two friends and assistants, Drs. Keith and Duncan; and one of the substances which they hit upon has proved the most important of the additions made to our stock of materials possessing the same properties as the vapour of ether. An account of its

first application, in this way, from the pen of Mr. Miller, Professor of Surgery at Edinburgh, is so graphic, that it deserves to be placed on the records of some future Beckmann :

“Late one evening, it was the 4th of November, 1847, on returning home after a weary day's labour, Dr. Simpson, with Drs. Keith and J. M. Duncan, sat down to their somewhat hazardous task in Dr. Simpson's dining-room. Having inhaled several substances, but without much effect, it occurred to Dr. Simpson to try a ponderous material which he had formerly set aside on a lumber table, and which, on account of its great weight, he had hitherto regarded as of no likelihood whatever. This happened to be a small bottle of chloroform. It was searched for, and discovered beneath a heap of waste paper. And, with each tumbler newly charged, the inhalers resumed their vocation. Immediately an unwonted hilarity seized the party ; they became bright-eyed, very happy, and very loquacious, expatiating on the delicious aroma of the new fluid. The conversation was of unusual intelligence, and quite charmed the listeners,—some ladies of the family, and a naval officer, brother-in-law of Dr. Simpson. But suddenly there was a talk of sounds being heard, like those of a cotton mill, louder and louder ; a moment more, then all was quiet, and then a crash. On awaking, Dr. Simpson's first perception was mental. ‘This is far stronger and better than ether,’ said he to himself. His second was, to note that he was prostrate on the floor, and that, among his friends about him, there were both confusion and alarm. Hearing a noise, he turned round, and saw Dr. Duncan beneath a chair, his jaw dropped, his eyes starting, his head bent half under him, quite unconscious, and snoring in a most determined and alarming manner. More noise still, and much motion ; and then his eyes overtook Dr. Keith's feet and legs, making valorous efforts to overturn the supper-table, or more probably to annihilate everything that was on it ; I say more probably, for frequent repetitions of inhalation have confirmed, in the case of my esteemed friend, the character for maniacal and unrestrained destructiveness, always under chloroform in the transition stage. By-and-bye, Dr. Simpson having regained his seat ; Dr. Duncan having finished his slumbers ; and Dr. Keith having come to an arrangement with the table and its contents—”

Order was restored, ‘*consedêre duces*,’ and they set to work to give a narrative of the transaction.

Five days afterwards, Dr. Simpson announced to the Medico-chirurgical Society of Edinburgh his discovery, in a paper entitled, “Account of a new Anæsthetic agent, as a substitute for sulphuric ether.”

The title does not imply that the substance was itself a new one ; but simply that its employment for the purpose of obliterating sensation was novel. Chloroform, as Dr. Simpson tells us, was manufactured in 1831, by M. Soubeiran ; was studied as a curiosity by Professors Liebig and Dumas ; but, as no obvious use of it in the arts was suggested, did not attract the attention of any one but scientific chemists. It is a transparent, colourless liquid, very heavy as compared with water, of a sweetish taste, and fruity smell.

Its powers of producing insensibility will be best described side by side with those of ether ; so that by collating the two, we may observe their common resemblance, and specific distinguishing characters.

For convenience of narration, the effects produced on the animal frame by all this class of bodies, may be divided into several stages ; but it should be premised, that there is no essential difference between them, and that the division is as arbitrary as that of a road into miles, or a day into hours, each stage being merely a nearer approach to absolute annihilation, for a time, of nervous power.

In the first degree of insensibility * may be included the various changes of feeling a person experiences, whilst he still retains a correct consciousness of where he is, and what is occurring around him, and a capacity to control his voluntary movements. In the second stage, mental functions may be exercised, and the motor nerves may obey the will, but in a disordered manner. In the third, there is no evidence of mental energy, and consequently no motion dependant on volition ; but contractions of the voluntary muscles take place, apparently produced by

* The insensibility produced by ether, chloroform, &c., has been called *anæsthesia* ; but one is always jealous of a new name, and ready to agree with Plato, that language is not to be made the slave of everybody that chooses to create one, without right or reason : (*ὅν πάντα δημιουργοὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκείνον τὸν ἀποβλέποντα εἰς τὸ τῇ φύσει ὄνομα ὃν ἐκαστῷ*. Plato, *Cratylus*.) There is no distinction, except of degree, between the insensibility produced by these agents, and by others ; and difference in cause is not to be allowed to give a different name to the consequences thereof ; besides, *An* only means *In*, and *Æsthesia* -sensibility ; so that we give no idea by the word, but merely substitute a Greek noun for an English.

actional impressions only. In the fourth, no movement, except that of the chest in respiration, on which nothing that is going on around produces any change; there is none of that agitation or interruption to breathing which happens to a person under exciting circumstances. The fifth degree paralyses the respiratory movements; they become difficult, feeble, irregular, and finally cease. Such are the phenomena common to these, and probably all other intoxicating agents. The most important difference between them is in respect to the time occupied by the succession of the several degrees. A middle aged man, according to Dr. Snow, takes about four minutes to arrive at what has been distinguished above as the fourth stage of insensibility, when he inhales ether mixed with air in as large a proportion as it is safe to administer:

“At the end of the first minute, he is usually in the first degree of etherization; of the 2nd minute, in the second degree; of the 3rd minute, in the third degree; and at the end of four minutes, having inhaled an ounce of ether, in the fourth degree.”

When chloroform is used, less than a minute is often sufficient to arrive at the same result. M. Sedillot of Strasburg says, he has seen perfect insensibility produced in forty seconds.

Now this is no slight superiority, for it must be remembered, that all the time we are administering a vapour, the patient is deprived of a large portion of the air he ordinarily consumes, and that if the deficiency is too protracted, stagnation of chemical action must result, and he will, in plain English, be stifled. Besides the advantage of being quicker in performance, chloroform possesses also a much more agreeable odour and taste. It is not so diffusible as ether, and does not therefore, in spreading over the building, give all the inhabitants notice of what is going on, a result particularly undesirable in public institutions. There is, too, a value in the very uselessness of the article for other purposes. It is manufactured solely for surgical use; therefore, in small quantities, and free from impurities. This is not the case with ether, which often contains alcohol; and from that cause excites coughing at the time of administration, and headache afterwards.

Other differences in the phenomena exhibited by chloroform from those of ether are dependant on the time con-

sumed. The stages are rapidly passed through, when a properly strong dose is given ; and, therefore, the drunken movements of the second, and the convulsions of the third degree are so short as to pass unobserved. If, however, the vapour is diluted, they are fully developed, as may be seen in the anecdote of Dr. Simpson's first experience. The dreams which patients tell of as having taken place during operations, are distinct and connected when ether has been used, but are generally not present, or at any rate not remembered, after chloroform. The reason is, that the second stage, during which the dreams occur, either at the commencement of the intoxication, or in the recurrence of the same state as it goes off, is very short, if at all present. This is merely what happens in the ordinary insensibility of sleep ; when it comes on rapidly and departs lightly, as in weary health, the notion of time is utterly lost,—a piece is snipped out of existence. But should a voluntary effort of mind, disorder of body, or external circumstances, keep off deep sleep, that uncontrolled succession of images passes before us, which being incapable of comparison with external things, gives an unlimited idea of time. The most picturesque description of the two states the writer has heard, was from the mouth of a young midshipman. Soon after he first joined his ship they were very short of hands, and he had to watch every alternate four hours, light and dark together. This unnatural change in his boyish habits did not, as he expected, inflict any injury on his health ; but the desire for sleep became a consuming passion ; he thought of little else day and night. Every time that the conclusion of his watch drew near, he used, if the weather was moderately fair, to have his hammock slung across one of the hatchways, so that he might not waste a moment of his precious time of rest in going below, but might drop into it immediately, clothes and all. As the hour approached, he would stand over, gazing at his wished-for haven ; he would look at his time-piece,—still four minutes and a half perhaps,—a review of the ship's rigging, and an examination of all the sails, and then another look, for fear the time should have passed ;—still three minutes and a half ! He would count the stars, wander back in fancy to home. to school,—go over years of his former life, and suddenly start up with the notion that he had been dozing for hours. No, it yet wants two minutes ;—again a waking up, a short

walk, and another dreamy contemplation with the eyes open;—it only wants thirty seconds now! At last the first stroke of the bell sounds in his ears, and he drops like a shot on to his hammock,—he is asleep as he falls, and has no knowledge of arriving at it; but it seems, that *in his descent* he meets a hand on his shoulder, and hears a voice telling him his watch is set. The four hours' sleep he had looked forward to had gone before he felt them begin; the previous three minutes had been as days to his sensations, the four hours were not known to exist.

The preliminary stages to the full effects of ether, are analogous to the half conscious states of partial somnolence, and are as full of unlimited dreams as the three minutes before the conclusion of the sailor's watch; while the stupefaction from chloroform comes on nearly as rapidly as the poor boy's real sleep, and so leaves little or no impression on the mind.

The distinct remembrance which patients retain of the visions passing before them during intoxication by ether, enables them to give a much more connected account of what their imagination embodies, than can be done by ordinary dreamers. The spiritual drama is generally divided into two acts, between which, as they say at the minor theatres, "a considerable interval is supposed [to elapse;]" and very commonly, as at the same exhibitions, there is a singular want of connection between the two. In the first appear scenes of joy and physical gratification, while in the second they have a more mixed character, and occasionally are made grim by night-mare terrors. The former part probably represents the time that elapses before utter oblivion, and, therefore, has no trace of the disagreeable transactions going on around; earth and pain are sweeping away, and the downy wings of sweet unconsciousness are being folded over the brain of the sufferer. What can he dream of then but happiness? But as he wakes to the world again, after this the first real rest perhaps he has had for weeks, some unpleasing ideas must naturally be mingled with his reveries, and the second stage of returning consciousness is thus often haunted by ghastly shadows. It may, however, be remarked, that moral rather than physical discomfort is usually experienced; that which blunts the feeling of pain in the body seems to prevent the occurrence of its image to the mind. The pleasurable ideas are mostly those of

rapid motion and expansion, and generally there is a sound of quick, short strokes, passing into a whirring, like that of machinery,—the patient is flying, travelling by railway, hunting, &c. When ether was first introduced, the writer of the present article had a tooth extracted under its influence; the subject of the first dream was an indefinite globe-like expansion of his body, reflecting beautiful colours, and gradually taking in the whole house, and then the street, with horses tramping in rapid, measured tread, and carriages rattling through with greater and greater velocity, till all was lost in elysium; then he found himself an electric telegraph, into whose whirling soul, as it flew along its metal path, a clerk was dropping the words of a line from Homer; the line was long, and as it approached its termination, the miserable telegraph perceived that it was dictated by a man he had a great aversion to; each syllable was squeezed into his mouth with an iron tool, as he strained onwards to escape, and the hateful rattling of the machine for breaking and making contact still sounded in his ears, as the window of the room dawned upon him, and the figure of the dentist taking a final pull at a broken fang.

The dreams from chloroform are not usually even so long as the one above described; indeed the majority declare they have no recollection of dreaming at all. The state of oblivion induced rapidly comes on and rapidly ceases, leaving the patient somewhat grave and scared truly, but quite capable of external impressions. During this state of oblivion, however produced, it is sufficiently notorious, that surgical operations of the most racking character can be performed without the slightest knowledge of the fact by the person under the knife: he is not aware of them at the time, and has no image of them left on his memory. It is notorious indeed, and so familiar, that we do not reflect on the astounding nature of the phenomenon; we do not realize to ourselves that had we read in Bacon's *New Atlantis*, or the romantic prophecies of Bishop Wilkins, that a certain drug would, for a time shortened or prolonged at pleasure, render the body so insensible to pain, that it would not know when a limb was removed; and that the body should feel no ill effects from the use of this drug;—had we read this in the works of one of the long-sighted speculators above mentioned, and been unable to test its truth, we should have smiled at the fanciful

dream. But here is the fact under the very eyes of those who please to see it:—yet how small is the number of those who wonder! how much smaller that of those who reflect how and whence came this inconceivable boon to suffering humanity! Yet is it not a sight to see, a thought to think capable of rousing the deepest feelings? that, for example, of a sick child, with its nerves rendered doubly sensitive by illness, who screamed a few minutes back at the moving of the bed-clothes by its tender mother, now lying in a smiling slumber, its neatly-parted hair undisturbed by the slightest struggle, its arms negligently thrown on a pillow, while a surgeon is slowly and cautiously sawing out parts of the thigh-bone? or do not tears of sympathetic joy start from our eyes, as we see or read of a timid, shrinking woman, who had endured years of agony from fear of an operation, when it was at last concluded under the influence of chloroform, innocently asking ‘when the surgeon was going to begin’?

Let not, however, our hearts sympathize with the patient only; let us turn our eyes on the operator, and compare his position now with what it was four years ago; then his chief virtue was rapidity, the goodness of the work was reckoned by the stop-watch, and a brilliant dexterity was justly popular and highly paid for. We will remember the precepts of Epictetus here,—if a man gets through his business (the philosopher says ‘his washing’) quickly, do not pronounce it badly done, but quickly.* So we will not suggest that these brilliantly rapid operators did their duty carelessly:—but we must hold that many imitators shielded their real carelessness under an affected brilliancy. The case is now widely different; expedition being of less importance, sagacity and judgment assert their true superiority, and henceforth care and thoughtful gentleness will be as much valued by the public as by the profession. Nor is it a light matter, that by this method of conducting the most awful of their duties, surgeons strip their office of even the semblance of inhumanity. No one can now call their composure a callous indifference; and many high-toned minds, who formerly would have shrunk from the profession on account of the fancied necessity for acquiring

* Λόγουται τις ταχέως; μὴ εἰπῆς, ὅτι κακῶς, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ταχέως.—Enchiridion, § lxvii.

such habits, will now contribute to refine and raise it in the social scale.

We are apt in common conversation to take too little account of temporary corporeal suffering, and to view it almost as a symptom of weakness to set store by means of alleviation. The necessity for bearing the amount of it which is inseparable from human life, sets men on this affected stoicism, and they appear to hope that, by persuading themselves it is a small evil, they shall make it really so to them. But pain, even short and passing, is of mightiest moment in the tale of life. How many from a dread of it have done base acts! how many have been deterred from a career of usefulness! how many in conquering it have won immortal crowns! Let us not forget that bodily pain was the final trial of the perfect man of Uz, that bodily pain was part of the mysterious plan by which we were saved from eternal woe.

He was a convicted liar who said, "all that a man hath will he give for his life;"—a man will prefer death to many things, to disgrace, to self-reproach, to sin; in which he is led by his better and spiritual nature. But Satan's libel is not even true of the worse part of the heart; human nature will prefer death to bodily pain. A false and foolish preference, but still a proof of what constraining power over the reason is possessed by the sensitive nerves. An old family friend of the writer's was rejected by one on whom he had bestowed the whole of a proud and reserved heart; he bore that with philosophy, though he never forgot it; he bore, too, the constant suspicion that a secret of his birth which he had concealed was known to the world; he bore without complaint a life of involuntary idleness;—all these things have ere this crazed men's brains, but his was buttressed up by stoical pride. When his hair had grown grey, and his mind matured by a life of observation and letters, by chance a surgical operation became necessary. He went home from the study of the medical man who had told him so, made a kind and rational will, and the next morning destroyed himself. The intellect that had held up against the most frequent causes of insanity, gave way before the fear of pain.

There is a strong contrast between the suffering state of the hero and the martyr and that of persons undergoing surgical operations. The former, as Mr. Curling says,

“Whilst submitting to all the tortures that the malice and cruelty of their enemies can inflict, in the maintenance of the liberties of their country, or in the cause of religion, find a sustaining force in the high excitement—the ecstatic and enthusiastic rapture—the fervid and all-absorbing thoughts of a future—emotions which powerfully help to support the frame under its sufferings, and doubtless to moderate their intensity. But how different with the objects of our sympathy and care! They may not be denied the consoling influence of religion; but, oppressed and overwhelmed by some terrible casualty, or harassed and worn out by some tormenting local disease, and counting the hours of their suffering, which instead of inuring them to affliction, has given variety to pain, and heightened their susceptibility,—they fully need in the hour of trial all the solace and all the alleviation that our humanity can suggest, and our art afford.”

There is no doubt that many a mind, undaunted by the fire of the persecutor or the sword of the enemy, will faint before the surgeon's knife.

We have now been narrating at some length the origin and nature of a discovery which cannot but form an epoch in the world's history. It is the strongest blow that has since the creation been struck at the mightiest of physical evils. And this thing has come to pass under our very eyes, probably since the paper on which these words are written was made. It is worth while not to let slip the opportunity of reflecting a little on the manner in which it became known, in order to see if it will not assist in clearing up some of the mysterious points in the history of inventions. We often hear the complaint repeated, “That the pen of history has been more employed in recording the crimes of ambition and the ravages of conquerors, than in preserving the remembrance of those who, by improving science and the arts, contributed to increase the conveniences of life, and to heighten its enjoyments.....the names of the inventors of some arts are not so much as known, and the honour of others is disputed by different nations.”* Is this an intentional slight on the part of mankind? a want of gratitude to their benefactors? It would be well to go a little deeper into the matter before we bring a sweeping accusation of so many acts of injustice against our race.

Lord Bacon remarks, that in ancient history, political

* Beckmann's History of Inventions. Translator's Preface.

institutions, the founding of governments, of customs, of laws, are attributed to heroes or demi-gods, while the origin of all the arts of life is referred to as divine.* And in another place he says, "the most useful discoveries are due to experiments, and were strewn in a manner like chance god-sends among mankind."† There seems in these observations a key to the injustice committed. Men seldom fail to honour those whom they see laying out their lives heartily in their service, and they can understand the labours of a statesman or a general, as bestowing upon them something they cannot themselves attain. But they are disposed to give their own shrewdness so much credit for receiving and appreciating a physical discovery, that the ingenuity of the discoverer passes unnoticed. And there is some sound wisdom hidden under this seeming vanity. The fact is, that in the progress of knowledge, the individual man is incomplete in himself, and cannot elaborate his own ideas without the aid of the age he lives in. The age, therefore, is in the habit of setting to their own account the chief merit. Roger Bacon in 1260 could suggest the application of compound concave glasses to bring distant objects into sight; he could point out, as he does in his treatise entitled, "*Perspectiva*,"‡ how useful such instruments would be in warfare, to get an early view of approaching armies; he could even prove the possibility of their construction by the true method of induction from what happens in nature, namely, from the phenomena of

* *Novum Organon*, cap. cxxix.

† *De Augmentis Scientiarum* L. 2., cap. xii. *Exemplum primum*.

‡ This work has not received sufficient attention; it is a compendium of optics extracted, as the author tells us, for popular use, from the works of Euclid, Alkendi, Alhazen, and Ptolemy, illustrated by practical observations of his own. It is written in Latin, of course, for every one who could read at all understood Latin; but is professedly published "for the diffusion of useful knowledge." (The best edition is that of Combach, Francofurti, 1614.) Shall we call it an anticipation of the popular science of the nineteenth century? In some departments of that diffusion the worthy friar has even gone a-head of us, for he wrote a letter to the then Pope, saying that he had a plan for teaching Greek, Latin, and Hebrew to any one in six weeks, and so rendering superfluous the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. Nothing more, however, was heard of the scheme.

mock suns and *Fata Morgana*; "if distant objects," he argues, "are made to appear nearer by natural transparent media, the same result can also be obtained by artificial ones." The discovery was perfect as far as he was concerned, yet no one attributes to the thirteenth century the introduction of telescopes. His true conjecture remained a solitary and barren thought for generations. To become useful and to receive praise from man, an invention must be suited to the time of its revelation.

The ripeness of the world for the introduction of ether and chloroform was shown by the manner in which they flashed into use throughout civilized Europe. Physiology is so far advanced, that we saw at once there was nothing contrary to its principles in the idea that gaseous substances should quickly be taken up by the lungs, and produce a sudden effect on the system from the rapidity of their absorption. The mutual relations of science and revealed religion are so clearly made out by the agitation on the subject arising out of geology, that no opposition was experienced in that quarter,—while we feel so safe under the operation of an improved police, that we do not fear the abuses which in a lawless age might have arisen from the wide knowledge of such an awful power. All this would have been very different in a former age, when stupefaction by inhalation might have been discovered twenty times, and have died in its untimely birth.

There seems an innate right tendency in the human mind to attribute to a higher power than man the introduction of any very valuable knowledge. They cannot but see that the Ruler of the universe frequently selects by preference humble instruments as the vehicles of these boons, as if to show that they are gifts from His treasure-house, and not trophies of man's victories over nature. Thus Dr. Jenner found the Devonshire dairymaids acquainted with vaccination; the weak ignorant Peruvians told us the qualities of cinchona bark, and one of the most important improvements in the steam engine is due to the idleness of a sleepy boy. But no instance is so striking as the subject of the present article. At the commencement of the current century Sir Humphrey Davy applied his acute and comprehensive genius to the investigation of the effects of inhaling gases. Dr. Beddoes, a man of a singularly inventive turn, assisted him in his researches. They proceeded so far as actually to propose the use of nitrous

oxyde gas, "as a means of destroying physical pain during surgical operations."* But farther progress was denied to them, and the supposition of the impossible, that prime impediment to the advancement of science, seems to have checked it when just on the brink of the desired haven. What was concealed from the genius of two of the first men of their own or any other age, when they were engaged in seeking it, has been revealed to us as if by chance, when the search had been given up. Let us not forget to whom gratitude is due for this.

It is almost needless to remark, that the place in medicine occupied by these stupifying agents, has never been at any time filled by other substances. The effects of opium, and other vegetable anodynes, are much too lasting, and the disturbance of the digestive organs they cause too great, to make it possible to administer them in a dose large enough for the required purpose. It is said, that in ancient Chinese books of medicine, extract of hemp is spoken of as proper to lull the pains of surgical operations; but it was very likely employed merely in the same way as we still give a small dose of opium, to quiet the nervous irritation of the system. Hemp is a native of the north of Asia, and seems to have been in use as an intoxicating agent from the earliest times. The Scythians, as Herodotus tells us, made vapour baths of it, the steam of which they inhaled till they shouted again;† and under the names of Churrhus, Gunjah, and Bang, it is in universal use throughout the Indian Peninsula. So that experience of its inefficacy, and not ignorance, must have been the reason for its employment in operative surgery being discontinued.

Another plan adopted, has been the numbing of the parts to be operated on with cold, which, in the case of the skin and superficial textures, seems to have been very successful and safe. After numbing by ice, no pain was experienced by even one of the most highly sensitive portions of the person, in a case reported by Dr. Arnott in the *Lancet* for September 9th, 1848. But it cannot be expected that there would be equal safety in chilling the body so deeply as would be necessary in a more impor-

* Works of Sir Humphrey Davy, vol. iii., p. 329.

† Melpomene, § lxxv.

tant operation, as for instance, the removal of a limb. The immediate prostrating influence and the subsequent reaction would be too great.

Peculiar mental states seem also capable of deadening the sense of pain. Under this category are included the ecstasy of the martyr, and the excitement of the warrior, which doubtless take no note of physical suffering, and are an instance of the victory that may be gained by mind over matter. But can these states, or any similar ones, be produced at will? Do they ever depend on the voluntary efforts of the person himself in whom they are exhibited? That this may occasionally be the case can hardly be doubted, so well attested are some instances of such phenomena. None, however, better, or with more appearance of truth, than the one cited by S. Augustine, in his "Government of God,"* which may be taken as a fair type of this rarely developed power:

"There was a certain priest named Restitutus, in a parish of the metropolitan church of Calama" (in Numidia), who, when he pleased," (and often was he asked to do it by those who desired to witness this strange thing), "used to abstract himself completely from the dominions of sensation, and lie in apparent death, making at the moment a noise like that of a person wailing. So thoroughly unconscious was he, that not only did he fail to be sensible of persons pinching and pricking him; but sometimes even fire was applied without any perception of pain at the time. That it was not by a voluntary effort, but by actual deficiency of sensation that the body was kept still, was shown by the fact of respiration entirely ceasing. The voices, however, of the bystanders, if they spoke very loud, he said he could hear, sounding as if a long way off."

A question is suggested by the holy author, whether the mighty power thus occasionally exhibited is not a relic of man's original unfallen nature, which lust and sin have so weakened, that it is scarce perceptible even in the best of us, but which it may be possible, by prayer and exercise, to restore. A more truly philosophical explanation could not be given. God leaves us these traces of what we were, to make sin more hateful, when we know from what a high estate it has cast us down:

"O suavis anima, quale in te dicam bonum
Antehac fuisse, tales cum sint reliquæ?"

* De Civitate Dei, Lib. xiv. cap. 24. Presbyter fuit quidam nomine Restitutus, &c.

There are few good things which are not aped by evil; and in this case we find in a peculiar diseased state an imitation of what has been described above. In that strange obliquity of moral feeling and intellect which is exhibited in hysteria, patients must be in some degree unnaturally insensible to pain. They will not unfrequently court the most racking operations of surgery, bear them without any evidence of suffering, and even render them repeatedly necessary by secretly inflicted injuries, by monstrous distortions, by sticking pins or needles into their flesh, and other unutterable devices. In this condition, the more repulsive to a delicate mind is the necessary treatment of the disease they feign, the more attraction does it possess for these unhappy persons; the longer or more severe the tortures of an operation, the more likely are they to desire it. But, wonderful to say, if the operation is not one of their own seeking, but by chance rendered indispensable, all the false fortitude is gone, fear and fainting overwhelm them, and the unnatural insensibility which they could display in supporting a lie, deserts them in the hour of real need.

A close relation subsists between hysteria and the mesmeric trance; at least, the phenomena of the latter can only be exhibited in those more or less subject to the disorder. We will not enter into the dark labyrinth of this mysterious subject; all we are now concerned with, is a claim set forward by its advocates of the sleep being dependant on the will of another party, and so available for the purposes of surgery. The hysteric temperament of those capable of being brought into an unconscious state by these means, renders them so deceptive, that it is much more difficult than appears at first sight, to get at the truth on the subject; and therefore there is a good deal of doubt about the fact. But were it true, their numbers in European countries are so small compared with the multitudes requiring surgical aid, that little practical benefit would result.

In place of these uncertain, weak, and rarely available destroyers of pain, we have in the vapour of ether, chloroform and allied substances, a means almost universally applicable, the degree of whose effects we can regulate at will, and the operation of which has never failed. We can produce by their agency whatever extent of stupefaction we desire, from that where the mind is still conscious of surrounding objects, but still somewhat careless about minor

physical impressions, to that where there is an utter annihilation of all nervous power. Thus, we can suit our measures to the needs of the occasion, simply by graduating the time of inhalation, and the proportion of air mixed with the vapour administered.

We come with unwillingness to the last part of our subject ; but we cannot, without faithlessness to the reviewer's stern mistress, Truth, prevent her from making the cup we have been presenting a mortal one, by adding to it some drops of bitter. It must not be denied that a certain degree of danger attends the stupefaction produced by these powerful agents, a danger of no less fearful a result than death. It was indeed a chilling check to the surgeon's heart after it had been cheered on its sad path by the discovery of etherization, to hear, after a few months, the report of a death caused by it. The first instance seems to have occurred at Leicester, on the 9th of March, 1847, not four months after the time of its first introduction into England. The unfortunate patient was a young woman of twenty-one. April brought news of another at Silton, and another similar accident took place afterwards in France. These were all widely known in the medical world, and are generally believed to be the only cases in which persons have died while actually undergoing the effects of ether. Those in which the decease happened some time after these effects had gone off, (for example, several days after the operation,) cannot fairly be attributed to the drug, and did not cause much anxiety amongst medical men. They were unjustly laid to its door in general society. These deaths, however, are quite enough for one year. Before the conclusion of 1847, as we have already related, chloroform was generally substituted for ether, so it was not likely that any more accidents should occur from the employment of the latter.

What does experience declare of Dr. Simpson's valuable addition to the apparatus of medicine? Is it safer, as well as pleasanter and more convenient than the original agent? Alas! we fear that it also must be pronounced an edged tool, to be handled with equal awe and sense of responsibility. The pamphlet by Dr. J. C. Warren, named in the heading of this article, is devoted to the consideration of this question ; and certainly the array of fatal cases he lays before the public is very alarming, when they are seen in the concentrated form of a special treatise on the sub-

ject. We should premise, before we give the number of them, and add some more that have occurred since, that these instances are collected from England, Scotland, France, Italy, Germany, from the other side of the Atlantic, and a distant part of British India. So they are, on their own showing, rare; and in any other age than one of instantaneous publicity, of newspapers and telegraphs, would probably have passed unnoticed. To bring the mind into a state for appreciating fitly the real risk which is run, we should try to gain some notion of the numbers past all calculation, who have in these various parts of the globe, submitted themselves to it. At St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, this mode of operating has been adopted in upwards of 7,000 instances, and not one has fallen a victim. (*Medical Times*, Aug. 3, 1850.)

St. Bartholomew's, though the largest, is still only one of ten large hospitals in London where surgical patients are received, and operations performed on the new system; and London, though one of the largest cities, still contains only two out of the 233 millions who inhabit Europe, and amongst whom painless operations are generally practised. Another fact supplies us with a few figures. On the inquest held on Mr. Badger, in July, 1848, a servant of Mr. Robinson, dentist, swore that she had up to that date, given ether or chloroform to between 700 and 800 patients for the extraction of teeth. There were in London, in 1848, at least 242 dentists (see *Post Office Directory*); most of these administered the same narcotics; and though they cannot boast an equal amount of practice with Mr. Robinson; still their aggregate addition to the sum is evidently enormous. And if 242 dentists can manage to live by taking care of the teeth of under two millions, how many must there be for the 233,000,000 above-mentioned? And even then we have put America and British India, from whence came several deaths, out of the question. When the figures, which a simple deduction from the doctrine of chances supplies us with, be drawn out in a long line from these data, they may go some way towards opening the mind to a right view of the balance of successful operations which is to be put against the twenty-two fatal accidents which are about to be detailed.

The former cases are of course unblazoned, but the latter have been publicly reported; and now that they are known, to pass them by in a sketch of the rise and pro-

gress of chloroform would be obviously unfair; and moreover, to lay bare the whole truth, may prevent future disappointment in the public, and hold up the remedy from falling into the discredit which a sudden check after unlimited confidence induces.

The first death that occurred was on the 25th of January, 1848, and was ascribed by the coroner's jury to congestion of the lungs, produced by chloroform. By a curious coincidence, on the same day at Cômô a death is reported as having been caused by chloroform, but as the patient did not die till the second day after the operation, the cause of the accident is doubtful. Two more occurred in February, one in England and one in Cincinnati. Another followed in March. In June two in France and one in England. In July one at Hyderabad. Another case occurred at Lyons, another at the Bicêtre in September, and one more before the end of the same year (1848) at St. George's Hospital.* Three more Anglo-Saxon names appear on the list for January, 1849, two in Dr. Warren's book, and one in the *Medical Gazette* of that date. Another death in the same month took place at Lyons. In the September of that year, Dr. Adams of Glasgow administered chloroform to himself, and never recovered, (*Medical Times*), and Madame Labruno, at Langres, died under its influence. (*L'Union Medicale*.) In October a patient of a distinguished London surgeon; in December, a young woman at Shrewsbury. In January, 1850, a similar accident at Berlin, and a second under the hands of Langenbeck at Keil. (*Medical Gazette*, Jan. 4, 1850.) In July another at Guy's Hospital, in which it appeared in the evidence before the coroner's jury, that the surgeon had given the vapour in opposition to his own judgment, because the patient had insisted upon it. The number of ascertained cases in all amounts to twenty-two. Of this list, ten, which had occurred before the publication of Dr. Warren's book, are arranged by him in a tabular form, and the details of one more (the Lyonesse) are given in an appendix. There is indeed quite enough here to alarm a sensitive mind, and to render the duty imperative of search-

* As this case will not be found in a separate form in the indices to any journal, it is as well to mention, that it was an operation on the face, and that the immediate cause of death was blood running down the wind-pipe and choking the patient during syncope.

ing out, in the way he has done, every ascertainable circumstance concerning them. The inquiries made after death have been so far satisfactory, that the bodies have not exhibited any peculiar appearances which would fix the charge of a poisonous character on the drug administered. The descriptions given in Dr. Warren's table would apply in almost every particular to cases of death by any sudden shock, mental or bodily.

Here the counsel for chloroform comes forward, cross-examines the witnesses, and replies with a question, "If the appearances after death are such as are found in cases of sudden shock, why may not these accidents be attributed to that cause, instead of the chloroform? Obscure deaths during surgical operations, are allowed on all hands to have happened in that way,—why will you not class these under the same category?" There is much reason in this argument, and it derives additional weight from the fact, that the only organ whose diseased state is not merely a result of the fluidity of the blood in the corpse, is one *par excellence* the cause of sudden death,—the heart. In ten of the eleven cases related by Dr. Warren, the heart was more or less in an unnatural condition. But at the same time it must be said, that the chloroform was at least a partial cause, for it is in the highest degree improbable that twenty-two instances of sudden death from shock during operations should occur in two years and a half, when in the whole annals of surgery as previously practised, there are not so many on record.

The important practical point ascertained is, that patients afflicted with diseased hearts, run very great risks from inhaling chloroform;—greater risks than result from the operation only. Unfortunately for the surgeon who wishes to stand on safe ground, there is no organ in the body whose state it is so difficult to ascertain as the one in question, and no one disease of it so obscure as that which is the most frequently found in these instances. This disease is designated as Softening, or Flaccidity; and amongst all the medical men of whom we have made enquiry, not one would profess to be able to detect it during life. Still sometimes circumstances will give rise to suspicion; and where such is the case, however slight the suspicion may be, it can scarcely in a single mind be doubted, that it is the duty of the surgeon absolutely to refuse the administration of chloroform or ether. Few will agree with Dr. Warren,

that all purposes of safety would be answered by substituting chloric ether for the more generally used drug. We do not indeed know the former to be so fatal in its results, because it has been comparatively so little employed; as, however, it is not the *nature of the agent*, but the *nature of the physiological condition* that destroys life, we may conclude, that stupefaction by vapours is equally dangerous, whatever be the means by which it is produced.

Now that we have unreservedly shown our readers the dark underside of the questions, we can with a lightened heart turn again to the bright, cheery aspect which it commonly presents. Against the lives which chloroform has destroyed, how many may be set down as saved through its means? We firmly believe, several hundreds to each one. There are, in the first place, all those who under the old system would have been endangered by the benevolent hurry of the operator; they have now the full benefit of his cautious judgment. Then there is a number by no means small, who will now willingly consent to an operation certain to prolong their existence, but whom formerly the idea of the tortures to be undergone, would have deterred, or have so terrified as to render it impracticable. There was again a multitude, the number of whom can be arrived at by extended statistical observation only, but notoriously a large one, in whose cases the agony of the operation, the excitement of mind, the fear before, and the joy after, produced fatal fever. This danger now need scarcely be taken into account.

The inferences to be drawn from what has gone before, are as follows:

1st. Chloroform and ether, under certain circumstances, not fully known, *may* produce fatal results.

2nd. That the danger thence arising is very trifling, compared with that entailed by important operations on the old plan.

3rd. That it is chiefly, perhaps *only*, persons afflicted with weakened hearts, that incur this danger.

The practical corollaries are:

1st. These substances should not be employed in minor operations, such as tooth-drawing, and the like, for the sake of which even the smallest risk of death is unjustifiable.

2nd. In important operations, they may be freely used

on healthy persons, for in entailing a small danger, they remove many great ones.

3rd. They should be avoided where disease of the heart has been ascertained to exist.

The world is too old now to argue against the use of a thing from the abuses of it; but it is worth while to allude in passing, to some ascribed to these powerful agents, were it only to wonder at their small number. It is said that ladies' parties used to be given, at which they were employed as incitors of joviality, and an object of agreeable experiment; and some persons have, doubtless, also, become addicted to the delirious joys derived from them. The first evil has passed away with the bloom of novelty; and, in the latter case, they are clearly only substitutes for the more unwholesome stimulus of alcohol. The possibility of their employment with felonious intent, for purposes of robbery or assault, is a more serious consideration. Cases have occurred where it has been suspected, but direct proof has not been given, and a doubt is even expressed by one no less experienced than Dr. Snow, whether it is possible to administer these vapours without the consent of the inhaler, to the extent of producing insensibility.

Nations of the world! you have had a boon bestowed,—precious above your powers of thought. Learn to use it, and be grateful.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*Emblems of Saints, by which they are distinguished in Works of Art.*
In two parts. By the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth. 8vo. London: Burns and Lambert.

This is a very useful and well executed volume: and we hope that it is but the first instalment of a more complete list by the same learned author. Mr. Husenbeth speaks of it himself in very humble language, yet we do not hesi-

tate to say that, so far as it at present extends, it will sufficiently answer the purpose for which it has been compiled; namely, "to assist artists, tourists, and other persons engaged in the pursuits of Archæology and Ecclesiology, in identifying holy personages represented in painting and sculpture." Such a book has been long wanted: and if its author had pursued his subject into more detail, or added (as he wished) illustrations and engravings, he would, we think, have been obliged to sacrifice two important objects in such an undertaking; we mean, convenience of size and cheapness: and, so far, he must have deprived very many, whom he chiefly would desire to assist, of the means of availing themselves of his labours.

The two parts consist of, 1. Saints with their Emblems; and 2. Emblems with their Saints. The first part readily explains itself; and it will be only necessary to say, that the number of emblems which have been collected and arranged, is far more ample than our readers would beforehand probably have supposed. For example, St. Adrian is identified under nine emblems, or arrangement of emblems: of which the last two are of a character entirely different from the others; and seven authorities are given for the appropriation of them to St. Adrian. Again, in like manner, we have a list of eleven variations for St. Agatha, sixteen for St. Agnes, twelve for St. Catherine of Sienna, nine for St. Francis of Assissium, and sixteen for St. Jerom. In some instances Mr. Husenbeth has supplied several authorities for certain emblems: thus, for one of St. James the Less, we have no less than twelve; of which seven are from rood-screens, and two from fonts, of English churches. We may add also, that the authority for another and very curious emblem of this same apostle, viz., "as a child with a toy mill in his hand," is from a Parelöre screen, at Ranworth. Mr. Husenbeth specifies only one out of the very many representations of our Lady, supposing them, as a class, to be so well known; but that which he does give us, is extremely curious and rare—"carrying two fishes on a dish, a pitcher of water in her other hand." This is from Hildesheim, Church of St. Godard.

Part second, Emblems with their Saints, supplies us with a guide, by which to determine, from the emblem represented, the saint to whom it is appropriate. This must be, of course, a somewhat less certain rule, in some

instances, than the former. For example, the first emblem, "Abbot — teaching his monks." We scarcely think that this ought to be, particularly, attached to "St. Mederic, Abbot." The use of this part, however, will be very great: thus, under the emblem "Arrows," which commonly is supposed to be peculiar to St. Sebastian, we have this distinction, "piercing him on a gibbet, St. Anastasius;" and with a "bent bow, St. Mackessoge." Some of the appropriations which Mr. Husenbeth makes will surprise, perhaps, our readers no less than ourselves: for example: "Book—of the Sarum use, St. Osmund." How one is to discover from a carving or picture of an open or closed book, that it is "of Sarum use," we do not quite understand; at any rate, it is not always an easy matter to find out the "use," when we have a genuine Missal or Breviary in our own hands. This remark applies of course to the second part: when we turn to the first part, and read that the proper emblem of St. Osmund is a book in his hand, we can quite understand how it should be of "Sarum use." By the way, Mr. Husenbeth does not furnish any authority for this last; and, whilst there can be no question that in many manuscripts and illuminations St. Osmund is so represented, yet we believe that "a book" cannot be said to be an emblem by which he, among other bishops, is to be distinguished.

At the end of the book are two very useful lists of Patrons of arts, trades, and professions, and of Patrons of countries and cities. These are followed by a tabular arrangement of six calendars: the Roman, Old English, French, Spanish, German, and Greek. No addition could have been more suitable; but we would suggest that, in another edition, these calendars should be at the beginning of the book, and that the authorities should be given for them, together with their dates. The last is especially to be desired.

We strongly recommend Mr. Husenbeth's volume to our readers.

II.—1. *A Sermon delivered in St John's Catholic Church, Salford.* By the Right Rev. N. WISEMAN, D.D. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1850.

2.—*A Lecture delivered at the Chinese Museum, Philadelphia.* By the Right Rev. Dr. HUGHES. New York: Dunigan, 1850.

Two most able discourses by two great Fathers of the Church. We have placed them together, for there is another parallel between them; both these venerable teachers have taken up a stand against the respective errors of their time and nation. Dr. Wiseman, rebuking the pride of intellect and pride of wealth of the great city in which he preached, calls on them to sanctify to God the noble gifts they had received from Him;—to use their boasted acuteness with the same earnestness and desire of truth, in the search after true religion, as in that for material advantages,—and to leave a memorial of their generation, and sanctify their wealth to God, by offering up a portion of it to His Church—to the Church of the poor amongst them. Dr. Hughes, casting a rapid glance over the revolutions then desolating Europe, tells his countrymen some stern truths upon the wickedness, the madness of revolutions generally. How admirably these instructions are given we need not say; but his Lordship's subject was slippery—perhaps his audience exacting;—certain it is, that in the hurried panegyric upon the American Revolution which winds up the discourse, there is something of inconsistency as well as of concession, which goes far to neutralize them.

III.—*Submission to the Catholic Church.* By A. J. HAMMER, late of S. John's College, Cambridge, and Curate of Tidcombe Portion. Addressed to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Tiverton, Devon. London: Burns and Lambert. 1850.

At such a time as the present, when almost all men's anxieties are directed towards the personal determinations regarding their duty, which members of the English Establishment shall make, such publications as Mr. Hammer's cannot fail of being interesting, and are very likely to edify and profit thousands who are in doubt and hesitation. More especially when, as in the case of the little volume which we are now noticing, powerful and acute reasoning is couched in plain and decided language, and accompanied by the undeniable evidence of sincerity, earnestness and truth. At such a crisis,—when the Catholic Church is looking on with daily repeated prayers, and anxious desires for the salvation of the people of the land, and the alarmed Establishment is helplessly gazing at the spectacle of her wisest and best sons either disputing amongst themselves, or leaving her for ever;—a

statement, fair and open like Mr. Hanmer's, of the causes which have led any individual to make his final happy resolve, both vindicates the claims of the Church Catholic, and exposes the vanity and hollowness of the pretensions of the Church of England. In both ways, it must serve to guide the ignorant, and to confirm the wavering and the timid.

There is one characteristic of the religious pamphlets which, during the last few years, have poured in such quantities from the press, not a little remarkable. It is this; that those written on the Catholic side may be, many of them, inferior in their style, or rude in their argument and arrangement, or wanting in what the world calls polish, and sometimes even in learning. Yet, throughout all of them, there is an unmistakable vein of honest straightforwardness and truth. On the other hand, upon the Anglican side, we scarcely remember a production from a High-churchman or Puseyite, which, in some way or other, did not contrive to evade the real question at issue, or to wrap it up in a misty cloud of words and involved sentences, or to modify the seemingly strongest statements of what men's duty in these times must be, by a few lines, somewhere, of qualification and restriction: in other words, a loop-hole of escape from immediate action is always to be found. We do not at all think that this is a course which can be successful in the end: for the present few months it may serve to procrastinate and be, as men call it, politic: but at last it will be found to be fatal to those plans which some of the chief writers of the Anglican school are vainly struggling to carry into effect. Time, if we may say so, is of no object to the Church: she can afford to wait: she is the same to-day as yesterday, and will be so for ever: but each hour as it passes is rivetting the chains which bind the Establishment to the State, and giving the stamp of age to her late formal and public declarations of her denial of the fundamental truths of Christianity.

We cordially recommend Mr. Hanmer's account of his conversion to the careful attention of our readers. We sincerely trust that it may effect much good in determining the course of many who are still hesitating; and, displaying as it does great ability and power of argument, it will be useful to Catholics in these days of continual controversy. Mr. Hanmer divides his subject under three

heads: I. The impossibility of proving even the inspiration or genuineness of Holy Scripture upon Anglican principles: II. The reasons which guided his steps to the Catholic Church, "to the *exclusion* of all other imaginable centres of attraction;" and III. He excellently well describes the system in which, as he speaks, he found himself involved, when he had fairly thrown himself into the arms of the Church. Running through the whole of this disposition of the subject, there is one main principle to which Mr. Hanmer continually and very forcibly recalls our attention: namely, that in every religious system which claims to be Christian, with the one sole exception of the Catholic Church, the right of private judgment is necessarily allowed, maintained, and insisted on; and that this right of private judgment, will be found inevitably to be nothing less than a disguised name for infidelity and atheism, in every case in which its defenders are honest and bold enough to carry out their premises to their legitimate conclusion. This truth, which every Catholic theologian knows to be undeniable, is explained in a very successful and popular way by Mr. Hanmer.

We regret that our limits in this department of our Review, will not allow us to continue our observations upon Mr. Hanmer's excellent little volume: it deserves an accurate examination, and we hope to be able to notice it again at some future period. In the mean time, not doubting that it will be extensively circulated and read, we shall give one or two short extracts.

Mr. Hanmer very truly observes,—

"The same degree of liberty, in judging on matters of faith, which is granted to the Anglican body of divines, could not, consistently, be denied to the Arians, or to the Monophysites, or to the Nestorians, for instance, *within* the bounds of episcopal communion: neither could it be refused to those who are *not* within such bounds, as in the case of the Independents, for instance, of the Wesleyans, the Quakers, the Deists, the Agapemonites, the Pantheists, or the Atheists.....Such, is the natural, the inevitable result of the exercise of private judgment, either by individuals, or by confederacies of individuals, on matters of faith. You may have clever men on all sides, learned men on all sides, men of earnest minds on all sides, men equally free from prejudice or party bias, and yet how different are the ways in which they conclude their respective inquiries after truth! For, on the same grounds, have the Atheist, the Quaker, the Arian, the Anglican, alike proceeded:

and whatever the difference in their *conclusions* may be, they are all upon a level in this, that they all rest on one and the same *principle*;—a principle which will not support the deductions of *any one* of them, more than it will uphold the resolutions at which the *others* have, in their respective order, arrived. And thus, the same principle which lies at the root of the Anglican theory; and which, in point of fact, is identical with it; is none other than that, to which the Atheist can, with equal fairness, ultimately appeal. In other words, Anglicanism is but Atheism dressed up in Elizabethan costume.”—pp. 14—16.

Again:—

“Strange, indeed, would it have been for the Church *not* to be infallible, if it be what it is described *as* being—viz., the mystical Body of Christ; the Tabernacle in which He would come to dwell among men, and guide to salvation those whom, by the sacrifice of Himself upon the cross, He had, once for all, redeemed! Nay: were it not well nigh blasphemy to assert of the Church—the *Body of Christ*—the *abode of the Spirit of Truth*—the instrument which *He* makes use of to speak to the world—that it could, by possibility, rule that any statement of doctrine, intrinsically *false*, was to be believed as *true*?”

So, then, the Church of the Scriptures, the Church of Christ, the Church of God, if it still exists at all (and it *was* to last, as we know, till the world itself shall be destroyed), is an *infallible* Church. And, therefore, as surely as there is a God in Heaven, so surely do I know that I can trust myself to *Her*, through whom He has determined to declare His will to me, and to all mankind; with the fullest assurance, that she neither *will*, nor *can*, be mistaken, in any portion whatever, of the doctrine which she holds, and inculcates, as *true*.”—pp. 61, 62.

And the following very important warnings, expressed in solemn and affectionate language, cannot be too deeply impressed upon the hearts of many Anglicans, at this present time.

“As for those, who, being called, and conscious of that within their hearts which sensibly attracts them to the Catholic Church, let them also be on their guard against the danger of unnecessary, undue, procrastination. For He Who has offered, and is ready, to accept them to-day, has not promised them either the will, or the ability to offer themselves for His acceptance to-morrow. ‘*To-day*, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts.’ (Heb. iv. 7, 11.) The ‘*present* is the acceptable time.’ The *present* is ‘the day’ on which the offer of salvation is made. Does not the fruit of a tree, by hanging beyond its time, through *over-ripeness* lose its freshness

and its bloom? And does not its *spirit* evaporate also? Like the autumn itself, in which it appears, it may, indeed, *look* like an emblem of quiet repose: and, for *awhile*, it may happen that the chill blasts which accompany '*the fall*,' may strike upon the surface of its fading cheek, without detracting from its internal sweetness: but the decay of its fibres will soon set in, until it become totally unfit for wholesome use. And is it *not* so, even *now*, with many a languishing *soul*, which *ought* to have been gathered into the garner of the Church, long, long ago, in that bright genial hour, when the ripening process was completed; but which *now* hangs fainting, withering, shrivelling, decaying, through its own most grievous fault, in unkind and saddening gales, and is, consequently, becoming less and less qualified, day by day, for anything better than to be cast forth upon the wide waste of confusion and unbelief,—a prey to those wicked spirits, against whose approach, in the day of its vocation, it refused to receive the protection of the Church's shield? Such instances are, alas! not unfrequently to be found, among those who, when called, have refused to *move forward*: who, though at one time '*arranged in order towards eternal life*,' (Acts xiii. 48.) have *not* been '*added to the Church*.' (Acts ii. 47.) And what will become of them, as time *proceeds*, it is fearful *indeed* to contemplate. What they will do '*in the end thereof*,' (Jer. vi. 31.) there is One Who *alone* can tell!"—pp. 179—81.

IV.—*Two Sermons*, preached by the RIGHT REV. DR. WISEMAN, at St. George's Catholic Church, Southwark, on the morning and evening of Sunday, the 11th of August, 1850. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

These sermons were preached by Dr. Wiseman, under circumstances so peculiar, as to justify us in calling them to the attention of our readers. On the eve of a long separation, which it was but too probable might be final, Dr. Wiseman addressed the flock he had so earnestly loved and cared for; he then, as it were, addressed them all, through the medium of the most crowded congregations that could be contained in the largest church in his metropolis,—the church which he had himself so magnificently opened;—congregations which hung upon his every word, in the hope of learning something to relieve their anxiety, and afford them comfortable indications for the future. The Bishop could not but understand the deep interest which filled every heart for the Church in this country, and for her prospects of usefulness, not to her children only, but to those so near and dear to us, who, as yet, wander without a

shepherd. He *did* recognise, and sympathise with, and address himself to, this most natural anxiety ; but it was characteristic of Dr. Wiseman, that under such circumstances, he should have sought to turn the attention of his hearers from the present, with all its difficulties and its interests, and from himself, whom so many amongst them had identified with the progress so rejoiced in and desired. In pursuance of this idea, in the first sermon, upon the text, " Who is my neighbour?" Dr. Wiseman gave us a sort of preparation, and instruction upon " Charity," as distinguished from *natural* kindness. He spoke of the combined *oneness* and universality of God's *acts* (if we may so express it) to man, illustrating this idea with such beauty, as those can imagine who know his style, by the atonement, by faith, by the Church, &c. He showed that charity, under the government of the same law, must first be *one* in its essence, by the love of each man's heart for God, ere it can become universal in its application when re-descending to earth in conformity with the Divine Will. From this point the transition was natural to the Bishop's exhortation, that we should not only have charity one to another, but that charity should quicken our zeal for the progress of the Church, on which depends the salvation of souls, and of our country. In the evening sermon, from the 23rd and 24th verses of Luke x., Dr. Wiseman drew a grand picture of the wonders that had been wrought for the Church in this country, since the conclusion of the last century ; he showed how to break up the institutions which had been founded for English Catholics in other lands ; to send back priests, and young men training for the Church, monks and nuns, and learned professors, to this, then so hostile a country ;—thereby restoring to the plant the root that was to nourish it, there was needed nothing less than the great moral and political events, by which the whole of Europe was up-rooted and convulsed. He pointed out how *manifest* the finger of God had been made to us at that period, and warned his hearers with all the power of his eloquence, not to lose sight of it *now*, in these more peaceful times ;—never to attribute to themselves, or their own exertions, or to any man, or set of men, the present increase of the Church ; assuring them, that the benediction of the Most High would cease if ever they should come to place such presumptuous trust in His mere instruments. The discourse is wound up with an exhortation to

prayer and individual sanctification, through which we cannot follow the author. It appears that Dr. Wiseman never had the opportunity of revising these sermons after they came from the hands of the short-hand writer ; and to this circumstance must be attributed any want of precision or elegance of style which may be detected in perusing them.

V. — *The Spirit and Genius of St. Philip Neri, Founder of the Oratory. Lectures delivered in the Oratory.* By FREDERICK W. FABER. London : Burns and Lambert, 1850.

These Sermons should be read and studied ; they are so replete with thoughts striking and original, that no idea can be given of them in a short notice such as the present must be. Admitting in himself what might seem to be “the affectionate exaggerations of an Oratorian,” Mr. Faber, in his own abrupt, strong, somewhat familiar style, proceeds to draw a sketch, an analysis, of the character of St. Philip, which will probably open out new views even to the more deep thinking among Catholics. He claims for St. Philip, as well as for St. Francis of Assisi—in whom it has been already recognised by the Church—the character of type and likeness of our Lord upon earth ; he draws a parallel between these two great saints, unfolds with the discriminating insight of deep love and study, the characteristics of St. Philip’s sanctity, points out the wonderful combination in him of the supernatural life, with an easy, practical, and gentle condescension, to the wants and manners of the time ; in turning to this branch of his subject, Mr. Faber makes a strong remonstrance to those lovers of antiquity, who set up for themselves a standard from which they would have it, that the Church cannot deviate without degenerating ; asserting her ever living power, he draws a triumphant and consoling picture of her peculiar blessings at this present time. Passing thence to the question, “what can St. Philip do in England?” Mr. Faber gives such a sketch of the peculiarities of our national character, and of the state of religious parties in England, as few but himself could give, sarcastic, searching, powerful—and we doubt not true ; and though he will not indulge his audience by flattering prognostications, he gives the grounds from which we cannot but draw most hopeful

inferences. There is that in these sermons which may startle some, perplex, and perhaps annoy others; but they, in common with the general teaching of the Oratory, will produce a great effect upon the religious mind, (if we may use the expression), of this country. One passage, which will give universal contentment, we will extract.

“I do not know, my Brethren, how you may feel about it; but to my mind there is an especial charm, a peculiar beauty in the modern Times, which no other age of the Church can show. The States, which for their good were tied to the Church, have drifted away from her, and meddle no longer with the singularity of her ecclesiastical majesty. The spiritual empire of Rome is a more visible thing in the world than before; and such is its intrinsic beauty, that the more visible it is, the more captivating does it become. The power of the Church to punish heresy and restrain opinion by any other than spiritual pains has passed away; and she is free and disencumbered to enter into the arena of human opinions, and there make intellectual proof of the power of faith divine. No royal courtesies, no baronial patronages, wrap her round, or hide her from men’s eyes with the graceless folds of their motley splendour. O look well upon her! the athlete of God in these turbulent and changeful days! Whose heart is not stirred, whose pulses are not quickened at the sight?”

VI.—*The Complin and Benediction Book, with a Selection of Psalms and Hymns.* Permissu Superiorum. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

A very useful little book to give away to poor neighbours, or as an assistance at evening prayers in families.

VII.—*Cottage Conversations.* By MARY MONICA. London: Burns and Lambert.

We have seldom met a more pleasing little work than this; not strictly controversial, but touching upon many points of the Catholic religion in the style that best suits unsophisticated minds, whose doubts are *natural*; it contains as much instruction as argument, and they are nicely combined. The chief subject of these dialogues is the holy virgins of the Tyrol, of whom an excellent account is given with ease, clearness, and that sort of simplicity which we would especially designate as *sensible* and *unaffected*.

VIII.—*The Heiress ; or, Education and Accomplishments.* By AGNES M. STEWART. London : T. Jones, 1849.

A pretty and interesting tale, written in Miss Stewart's usual style of elegance and good feeling.

IX.—*The Christian Soul armed against Temptation.* Translated by Leo, brother of the third order of St. Francis. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

We are not told who was the author of this little work, but the translator has judged well of its value; the instructions for discerning the nature of temptations, for surmounting, and for turning them to advantage, show the experience of an able and long-tried director, and cannot fail to be of service from their practical and judicious character.

X.—*War ; religiously, morally, and historically considered.* By P. F. AIKEN, Advocate. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1850.

It does seem absolute waste of time to spend words and arguments upon the body of men, or charlatans, who are talking trash of all sorts at "the Peace Congress." No one would charge us with any desire to uphold or promote wars and bloodshed: but our patience utterly forsakes us when we have to turn our attention towards the doings and sayings of that absurd and, we must add, mischievous conclave. If there were no reasonable hope of immediate benefit from discussions and attempts of this kind, yet, for that reason alone, we should not find fault. Many movements by which mankind has gained largely in the end, have sprung from small and despised beginnings, and had to make their way against the world's scorn and misrepresentations. And, if the establishment of universal Peace, and the putting an end to war and fighting, and the disbanding all over the world armies and navies, be, indeed, within the possible range of human hope, any endeavours to attain it, however slightly founded, shall have our prayers. But as to "the Peace Congress," composed of individuals such as are its present members, we regard it with unmixed contempt and disgust. It bears an undeniable and unblushing front of mere desire for personal gain and personal notoriety; mixed up with an easily discovered love of twaddle, and of a pleasant excursion in the

summer. In a word, the "Peace Congress" is the very height of fooling, accomplished by the best performers living; as Lord Brougham says, by "the greatest fools in the world." We are justified in using language as strong as this, when speaking of men who promote peace from no higher or better feeling, than only in order that their manufactures may have a readier sale, and their factories be less liable to accidents of war, and their incomes be saved from taxes in support of a standing army and an idle fleet: who talk theoretical nonsense about the future, to the deep delight of prim-dressed Quaker ladies, whilst they do not move a finger to prevent blood flowing in Schleswig Holstein, and sympathize with rebels in Hungary, or discontent and turbulent "red" republicans in France: who speak of universal love and friendship in the presence and under the very direction of American slave-owners and plunderers from the Oregon and Texas.

Mr. Aiken's book is temperate in its tone; and, although not to be commended for its style or argument, will amuse those who are inclined to loiter for an hour over such a subject, treated in a familiar way, and with many of its pages relieved by anecdotes, which are still amusing, although not very new. We would select one or two passages as favourable specimens of the author's manner and ability.

"There are frequent allusions to war in the New Testament, in which no censure is implied or expressed. The trumpet, the weapons, the armour of war, are often employed as images to illustrate the Christian warfare. Here the analogy is, that the Christian is a spiritual warrior, in a good cause, against an evil adversary. Thus the apostle Paul speaks of Epaphroditus and Archippus as his *fellow soldiers*. If war were only and absolutely criminal, the analogy would be unsuitable. How could the Christian apostle have addressed, in a good sense, Epaphroditus my fellow robber, and Archippus my fellow murderer? It is at least remarkable, that although the Saviour drove the money-changers and sellers of doves from the temple, he never found fault with soldiers for their occupation, but commended the Centurion's faith."—p. 33.

"The adoration of the memory of Napoleon in France at this day, is a sign that we cannot yet dispense with our army and navy, and trust to an extemporaneous militia."—p. 77.

"Surely that power and superiority which have been wisely and mercifully committed to Christians, ought not to be lightly abandoned. Suppose that Arabs, Tartars, Affghans, Beloochees, Sikhs, knew that we would not or could not defend ourselves. British

equity and civilization would be succeeded by the ancient reign of heathen dynasties, with their superstition and abominable idolatries; their fraud, falsehood, injustice, corruption, and cruelty. If Christians were to renounce war, heathens and Mahomedans would revolt, massacre, and triumph. The world would soon change masters."—p. 93.

"Let us guard manfully and well this land of the brave, this citadel of free-born men, from the tramp of hostile armies, these peaceful abodes from their most foul pollution. But let us earnestly cultivate peace, be just and merciful to others, as well as bold in our own defence: Let us shrink from inflicting wrongfully on foreign nations calamities that we dread to think upon, and which we thank God have not been endured in this island within the memory of living men.

"If England would steadily act thus, and if other Christian nations would do likewise, unjust wars would occur but seldom, and defensive wars would be few and unnecessary. Thus the welfare of mankind would be promoted, rather than by denouncing all war, and calling on this powerful kingdom to disarm itself, in the midst of a world where ignorance, error, faction, and violence still abound."—p. 110.

XI.—*Baptism*: a Sermon by Bishop Heber, with Addenda containing a Letter by the Poet S. T. Coleridge, on the same subject. Edited with notes, by the Rev. Scott F. Surtees, Rector of Richmond, Yorkshire. London: Hatchard.

Another atom of the interminable Gorham controversy! And widely indeed must the *cacoethes scribendi* have spread, when people, who can gain no other notoriety, are induced to print and "edit" worthless sermons of other authors. We have little interest in the question, whether Dr. Reginald Heber's views of baptism were high or low; sound or unsound: but, in this particular pamphlet, the odd thing which strikes us, is the bracketing of Heber and S. T. Coleridge on such a subject. Mr. Surtees's own opinions, we presume, are somewhat hazy and indefinite.

XII.—*A Discourse on the Mission and Influence of the Popes*, delivered in St. Mary's Catholic Church, Broughton Street, on the day of solemn thanksgiving, for the return to Rome of His Holiness, Pope Pius IX. By the RIGHT REV. BISHOP GILLIS. Edinburgh: C. Dolman, 1850.

We heartily recommend this admirable and eloquent discourse to all our readers. Full of noble sentiments, expressed in language energetic and yet plain and simple,

it cannot fail to reach the hearts of all the faithful. We shall not pretend even to give an abstract of its contents. Scarcely exceeding the limits of an ordinary discourse from the pulpit, it will only be regretted that its author was necessarily limited in his treatment of the glorious subject which he had chosen for the occasion. Yet we cannot resist extracting the following passages.

“The first consideration that strikes one in studying the annals of the Bishops of Rome, is that wondrous amount of human suffering, and of more than human courage, that spreads itself, like a gory pall, over the three first centuries of their existence, during which, with hardly an exception, ‘their succession,’ as Ranke observes, was rather to martyrdom and death than to office ;* for, out of thirty Popes who successively fill the chair of St. Peter during the three first hundred years of Christianity, *two* only were not called upon to shed their blood for the truth of the Faith they had been sent to preach ;—all the rest died martyrs. They dwelt and prayed in the bowels of the earth ; and, to use the words of St. Paul in his letter to the Hebrews, when speaking of those who ‘by faith conquered kingdoms,’ they truly ‘had trials of mockeries and stripes, moreover also of bands and prisons ; they were tempted, they were put to death by the sword, they wandered about, being in want, distressed and afflicted, of whom the world was not worthy ; yet they recovered strength from weakness, and became valiant in battle.’† While the tyrants who sat enthroned above them in all the splendour and profligacy of unbridled power, while the Cæsars of Pagan Rome, from Nero to Dioclesian, were heartlessly decreeing in their gilded palaces, the ten general persecutions that were to deluge the world with blood ; the Bishops of Rome governed the Church from the Catacombs, and may be said to have emerged from them only from time to time, to bear public testimony to Christ, and to die. And so well did they understand that hidden martyrdom of Christian heroism, which enjoins the constant immolation within the heart of every feeling that rises naturally to rebel against the self-denying lessons of the Gospel, that for more than five hundred long years, with one exception only,—LIBERIUS—there sat not upon Peter’s chair one single Pope, whose name has not since been enrolled in the calendar of the Saints.”—p. 16.

And, as the bishop carries forward his sketch of the history of the Christian Church, he says,

“A fearful tearing asunder of the unity of Christ’s Church came

* Ranke’s History of the Popes, book i. c. i.

† Hebrews xi. 36, 37, 38.

then,—it was the age of the Reformation. I am not called upon just now, Beloved Brethren, to discuss its merits; let me only register the fact, that great as was the influence exercised by the Reformation, it soon encountered in the world a power greater than its own, the very power against which it had rebelled, the never failing power of the Bishops of Rome. Should there be present here just now any children of the Reformation, let them not take it upon my authority, however, but upon that of one of themselves, and it would be easy to multiply such awowals. The able translator of Ranke's History of the Popes, expresses herself thus in her preface: 'It is impossible to contemplate the rapid and apparently resistless progress of the Reformation in its infancy, without wondering *what was the power which arrested and forced back the torrent, and reconquered to the ancient Church*, countries in which Protestantism seemed firmly established.' The power! No power could reconquer countries to the ancient Church, but its own, that of its supreme Pontiffs,—the only power against which the gates of hell have never yet been known to prevail. And such, accordingly, Beloved Brethren, was the truly resistless power by which the Reformation was first checked in its onward career, and doomed to progress no farther, save in the work of its own destruction."—p. 28.

XIII.—*Aletheia, or the Doom of Mythology*, with other Poems, by WM. CHARLES KENT. London: Longman Brown, & Co., 1850.

The doom of mythology would seem at first an inappropriate title to this poem, which is a rapturous and elegant invocation to the Deities of Parnassus to return and re-animate all external nature by their presence. The author describes himself

"Deep in the mellow shadows of a copse,
Where the ripe filbert sheds its ample nut,
Where, from the burgeon'd bough, the fir cone drops,
And rich leaves moulder in the wheel-worn rut,
Couched on the verdant sod, alone I lay,
While fraught with glory died the glimmering day.

"The silence of a solemn hour was there,
And there the lulling influence of repose,
A gleaming beauty in the twilight air,
A perfume from the wild herbs like the rose,
And through the grass, with coil of snakish gloss,
Curled the dun roots of Autumn, flecked with moss."

Dreaming thus, the poet breaks into a passionate—

—————"Lament for the day,
When dreams were doomed to death in Attica."

He summons around him the idols of his fancy:—

“Down from the violet arch of eastern skies
Descend, refulgent shadows of delight!
Up from the glad Ægean depths arise,
From ruby caverns, bathed in sea-green light,
Flash, like the sun-beams, from the boiling surf;—
Bud, like the blue-bells, from th’ enamell’d turf.

“Come from the cool retreats of matted pine,
Where the lone owlet flits in evening grey;
Come from Olympic banquets, where the wine
Was quaffed in crystal goblets bound with bay;
Where Asphodels adorn’d th’ eternal mead,
And Nectar streamed from bowl of Ganymede.”

* * * * *

“Again the Ægis of your strength extend
O’er rocks where roaring cataracts rejoice;
O’er fertile valleys where the rivers bend,
And drowse the meadows with their liquid voice:
Again, when tinkling rain-drops cease to flow,
Let Iris glitter on prismatic bow.”

* * * * *

“Ye faultless models of symmetric grace,
Ye prototypes of art in sculptured stone,
Give to the globe again your mighty race!
Breathe like the statue of Pygmalion!
Stir in your granite bed; with throes of joy
Arise, ye golden dreams, from life’s alloy!

“The spell hath found its echo in the past:
The invocation, like a wizard’s wand,
Hath beckoned to the unseen world at last,
And burst from iron Death the awful bond:
Out from the womb of ages, born anew,
The dazzling Godheads flood the holy blue.”

Our author is learned in mythology: few we believe could follow him; not only in their more recognised and stately characters; but in the attributes and names conferred on them by local tradition and familiarity. He is familiar with the fabulous deities of antiquity, from the graceful dwellers on Parnassus, to the grim night-mares of the north; from India’s diabolical travesties of truth, and Egypt’s massive time-hallowed absurdities, to the gro-

tesque or pretty elves into which mythology dwindled down in our own land,—he knows them all. With the most easy flow of fancy, he summons them around him singly, or in groups, to receive the full meed of his poetic worship, or to be dismissed lightly, each garlanded by some appropriate symbol. We had begun to think that the author carried his poetic license too far; the old story seemed realized (which we used to fancy “too good to be true”) of the worthy, who, taking off his hat to the head of Jupiter, requested of that Potentate, that in consideration of an act of homage in this low tide of his affairs, he would remember him “if ever he got his head above water again.” Fanciful as the subject seemed, it was so treated, that we were beginning to feel both pain and indignation; when the poet, awakening from his dream, condemns its visions to their own Tartarus, and re-assumes his christian character with becoming majesty and force. An error so well atoned for, and so unintentional, we doubt not, shall not by us be more seriously noticed; but that the *poet* HAS suffered himself to be led into an error, we cannot doubt, since it was actually with surprise, as well as pleasure, that we came upon his vindication; some passages of which, we are in justice bound to give. The apparition of Aletheia was doubtless meant to break the transition from the realms of fancy to sober truth. It appears to us, however, to be a blemish in the poem; for it falls short of the required climax, not being sufficiently distinguished, either in effect or character, from the preceding mythological visions: but in the grave poetry thus introduced, there is much grandeur; take as an example the following lines:

“Live not again, she cried, mere soulless clay;
Die not again to thoughts divine and true;
Nor in blaspheming admiration pay
Homage to Dæmons which from Fancy grew;
Learn from Creation that obedient run,
The Stellar orbits to the will of One.

“Not to the devious mandate of a host,
But to the concrete code of One alone,
Who, world-long ages ere th’ Hellene could boast
One hell-drawn despot on Olympic throne,
Shed like gold-dust through ebon space afar,
Round hoary Aldebaran Star on Star.”

* * * *

“Harbour no more the desolating dread,
That with the grosser phantasies of old
One holy sentiment of truth has fled,
One damning deed of Time remains untold.
Dead are no charms ; their concentrated spell
Graces the heaven where triune glories dwell.

“The Trinity in oneness that for aye,
Veil'd in ineffable refulgence, breathed
His vitalising will through chaos grey,
And through all space His starry garlands wreathed ;
The awful God, whose threefold might withstood
The eternal doom of endless solitude.

“That wondrous Unity hath reconciled
The dire anomalies that, once revered,
Have been by myriads utterly reviled
Since God's incarnate Word on earth appeared,
The child of Nazareth, who, history tells,
Spoke not in myths, but loving parables.”

This poem has reminded us very much of old Darwin's “Garden.” Mr. Kent is certainly not equal to Darwin in the chastened accuracy of his imagery and versification : and, on the other hand, he has greatly the advantage of him in the scope, variety, and elevation afforded by his subject. Still, they have much in common, the learning, the elegant untiring fancy, which in both are brought to sustain and to vivify subjects apparently inadequate to sustain them, the slight tint of voluptuous colouring, which makes itself perceptible through the stately rythm, and that flow of golden words, skilfully combined and chosen, adding each a tint to the flushing picture, and throwing a hazy glow around the slight imagery as it passes, which is beautiful and suitable here, whatever it might be in poetry of a keener and more exalted character. We shall say nothing of the smaller pieces ; some striking ideas and turns of expression may be found in them, and we would not desire a better description of the *effect* produced by good poetry upon a mind alive to its beauties, than there is in the “Paraphrase” addressed to Lamartine ; but, upon the whole, they are of little value.

XIV.—*Sermons on some of the Subjects of the Day*, preached at Trinity Church, Marylebone, by GEORGE ELLIOT, D.D., Dean of Bristol. London: Darling, 1850.

The position which the Dean of Bristol occupies in the Establishment, gives a certain weight to the opinions which he publishes to the world. It is not so much a matter of argument whether they are sound or unsound, or whether they are allowably to be held in the religious communion to which he belongs, and in which he occupies so high and dignified a station. We have only hastily glanced at the dean's sermons, and we do not hesitate to say, that we have not met with any statement of opinion, which—so far as our powers of judgment upon the matter extend—might not properly, and consistently, and lawfully, be maintained and taught in the English Reformed Church.

We are not, of course, so absurd, as to suppose that the Dean of Bristol represents his Church, or that his own views are *the* views and opinions, which sincere and honest members of the Establishment ought, or need necessarily, to receive. That which cannot possibly, in the very nature of the thing, be represented, cannot have any representatives: there can be no outward form and shape given to that which is unsubstantial and unreal;—to that which is ever changing, ever shifting, like the glasses of a kaleidoscope. Hence, we think that even the Dean, with all his undoubted honesty of mind and purpose, cannot be so sanguine as to expect that he will get people to believe, as certainly true, what he thinks proper to teach them. But we do say, inasmuch as we have not discovered in his volume any plain and formal denial of the absolute *words* of either of the three creeds which the Anglican Church accepts,—that the Dean of Bristol cannot be looked upon except as a very highly approved and dignified theologian and doctor of that communion.

We have felt ourselves at perfect liberty to omit an accurate examination of the sermons in this volume; because the Dean tells us in his preface that they are, mostly, not original, but compiled. This, no doubt, whilst it relieves us of the task of passing any judgment upon them, as regards style, arrangement, and the like, also adds the stamp of authority from other writers in the English Church to his own statements.

A word or two, however, on this "Prefatory Address." There cannot be a question that the Dean of Bristol is firmly convinced of the truth of the particular opinions which he happens to hold: in fact, he is too honest, and too conscientious: he forgets that different "English churchmen" may have different "opinions;" he forgets that, according to the principles of the Establishment, he must "give and take;" and that he must allow to others what he claims so decidedly for himself.

Hence, we cannot but think that he is a little hasty, as well as a little severe, in his demands for the exclusion of those persons from his communion, whom he calls, and very properly, Tractarians. He may condemn their views as much as he likes; he may say that they are but "emissaries of the Church of Rome;" which, by the way, we can most positively assure the Dean, they are not; he may accuse and blame their conduct and practices until the last hour of his life; but beyond these limits we do not think it fair that he should go; and we cannot but suppose that he would be among the first to bewail any attempt to bring these Tractarians before Sir Herbert Fust, or the supreme court of Her Most Gracious Majesty in Council. Because such an attempt would most assuredly end in the *avowed* permission of *their* views and opinions, equally with those which are advanced and insisted on by the learned Dean. The Dean may well say of the Tractarians, "The question is, should their teaching be tolerated within the church?" (p. 16.) but we recommend him to be content with continually asking the question. The answer to it would undeniably be a failure and a disappointment: indeed, his fellow-communicants, the accused Tractarians, would be the first to appeal to himself; they would claim, in order to their acquittal, his own avowal, that "the community of England does not recognise in the details of any existing church whatever, specific institution, or ordinance of God." (p. 24.) And, that "it is given to the meanest, as well as to the highest, to know so much truth as may be necessary to salvation." (p. 25.)

If, then, the Dean of Bristol is made unhappy by the knowledge, that "Tractarianism is as opposite to the very purpose for which men protested against Rome, and severed themselves from its communion, as it is opposite also both to the letter and the spirit of the gospel;" (p. 5.) and that Tractarians "circulate books, containing, on the

holiest subjects, the most exaggerated tone of Roman error ;" (p. 7.) and, that " the symbols which they use, and the altar, and the chancel, all tend fast to nothing better than sheer idolatry ;" (p. 9.) and, that the habit of Tractarians is, to make " guarded communications" and " insidious advances ;" (p. 10.) and, that " their teaching is utterly contrary to the whole spirit [as he conceives] of the Church of England, by an appropriate treachery ;" (p. 12.) and, that " the movement is deplorable, and the conduct of its leaders is extremely dishonest ;" (p. 14.)—if, we say, all these considerations weigh and press heavily upon the mind of Dr. Elliot, we know no possible way in which he can ever hope to be relieved. We are sure that he is too good and upright a man ever to attempt an injustice ; and if he will but sometimes think over certain passages in the Common Prayer-book, instead of confining his attention solely to the thirty-nine Articles which are bound up at the end of it, he will inevitably adopt in practice, although not in speech perhaps, a course of conduct somewhat more liberal and forgiving, than an appeal to the Arches Court, or to the Judicial Committee.

There is one point upon which we entirely agree with the Dean of Bristol ; viz., that the Tractarian party in the Establishment are now endeavouring to obtain for its clergy " a position, power, and authority, in this realm, which they never before have held either before or after the Reformation." (p. 13.) In proof of this, he refers to the charges of Archdeacons Manning and Wilberforce ; to the pamphlets of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Gladstone ; and to the speeches of the bishops of London and Oxford. Nothing has been ever said more correct. The modern High Anglican notion of the supremacy, and of the functions of the English convocations, is as indefensible upon the principles of the Catholic Church of England before the Reformation, as it is contrary to the spirit and positive enactments of the age in which the Reformation was effected.

We had noted some few passages in the sermons, by way of showing our readers the particular character of the Dean of Bristol's opinions ; but we think it only necessary to say—and we do not think he will find fault with us for saying it—that he seems to have adopted the lowest notions of what is called the Evangelical and Latitudinarian party in the English communion. Hence it is evident that he denies strongly and earnestly the need of episco-

pace, and of an “apostolical succession;” and the doctrine of the sacrifice of the eucharist; and the mysterious grace of the sacraments; and the truth of any visible church; and doctrines such as these. The only place which has occurred to us, as rather exceeding in its openness of statement, what his party usually like to say, is an assertion, that the best and greatest of the children of the reformed English Church, have “never acknowledged any authority *either of office or of doctrine*, but what *the people*, in their assemblies, *conferred or sanctioned*.” (Pref. p. 22.)

We recommend the Dean’s preface to the careful perusal of persons who may have an opportunity of reading it. To use words which are pleasing to our author’s ears, “it contains some good and wholesome” statements, “and very suitable to the present times.”

XV.—*Corpulence, or Excess of Fat in the Human Body; its relations to Chemistry and Physiology, its bearings on other diseases, and the value of human life, and its indications of treatment.* With an Appendix on Emaciation. By THOMAS KING CHAMBERS, D.M., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Gulstonian Lecturer for 1850. London: Longman and Co., 1850.

A well-omened name for a young Physician! and thus far satisfactorily has the author responded to the omen. He has collected and arranged a multitude of facts and doctrines on a subject of considerable difficulty and obscurity, and has supplied a desideratum in medical literature. This has been done in a manner which combines scientific research with popular instruction. The treatise is an enlarged edition of what was delivered by the author as Gulstonian Lecturer; and has been published at the request of many friends, who had the pleasure of hearing him deliver his course of lectures. We are rejoiced to find that a subject, so full of interest and so little touched upon by medical and other writers, has at length been so well and ably opened to further research.—We trust that we may hereafter meet with the author not only in print but in practice.

XVI.—*The Pensive Wanderer, a Poem in Four Cantos; Nero and the Fire of Rome, an Ode; and other Poems.* By CAMBRIA’S BARD. London: Published by the Author.

Cambria’s Bard has adopted some vigorous notions

upon the subject of "the buffoonery of measure," and its being a "tedious manufacture for thought-twisting, and idea-assassination;" having set forth these ideas in a most amusing preface, he gives us a poem, which might be a rough translation from Welsh, and indeed most resembles Hector McIntyre's well-known rendering of Ossian's Gaelic—take a specimen—

"Who, when age arrives, can think of years spent
 In one long continuous race for wealth—
 Of the slow, at length total abandonment
 Of religion, happiness, heart, and health—
 And not feel a cold creeping shudder thrill
 Through the body, from end to end, and, mounting
 To the brain, send its dull and throbbing chill
 Throughout, to aid the accurate recounting
 Of these lucrid ragings, and cause to heed
 The great natural—nay, the divine doctrine—
 That if we do amass more than we need,
 We must, according to the mighty design,
 Give thereof to those who all but famish," &c., &c.

The 'bard' is in evident fear of sharing the fate of Lord Byron at the hands of the critics—with a caution to them not to commit themselves, he gives notice that, "like Byron," he is a minor, and sternly desires that they will seek for "evidence for his future improvement." A modest request, truly! that any one should read through "such a lot of skimble-skamble stuff," to hunt up any thing so doubtful! Let the "promise," if there be any, take its own time for development when the young gentleman comes of age. If it ever does, we are sure he will be the first to thank us for taking no further notice of the present publication.

XVII.—*The Real Dr. Achilli.*

This pamphlet has reached us at too late a period to enable us to investigate the accuracy of its statements. We shall have the opportunity of so doing before our next publication, when the results will be laid before our readers.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*De La Décadence de l'Angleterre*, par LEDRU ROLLIN
Bruxelles : A. La Broue and Co. 1850.

ON reading the above title, the first emotion of many an Englishman will probably be one of simple indignation. As his eye glances to the author's name, and he finds him to be both a Frenchman and a socialist, a laugh of scorn may follow. Cressy, Agincourt, Trafalgar, and Waterloo, the triumphs of our commerce and manufactures, the old enmity of France, and the new ferocity of socialism, will crowd together upon his thoughts to account for so audacious a prophecy. He will be inclined to turn away in contempt or disgust. If, however, his patience has not already been exhausted by the reveries of Socialism, if he is but slightly acquainted with the style of such men as Ledru Rollin, his curiosity, his love of fair play, and his very confidence in his country's stability, may be sufficiently strong to overcome his first repugnance, and to induce him to examine, a little, the real nature of the work.

It consists of two volumes, and is divided into four books. The first book treats of the various aristocratical bodies, as Ledru Rollin terms them; and having opened with the Anglo-mania which pervaded France in the eighteenth century, closes with the rank which England now holds in the intellectual world. The second book is devoted to Ireland, America, India, coalitions, and the external policy of England. The third book professes to display the condition of the working classes in London,

and the state of agriculture, and of our manufacturing system. The fourth, and last, treats of public and private credit, of the Poor-law, free trade, and various kindred subjects. Then follows a contrast of the state of France, of course, adjudged superior to England in every respect, the whole being closed with a prolonged crash of triumphant notes, amusing enough to a spectator; but highly satisfactory, above all, to the performer himself.

However inferior to France M. Ledru Rollin supposes England to be, however doomed he thinks it is to a speedy downfall, he cannot help acknowledging, at least, its present greatness. He thus begins his "Exposition" of his subject:

"Is this book a paradox, as was said even before it was known? Is it a pamphlet? Is it a history? Blinded by a narrow spirit of nationality, have I shut my eyes to the imposing spectacle of England's greatness? Undoubtedly not. Who, in short, could deny, that since the Navigation Act, it has acquired the sovereignty of the seas, and that its power, whether naval, military, or mercantile, is now the first in the world? Who could deny, that trading and manufacturing England has become, under its laws, the greatest country in the world for production?.....Who could deny, in fine, that these British Islands, a point contemptible and lost upon the map of the universe, has ascended centuries back into the family of great empires, and held an illustrious place among the powers of history, and of the earth? We might as well deny the existence of light as deny these things. For in order to crush impotent rivalry, England would have but to show its fleets, its ports, its dominions, its banks, its fabrics, and cyclopean forges, its markets, its arsenals, its rich list of mercantile establishments, or fortresses, and those colonies, vassal or tributary, which give it a territory greater than the Roman empire. To speak only of its capital,—what wonders, in fine, riches, there are accumulated between these two banks of the Thames, which forests of masts people, and which all human activity agitates, furiously presses! There docks, deep and tranquil as bays, shelter, in their enclosed waters, thousands of ships.....The endless tributes of various nations are piled up with order, with symmetry, in gigantic magazines which, by themselves, are an entire city.....Yonder are timber yards for repairs, rigging factories, forges in which, beneath fire and the hammer, iron and steel are wrought.....Farther on, your brain is struck with dizziness: from one of those bold bridges thrown across the Thames, the eye is fatigued, the head turns with following, amidst a fantastic atmosphere of steam and smoke, those hundreds of vessels beneath your feet, ceaselessly beating with their wings the troubled and muddy waters of the river, which, like its

people, never reposes except on a Sunday. In the city, thousands of carriages, of omnibusses drawn by powerful horses, of phaetons, rapid as a dart ;—all increase, rush headlong, intermingle, separate without a word, bearing into the city to the two millions of inhabitants, man or revenue; whilst, upon the pavements, those vast lateral walks, a crowd intent on business moves in billows, pressed on every side, impassible as ciphers, silent as shades. And thus it is from the docks to the great parks, to the splendid squares of the new city, which forms an enclosure round this hell of heat and labour, as do the Elysian fields round Tenarus (Tartarus?).... The problem then is, not to know whether England is great or not; but whether its greatness can last.”—Tom. i. 7, 10.

To pronounce judiciously upon a question so momentous, so vast in all its bearings, a writer ought to have studied for years its various phases;—ought to have become familiar with the character and habits of the various classes of its inhabitants;—ought to have been able to compare opposing theories with the calmest deliberation;—and ought to have drunk copiously of the sources of law and history. Even then, what modest writer would undertake to pronounce dogmatically upon the coming ruin of a nation, which he acknowledges to be as yet in the full tide of greatness? Undeterred, however, by such a feeling, and with little preparation apparently, except such as the *Morning Chronicle*, and a few shallow statistical tables might afford him, M. Ledru Rollin at once addresses himself to the task.

The first object that claims his attention is, the “Aristocracy of the Soil.” This important analysis is despatched in six pages, and yet is full of inaccuracies. Thus, having asserted the number of proprietors to be scarcely 30,000, he adds that, at the time of the Norman conquest, the number was 60,000, and therefore deduces that land has become “concentrated in a smaller number of hands.” (Tom. i. p. 27.) Now the 60,000 men to whom he refers, were the knights that are said to have been assembled by William the Conqueror on Salisbury Plains. There is nothing, however, to show that every one of these knights was a proprietor. The very contrary: it is a well known fact, that the conqueror kept in his possession more than a thousand manors;—that his brother, Robert, had more than nine hundred;—and that scarcely any nobleman was so poor as to hold but a single manor, while each manor sent at least two knights to the assembly on Salisbury

Plains. The real number, then, at the conquest, appears to have been considerably below that which M. Ledru Rollin supposes to exist at the present day. It is true, on the other hand, that not only the manorial chieftains, but the knights, that were located upon portions of the greater part of the manors, may, in a modified sense, be considered proprietors. Yet even then we must deduct all those, (no inconsiderable number,) that were not so located. In this case we should be compelled to deny the premises, while we admit the conclusion.

Having summarily despatched the question of the number of proprietors, and having taken up no small part of his little space in describing how doomsday book was compiled, he would have us believe, that "this principle of pure feudalism, established eight hundred years ago, rules England at this moment in all its rigour." (T. i. p. 29.) That numerous elements and forms of feudalism remain both in the theory and practice of the law, there can be no question. But the assertion that there exists at this day a "pure feudalism in all its rigour," is nothing more nor less than a gratuitous paradox. What! notwithstanding the numerous charters of emancipation won during the middle ages in all parts of the kingdom;—notwithstanding the successful movement against feudal tenures marked out by the growth of commerce, and by the numerous acts of Mortmain, Uses, and Common Recoveries;—notwithstanding the extinction of villeinage centuries ago;—notwithstanding the purchase from the crown of its feudal rights in the first parliament of Charles II.;—notwithstanding that, to all intents and purposes, copyhold itself is, and long has been, save a trifling fine, as good as freehold, we are, after all, to be told, that the feudal system is at this day ruling us in all its rigour. We are to be told this, in one way or other, in almost every chapter; and the indignation of honest men is to be again and again evoked against this offspring of invasion, this well-compacted system of tyranny, by which landlords, trampling down "the rights of labour," fatten on the miseries of the poor! As if this was not enough, he adverts to one of the popular ballads in the days of Jack Straw and Wat the Tyler, and adds significantly enough: "This ballad, repeated from time to time, changed them from slaves to freemen. It is now six hundred years since that first step was taken, and still their misery, under another form, is quite as great.

When, then, will come the rallying-cry, the precursor of definitive emancipation!" (p. 32.)

This startling close of the chapter on the "Aristocracy of the Soil," we leave to the reflections of the enlightened reader. We pass on to the following chapter, that of the "Commercial Aristocracy." Here the scene opens at sea. We behold a Roman ship hastening over the billows with rapid stroke, and all its canvass set. At some distance before it, is a Carthaginian rival dashing itself upon a rock, that it may not show the way to Britain, the land of the far-famed tin mines. The scene, thus abruptly opened, is as abruptly closed. Its object is evidently to bring together, in strong contrast, England's past and future lot, —its past obscurity, its future annihilation.

"These two proud rivals, Rome and Carthage, who had arrived at such a point as to envy one another a desert country, little thought, that one day, when nothing remained of themselves but the name, England, the heir of their greatness, would spring up from an unknown isle. On this scene, in which all is changing, whence will arise the flag called to replace in its turn the English banner? This is a problem which it is perhaps in the destinies of America speedily to solve."

Strange would it be, he adds, as if unwilling to quit so congenial a topic; strange that America should be the beginning and end of England's maritime prosperity. The glitter of this antithesis seems to blind its author. With regard to the second limb of the assertion, we leave him to revel in his dream of the future. With regard, however, to the past, as "facts are stubborn things," a lively imagination, that disdains the caution of ordinary men, only produces and hurries on to unpleasant collision.

M. Ledru Rollin's object being to prove that the discovery of the New World was the beginning of England's maritime prosperity, he boldly puts forward the two-fold assertion, that the distinction of ranks, which was established by the Norman Conquest, only ceased in the reign of Henry VII., and that, immediately after the discovery of America, the commercial became a counterpoise to the might of the aristocratic class. He seems to have little idea, that, under the Anglo-Saxons, a merchant became a thane on no other title than that of a triple voyage with his own ship and cargo. He seems to have no notion, that ranks, after the Norman Conquest, were, in substance,

the same as before the battle of Hastings; that the distinction in race, attendant upon the Norman Conquest, began to fade almost immediately; that William of Malmesbury, the type, probably, of no inconsiderable class, was of mixed blood; that the grandmother of Henry II. was a pure Saxon, and that the amalgamation of the two races became completed under Richard and John. As little does he seem to remember that the merchants of London could stand side by side with the proudest barons, upholding the throne of Stephen, the grandson of the Conqueror; joining in the deliberations of the Great Council; sending mailed citizens into the field, that dared to encounter the fiery valour of Edward I., having among their numbers men, that, like Picard, could entertain kings, or, like Phillpots, issue, in their own ships, to chastise the piracies of the Scotch. We have but to decipher the names and doings recorded upon the tombs of the middle ages; we have but to look into the old charters of munificent foundations, or to glance at the muster roll of the merchant navy of our third Edward; and everywhere we are met by the fact of a mighty mercantile class, the power and wealth of which ensured the success of the party whose cause it espoused. "No middle class to counterpoise the might of the Aristocratic until the discovery of America!" This again supposes that at the time of the Discovery the Aristocracy required a counterpoise. Yet, to all intents and purposes, there was then no aristocratic class worth the name: it had been trodden down in the bloody fields of Towton, Barnet, and Tewkesbury. The upper ranks of the commons had suffered fearfully in the same unhappy strife. The political power of the lower, like that of the upper house, was a shadow. The mercantile classes, too, so far from having increased in strength, had lost most of their political influence; were unable to protect commerce from heavy and illegal taxes, and from a host of monopolies. England shared, indeed, in the enthusiasm with which Europe greeted the discoverers of the New World; but in the profit of their discoveries it had but a slender share. It was not to enter upon its new career as the mother of colonies and nations, no less than as the queen of the sea, until the victories of Penn and Blake had planted her flag on the shores of Jamaica, and extorted from the vanquished Dutch the acknowledgment of its maritime supremacy.

The first epoch, then, of England's commercial greatness, dates from the remote ages when the merchant-thane could sit in the royal council. The second epoch, dating from the calamitous era of Danish and Norman invasion, shows the British flag on every known sea, side by side with that of the Hanse towns, of Venice, and of Genoa. Its third epoch, that of its present greatness, dates from the bloody encounters with the Dutch under the Commonwealth and Charles II., and attained its meridian height at St. Vincent's, Aboukir, and Trafalgar. How, then, is it possible that any candid writer, referring to the sixteenth century, can term the middle class "a new power?"

Having in the next place stated his idea (no complimentary one) of the nature and riches of the "Commercial Aristocracy," Ledru Rollin thus sums up:—

"Thus the mercantile class, having become, if possible, more feudal, more tyrannical than the class of landlords, dazzling externally by its fleets, by its factories, by its conquests, always new, yet coolly slaying in the interior, driving a herd of men to these two extremes—consumption or folly! This is what, by a profanation of words, they have agreed to call the power of association!

"Accursed power! cause, then, the Rule Britannia to thunder in distant seas from the height of your victorious masts, that you may be answered from the mother country by the cries of misery and famine!"—t. i. p. 39.

What in this gentle explosion he calls the "accursed power" of association, appears to be mentioned in a very different manner in the second volume. There repudiating the idea that the excessive subdivision of land is one of the evils of France, he overwhelms it by the brief answer:—"the remedy is found: it exists in association." (p. 184.) Nor, as far as the ideas of Ledru Rollin are concerned, is there any real contradiction. For although he talks so vehemently against privileged classes, and the tyranny of capital, and stands forward, notwithstanding the miserable failure of the provisional government of '48, as the emancipator of labour, his remedy for all social evils is nothing more nor less than the centralization of credit in the hands of government! (t. ii. p. 194.)

It is clear that an association under such auspices would be compulsory, a new species of political slavery; and therefore no one need be surprised, however much amused, that he draws such different results from what he calls the

power of association. That kind of association of which he is the advocate, has no attractions for an Englishman, or for any other lover of genuine liberty. M. Ledru Rollin, again, does nothing more than trace the same idea to its legitimate consequences, when he gravely assures us that England, being too feudal, must become divided, as France is, and then may have a distant prospect of falling at last into the right kind of association! In such a process, since France is already subdivided enough in all conscience, (tracts of 100 or 150 acres being large estates), it would be always a step in advance; and thus, in M. Ledru Rollin's dream, England, having "a double evolution to accomplish," having first to break itself into single acres and half-acres, and then to be bound together by some magnetic influence of the government, would of course always limp behind!

Nor is this his only reason for triumph. England's insular position is an impediment to its progress, leaves it in isolation, the parent of "brutal practices," so that

"It is impossible that the inhabitants of an isle, considered in its whole extent, should share, as promptly as the continental nations, in the general movement that bears humanity forward towards progress. The electric fluid which clears the limits marked out by policy and ambition, evaporates before it arrives at the forbidden shores of the ocean."—*tom. ii. p. 178.*

Then let him do homage to the genius that can subdue these impossibilities: the electric telegraph no longer "evaporates on the shores of the ocean." The isolation is removed: London and Edinburgh can converse with Paris more readily than Bordeaux or Lyons.

England, in short, is an enigma which its enemies have yet to unravel. The strength with which it has abided the shock of revolution confounds their theories. English common sense knows well how easily the imagination bewilders the understanding. It is, therefore, very sparing in its belief of mere theories. It likes to test and verify by experience; to limit the vagaries of fancy by prudent observation. If it move along a dark, unknown path, it likes to feel its way, and leaves to others the admirable daring of plunging headlong they know not whither. The rule which the two Bacons applied to science was only this every-day rule of English life. It clings tenaciously to the sound maxim: "The experience of the past is the

safest guide of the future." Now this it is, above every earthly reason, which, in the absence of the true faith, has hitherto saved England from the follies of continental infidelity and continental revolutions. No wonder, then, that it is this, above all, that arouses the bile of the ten thousand Catalines, that have sworn the downfall of modern society. No wonder that such a declared revolutionist as M. Ledru Rollin should feel unusually sore when he gazes upon this ark of England's safety; should stigmatize it as a logic that "petrifies the understanding;" and, unable to attack it by arguments, should pour his unfailing vituperation upon this "policy of fact," this "social economy of fact," this "philosophy of fact," this "law of fact," this "people of fact and of immoveable traditions." (tom. i. pp. 76, &c.)

Nor is England an enigma merely from the cohesive strength and practical tendencies of its institutions: it is no less so from its greater or less admixture of all the three elements of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy. While the Russian is surprised at our republican ideas and principles, Ledru Rollin sees nothing but aristocracy: its tenures of land, its laws, its commerce, its government; its kings, lords, and commons; its constituencies, its middle classes, its judges, juries, journalists, every grade and individual that has any duty or privilege in the country's concerns, are all thrown together, class after class, into his motley aristocracy, are all condemned as such, both individually, as far as may be, as well as collectively, are all cut off from that part of the nation which M. Ledru Rollin is pleased to term the people, in a word, are all to perish in the impending ruin. We might think that one or two public men, whose leaning to Chartism is evident, might be excepted; but not a word of such exception. Indeed how could there be? All associations not proceeding from government, must, he has already assured us, be broken up, and their component parts follow in the wake of France. Well, but, at least, such a man as O'Connell might, if mentioned at all, be treated with respect. He is no friend of Saxon tyranny, and was the leader in the last battle for emancipation. No matter, is the fierce rejoinder, he was "the friend of the Whigs, the courtly tribune that humbled Ireland so often at the feet of his *gracious queen*," who "knew well that his promise, sown upon every wind, was a lie," who, "being richly supported upon the rents

of the poor, showed them an horizon that was always receding." "A day will come when Ireland, freed by its democratic revolution, will curse his memory!!" (Tom. i. p. 91.)

Although resolved to try every thing by his own standard of a democracy that has never existed, M. Ledru Rollin might, at least, have summed up the good, as well as the evil, results, and so have struck a fair balance of accounts. This, however, would hardly suit his purpose: to hold forth a picture of evils, as unmitigated as possible, by any appearance of good, and to raise over it a yell, not of heart-breaking grief, but of savage triumph, is the sum and substance of the book. Had M. Ledru Rollin been a Samnite, and lived during the struggles of the Roman Plebs and Populus, he would undoubtedly have raised the same prophetic Pæan that he now breathes forth against England. Had he then beheld Rome, despite of his denunciations, steadily advancing in its career of conquest, he would have, perhaps, honoured it with a visit, and after the first emotions of astonishment at the tokens of its numerous triumphs, as well as at its population of warriors, its senate of kings, he would have discovered with exultation that a large class was impoverished and discontented; that justice was sometimes tardily administered, sometimes turned aside by money or personal influence, and sometimes actually set at defiance; that the advocates of the lower classes were not unfrequently cut off by private or even public assassination; that the great magistrates were, and always had been, almost virtually irresponsible. Now, at least, would he have sounded a note of triumph over its impending downfall. Yet Rome still continued to set its foot upon the necks of kings; and when at last, in the lapse of time, its people had lost that sense of natural rectitude, without which freedom is an empty sound, then did Rome, like modern France, fall into revolution after revolution, groaning under dictators and triumvirs, until it sank fainting beneath imperial despotism. Yet even so, though it be eaten up with the corruption of riches and luxury, let no self-appointed prophet of evils venture to open his mouth. Rome will yet be the terror of nations. It will yet look proudly up to the trophied columns that tell of vanquished Dacia and Allemannia. Not till four centuries have elapsed, will it shriek for mercy, when Gothic torch and sabre are gleaning in its

streets; not till a fifth century has elapsed, will it have sunk paralysed for ever, "the Niobe of nations."

Thus has it ever been: nations have stood or fallen, baffling alike the short-sighted calculations of men. If abuses are a mark of decay, no government ought to have lasted a generation. Where is the class, whether rich or poor, that has not its unhappy accompaniment of abuses and crimes? Nay, where is the individual that is free from blemish? Do we expect more perfection, taking men as they are, when individuals, thus imperfect in private life, are raised to pre-eminence, to a post, that is, of greater power and greater temptation? If, then, England has its faults, it only shares in the misery of all earthly things. To do justice to any country, it is not enough even to sum up its follies or its crimes, but to show how far such a sum exceeds the usual proportion of good. Until this be done, no conclusion can be trust-worthy.

It matters not that he tells us with matchless confidence: "I have analysed systems, I have followed all perspectives, all possible revolutions, I have sounded all outlets, and every where I have found written these fatal words: "The Decline of England." (Tom. i. p. 20.) This confidence, unless based upon some such system as we have stated above, must be utterly groundless. Perhaps, however, he may prop up his assertion by argument. Are, then, his arguments more trust-worthy than his facts? A glance will suffice to show. He points to Carthage, Venice, Holland, and Spain, and tells us significantly: "they quickly passed." Yet if we think it worth while to listen to such an argument, how does it follow, that because some maritime states have lost their pre-eminence, every other must be involved in the same permature decline? Were the circumstances of England the same, the comparison would be just. Yet how totally different are those circumstances. Tyre, Carthage, and Venice, were in their origin but single towns. They ultimately made many a petty state their tributary; but they never knew what it was to be surrounded by a territory hundreds of miles in extent, abounding in well-worked mines, and swarming with freemen of the same race. Even when they successively attained to the supremacy of the Mediterranean, their fleets were crowded with foreign mercenaries. Let an active enemy like Agathocles enter their territory, though with but a handful of men, and in a few days nothing is

left but the strongly-fortified capital. One disastrous war, and the results are fatal. How strikingly different to Rome and to Carthage, were the consequences of the first Punic war. Rome had a subject territory scarcely the size of England and Scotland; and of this the home territory was less than Wales. Yet the population of the whole being of kindred race, and that of the home territory being numerous and free, it speedily recovered its strength. Carthage, on the other hand, had but the inhabitants of two or three cities, that it could call its own in blood and friendship: it, therefore, never recovered. The mercenaries on whom it was obliged to depend, added to its wounds. The second Punic war broke out; but it can scarcely be called the war of Carthage against Rome: it was that of Hannibal, of a single general, and almost a single army. Where are now the Carthaginian fleets? Why are they not bearing help to the gallant leader that has won Thrasymene and Cannæ? Because the strength of Carthage had departed; the wounds already inflicted were producing a languishing but certain death. Had Cato never uttered his *Delenda est Carthago*, had the third Punic war never taken place, Carthage would probably, by the mere force of circumstances, have sunk to the level of Syracuse, Byzantium, and Rhodes.

What has been said of Carthage will apply, though with considerable modifications, to Holland. Yet Holland has sunk to a secondary state only through the combined external pressure of England and France. No power of so small a territory, if unsupported by maritime resources, could so long have defied its opponents. Spain has never been a purely maritime power: its decline has been owing to causes that may easily be enumerated. Had it not been for recent disasters, more especially those attendant upon the wars of the French Revolution, it might already have re-asserted something of its ancient glory. Its decline has probably been accidental; has hardly touched its vital principles.

M. Ledru Rollin himself seems to think his comparison with these nations incomplete: he points now to Roman greatness and decline. The only difference is, that the barbarians, to whom England is to owe its ruin, are "those tribes of men who raise to heaven their fleshless arms, asking for bread; it is an entire nation, whose life depends upon the chances of a universal market, which

will be closed to-morrow." (p. 12.) Whilst we are still wondering at this announcement, another follows that almost forces us to throw aside the book in disgust. He appeals, in support of his assertion that England's social strength is exhausted, to those "true thinkers of this country, whose intelligence is so lofty as not to believe the stupid and fatal dogma of the perpetuity of evil in this world." (p. 12.) Where, however, has he learned so certainly, that evil will cease its career before the great accounting day? Has he learned it either in the past or present? Too certainly the experience of all past ages, and no less of the present day, proclaims that evil has never yet ceased upon the earth. Has he then learned it in the future? Assuredly man's reason cannot penetrate far in that direction. Even the little it can discover, it learns through its knowledge of the past and present. Then since the understanding has no other means of information, M. Ledru Rollin must have learned it (there is no other alternative) from his imagination. For certainly he cannot mean that pure disbelief itself is the mark of a lofty intellect; since, in this case, any wrong-headed mortal in the world would be one of these lofty intellects, and the more lofty according to the amount of his obstinacy!

Of the same class, though more within the range of probabilities, is his picture of fleshless arms stretching forth for bread. This, however, he acknowledges, depends upon the distant contingency of the markets of the world becoming closed (he should at least have added *suddenly* closed) to our commerce. What he says of the starving condition of the labouring classes at the present time, is more likely to attract attention; yet is clearly overwrought. Is, however, the pauperism, to which he so frequently refers, a symptom of decay and approaching ruin? Supposing the numbers thrown out of work to be extremely numerous, and the times of crisis frequent and prolonged, there may be a limit beyond which discontent and suffering, on one side, and coldness and selfishness, on the other, might lead to a democratic revolution; or a limit at which scarcity might involve in ruin all but the larger capitalists, and then a hostile blow from without might prostrate the nation. These, it must be acknowledged, are extreme cases. Yet it is within the range of probabilities. Fertile and well-cultivated lands have been smitten with famine, and countries of the first rank have sunk beneath a combina-

tion of adverse circumstances. Nor is a revolution more remote. Those that have seen with what ease the mob on Kennington Common was suppressed, may be inclined to smile at the idea. They may smile, we trust, in safety. Yet let them not be too secure: security is not the usual harbinger of victory. It is a fact which we must still look in the face, that among the lower classes many, especially of the mechanics, are deeply discontented. They were put down easily, it is true; but with so much previous panic, and with as great a display of numerical strength, as if a hostile and victorious army were upon our shores. Supposing, however, that all future insurrections can be as easily quelled, it surely cannot be the intention to rule the masses by truncheon and bayonet. Then if not, by what means is it proposed to rule? You say by education. But have you not been extending education for years, and have you found the discontent proportionably diminished? Then education, so far, has not succeeded. Nor will it succeed until, in place of words and mere facts, and other such unfruitful knowledge, you plant in the hearts of the poor an antidote to the cheap books that are copied or translated in shoals from French or German infidelity;—until you can induce the working classes to suppress, by their own efforts, the blasphemous, filthy, and seditious accents that resound almost incessantly in so many of our workshops and factories;—until, in short, you can infuse into your instructions the vivifying power of simple, practical religion. The absence of such a power is our most alarming danger. Till this be rectified, it is hardly worth enquiring how far commerce or study, by creating and supplying new wants, either bodily or intellectual, might divert the attention of the masses. All the theories of political economists must here be useless. What have the mechanics' institutions done? What has the mass of cheap literature done? What can such means possibly do? Knowledge is power undoubtedly; but in the hands of men without principle, what is this power but a weapon in the hands of a madman? First cure the madness, and then, if you will, give the weapon. First, let the poor benighted workmen be led back by common sense, to the simple but satisfying principles of revealed religion;—of that religion which will teach them to subdue their passions, which will teach them the meaning of the blessing that has been pronounced upon the poor, and upon those

that mourn here below. But at once arises the answer, who can teach them? who can thus persuade men so long abandoned, for the most part, to their own fallen natures? Are none to be found? Some will whisper, give them the bible. Has it not been given them for three centuries? Is it not, moreover, true, that many amongst them have as little faith in it as the very heathens? As yet, all means have failed. The evil is still amongst us: unseen, unthought of, perhaps; yet not the less active and devouring. Are we to sit down in despair? God forbid: there is, perhaps, one remedy, there can hardly be another. Bring in the religious orders. Do you smile incredulously? This remedy has not been tried: all others have. Whether you apply a remedy or not, the evil is there festering in the depths of society, ever, ever increasing. Here is our plague-spot indeed, to which our enemies point, as we sometimes point to the blood-stained socialism of France, or to American slave-markets. One good symptom, however, there is: Englishmen of late have not altogether ignored its existence, have even searchingly explored the evil. But, meantime, the remedy seems as far from their reach as the philosopher's stone from that of the alchemists of old.

Whilst we thus acknowledge, in some degree, the truthfulness of M. Ledru Rollin's account of the condition of the poor, it must be added, that this account contains nothing new. From the time of the enquiries, nearly twenty years ago, into the results of the old poor-law of 1782, up to the last exposures in the recent letters of the *Morning Chronicle*, the state of the labouring classes has been repeatedly laid before the public. All that M. Ledru Rollin has done, has been to collect some of the worst cases; to declaim upon these with fiery vehemence, and to tell of the near approach of "proletarian" triumph. The new socialism (of course under the auspices of M. Ledru Rollin) is to open an era unheard of in the history of man; a new golden age, when labour will have its rights, and evil will cease upon the earth. Can any man of common sense be for a moment deluded by such fantastic promises?

When, however, hard-working men can scarcely find bread for their children; when they see many of their own class and circumstances forced to take refuge in the Union-house, they are gradually, though almost uncon-

sciously, prepared for any change: their condition may become better, it can scarcely become worse. Talk to such of equality, the rights of labour, and self-government,—will they be indifferent? In the days of Jack Straw and Wat the Tyler, equality and the rights of man were as talismanic with those that were struggling in the chains of Feudalism, as the same words became when clothed in the epigrammatic diction of Rousseau, and thundered forth in the clubs of the Jacobins. As man's nature, taken in the mass, remains unchanged, what may not be the effect of such words when reiterated again and again in the ears of men that scarcely know how to live?

This appeal to the ignorance and passions of the lower orders, reminds us of a graver fault than mere political folly, and which pervades the entire work: it is the frequent use of expressions that grate harshly in the ears of a Christian, or that savour of open blasphemy. Thus in the closing section of the first book, he coolly disposes of the star that led the wise men to Bethlehem, as "at bottom only a myth!" Since he so heartily wishes England at the bottom of the sea, we would recommend him to try and make her vanish at once by this same magic announcement: "England is at bottom only a myth." For assuredly one fact can be thus as easily disposed of as any other. It is, however, in his last chapter, in his glance at French History, that he comes forth as the undisguised revolutionist and infidel. Is there any unbeliever in past ages who had pretensions to some knowledge and cleverness? he is hailed by M. Ledru Rollin, in his chaos of terms, as an emancipator of the human mind. Is there any expression which religion has consecrated to its own meaning? these he delights to pluck down to the most ordinary uses: gospel, martyrs,—nay, even the name of the Blessed Trinity are thus applied. In short, names and ideas, reasoning and baseless theory, the past and the future, all are blended and fused together as best suits his purpose. Thus does he march to the close with stately pace and loud blast of triumphant notes, and solemn prophetic announcement of the coming meridian of France's glory, and the coming night of England's shame!

Similar dreams have in all ages been the food of disappointed and irritated minds. But to M. Ledru Rollin has it been reserved to propound his visions as realities, to extort, on the one hand, our belief in a future

which has no warrant in man's experience or heaven's revelation, and to have himself, on the other, no belief, except in the sovereignty of the human mind, and this too, "against faith, against dogmas, against all authority;"—to be, in one word, a bigoted believer in his own opinions, and a sceptic in everything else.

ART. II.—*Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V. and his Ambassadors at the Courts of England and France. From the Original Letters in the Imperial Family Archives at Vienna; with a Connecting Narrative and Biographical Notices of the Emperor and of some of the most distinguished Officers of his Army and Household; together with the Emperor's Itinerary from 1519—1551.* Edited by W. BRADFORD, M.A., formerly Chaplain to the British Embassy at Vienna. 8vo. London: Bentley, 1850.

IF a commentary on the historical value of such publications as the present could be deemed necessary, it would be found in a casual observation let fall by one of the ablest and most accomplished statesmen of the age of Charles V. in an exceedingly interesting memoir preserved in Mr. Bradford's volume. The writer to whom we refer—Navagiero, Envoy of the Venetian Republic, commences the account of his diplomatic mission by reminding the Doge to whom it is addressed, that "nothing in this world can be more hidden and obscure than the heart and mind of man generally, unless it be *the heart and mind of an emperor, which may be deemed all but impenetrable.*" Amid such principles of state-craft as these, we can easily understand how little of the true history of a period can be safely gathered from its overt proceedings and public events; how much of what meets the eye may have been meant, if not to deceive and mislead, at least to conceal the real intention of the agents; how insecure and uncertain many indications which an uninitiated observer will receive without enquiry and even without suspicion, may prove to be, when duly sifted and examined; and, at the best, what a perplexing task must be his who, assisted solely by public events and official records, would discover a clue to the labyrinth of ambitious and selfish passions by which the actors were influenced,

and the maze of hidden and ulterior designs, not a trace of which presents itself upon the surface.

In an age remarkable for these hidden acts of statecraft, the policy of the Emperor Charles V. is well known to have been peculiarly hidden and mysterious. Even if his character for sincerity were perfectly immaculate; if he could claim a complete exemption from the more dishonourable acts of falsehood and treachery which characterised many of his contemporaries, he yet carried to a perfection which few statesmen in any age have rivalled, that "impenetrability" to which Navagiero alludes. Calm, passionless, self-possessed, proof against every impulse of anger or of surprise, he enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the power of withholding, even from those by whom he was surrounded, the hopes and fears by which he was actuated, the designs which he entertained, and the real purpose of the measures which he undertook. And, while he was thus shut up within himself, and protected by this habitual inscrutability even against the most sagacious observer, he was able to penetrate, by a sort of intuition, the most hidden schemes of his antagonists, and, in more than one instance, was indebted to this singular faculty for his preservation against the meditated treachery of supposed adherents.

The confidential correspondence of such a statesman will readily be believed not alone to possess the highest value, but to be, in good truth, indispensable for the interpretation of the public acts of his political life; and the publication of a series of letters, reports, and other documents, illustrating this period of German history by Baron Hormayr,* the Keeper of the Imperial Archives at Vienna, had the effect rather of exciting the curiosity of the learned than of exhausting the interest of the subject. The editor of the present volume, at that time chaplain of the British embassy at Vienna, obtained permission to copy, in the imperial archives, all the letters and other documents which had, either entirely or in part, been published by Baron Hormayr. The value of the Baron's publication was considerably impaired by his having contented himself with a German translation of the originals, which are, for the most part, either Latin, Spanish, or French; and

* In the *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats—und Kriegskunst*.

it is much to be regretted that Mr. Bradford has, in part at least, fallen into the same mistake. He would have added materially to the usefulness, as well as to the authority of his volume, by giving, in an appendix, the originals of the documents which he has embodied in his collection, instead of merely printing, in foot-notes, a few occasional extracts of what he himself considers the most important passages. Not that in those portions of the original which are thus given, there appears any reason to suspect the general accuracy or truthfulness of Mr. Bradford's translation; but, as the documents themselves are alone to be regarded as the true historical materials, it is desirable that, once for all, they should be made public in themselves, and placed beyond the possibility of any mutilation or mis-translation, from whatever source it might arise.

At the same time, we must own to a feeling of disappointment in the perusal of the contents of Mr. Bradford's collection. As illustrating the *personal* character of Charles, it adds very little to what has long been familiarly known. Of his own letters, it contains little more than a dozen; and they are all of a purely political cast. There is nothing in these letters which exhibits Charles in any other than his public capacity; not a single trait of the lover, the husband, or the friend; and, (if we except a few gleams of affection which appear in the correspondence with his brother Ferdinand,) not one of those unbosomings for which we are wont to look to private correspondence as revelations of the real character and dispositions of the writer. He is, in every one of them, what his biographers represent him in real life, the statesman, the politician, and, above all, the emperor; and, although in the notices with which Mr. Bradford has interspersed the correspondence, there are many interesting anecdotes illustrative of his dispositions, pursuits, and habits of thought, yet such second-hand notices are necessarily far inferior in attractiveness, as well as in value, to those self-revelations which constitute the great charm of autobiography or autobiographical correspondence.

From the title of the volume, too, it will be seen, that the correspondence, even such as it is, leaves untouched a large space of the public life of the emperor. It is confined to his transactions with the courts of France and England. There is not a single letter bearing upon the affairs of Italy, of Germany, of Spain, or of the Netherlands, except in so far:

as these are bound up with the great struggle of Charles's life—his contest with Francis I. Hence, on precisely those points on which his history most needs illustration, Mr. Bradford's volume is especially defective. We have nothing from it of his long and complicated negotiations with the Roman court—especially with Clement VII. and Julius III.; nothing of the history of his government of the hereditary realms of Spain and the Netherlands, so important as a key to the revolutions which both have since undergone; nothing of the obstinate and vexatious contests with the Protestant states of the empire, which formed the bitterest elements of his political life; above all, nothing of his religious contests with his own subjects—his religious negotiations with the Holy See—his schemes of conciliation—his baffled attempts to mediate between the parties, and to remove or explain away the grounds of doctrinal separation. And the disappointment in this particular will be the more keen, when it is remembered that the treasures of the archives of Vienna contain more unexplored materials for this precise branch of the subject than all the rest in Europe. Take, for example, the history of the great Council of Trent and its preliminary negotiations. The records of these transactions, deposited in the Vatican, have been exhausted by the masterly work of Pallavicino. Fra Paolo Sarpi had the freest access to the archives of the Venetian Republic, though his use of them was most arbitrary and unscrupulous. Le Plat has left little unexplored in the libraries of France or the Netherlands. Ranke has, in later times, renewed and perfected the investigation of the most remarkable of these. But the most important and richest treasure-house of them all, after Rome itself—the imperial archives, which comprise the reports, despatches, memoranda, and other official records, not alone of the representatives of the empire, but also of those of the kingdom of Spain, are still comparatively unexplored; and, from the moment we learned that Vienna had been the theatre of Mr. Bradford's researches, we could not suppress an almost feverish anxiety to learn how far he had availed himself of the opportunity which it afforded of contributing to the illustration of the obscure and complicated negotiations of the imperial representatives at the council in all its stages.

We had looked, too, with almost equal interest, for some new light upon the history of the discussions and confer-

ences of Augsburg in 1530, and of those of Ratisbon in the two projects of the re-union of which, at a later period, that city was the scene. On these subjects, the Catholic side of the history has never been fully elaborated; and the materials for this purpose are to be found chiefly, if not exclusively, in the same repository at Vienna. But to these subjects, and to the many kindred ones which make so large a portion of the religious history of Germany for the first thirty years after the Reformation, there is not, in all Mr. Bradford's documents, the most distant allusion.

They are indeed confined exclusively, or nearly so, to the affairs of the two courts of England and France, which they directly regard; and, even on these affairs, they are far from realizing our anticipations. When it is remembered how closely Charles was involved, by his relationship to the ill-fated Queen Catherine, in the contests of Henry with the See of Rome on the question of her divorce, it was not unnatural to expect, from the examination of the Viennese archives, some new revelations regarding this important subject. But we can hardly be said to have received any new light whatsoever; nor does the little that can be discovered even go to modify, in any important particular, the judgments, whether of men or of events, which had been formed upon the existing materials. Indeed, from an observation in Mr. Bradford's Introduction, we are disposed to infer that his opportunities of investigation were by no means of a large or unrestricted character, and that, in fact, he was only permitted to make copies of those letters which Baron Hormayr had previously published, either entirely or in part.

But although the collection is thus imperfect, as an illustration of the general history of Charles V.; and although, even as regards those portions of it which are immediately connected with the courts of England and France, it is by no means complete, still it must be admitted, that it contains many very curious and interesting materials. Of these the letters of the Emperor, (although, as we have said, but little characteristic,) are among the most important. The despatches of Bernard de Mezza, bishop of Badajoz and Perpignan, of Louis de Praet, of John de Marnix, and, above all, of Eustace Chapuys, (the Capucins of Shakespeare)—all, at successive intervals, envoys at the English court—contain some new facts, and abound with interesting personal incidents, and sketches of cha-

racter. The editor, too, has interspersed through the volume a miscellaneous collection of letters from other distinguished officers of the court or camp of Charles, of the constable Bourbon, the duke of Alva, the marquis of Pescara, Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples, Adrian de Croy, and others of minor note. But by far the ablest and most interesting paper of the entire collection, is a Report addressed to the Doge of Venice, by the envoy of the Republic, Bernardo Navagiero. This distinguished man was a member of a noble Venetian family, and, although an ecclesiastic by profession, and eventually Bishop of Verona and Cardinal of the Roman Church, took a very active part in the political affairs of his time. To many of our readers he may be best known by the share which he had in the discussions of the Council of Trent, during its third and closing period; but he was also one of the most accomplished diplomatists of the day, and was employed in many embassies in the service of the Republic. The report in question was presented on his return from a diplomatic residence of nearly three years at the court of the Emperor, in the years 1544, 45, and 46, a period of the utmost interest, considered politically, for the state which he represented, and memorable also in its religious relations for the well known discussions regarding the opening of the council of Trent, and the conflicting civil and ecclesiastical interests which were brought into collision. From this most curious and important document, we shall extract, before we close, a few of the most remarkable passages. It is drawn up with the utmost clearness, brevity, and decision, and is remarkable for the boldness and originality, as well as strength and candour of its views of the men and the events of the time. There is scarcely one of the members of the Imperial court whom it does not pass in review. The Emperor himself, his character, his pursuits, his dispositions, his likings and antipathies, his relations to other courts and sovereigns, his resources, civil and military, his counsellors, and the views and motives by which they are supposed to be influenced, his probable intentions and designs, not only in relation to the Republic itself, but to all the other powers of Europe, and the states of the Empire especially, are all submitted to the most careful discussion, and described with a vigour, a terseness, and a precision, which, in matters of so much delicacy, and involving so many nice and difficult considerations, we have never seen

equalled in any composition of the same character. He transports us, as it were, into the very circle in which he himself moves; and it is impossible to read his report without feeling that a minister who could command, throughout the courts of his allies, a staff of such diplomatists as Navagiero, might pursue his foreign policy with as much security, and take his measures with as much certainty as to their result, as though he were himself resident in each and every one of the courts in which he is thus ably represented.

The most interesting portion of the correspondence of the English ambassadors, is that which regards the fortunes of Cardinal Wolsey, upon which it tends to throw a little new light, or at least to confirm certain notions which have been put forward in opposition to the earlier and more generally received opinions. Wolsey's general character it leaves just as it stands in the traditionary view of it, which has been current from the days of Shakespeare downwards. But there are some particular points in his history which it goes a considerable way to clear up. One of these is the account of his candidature for the Papacy, on occasion of both the vacancies which occurred during the days of his ascendancy, upon the death of Leo X. Dec. 1, 1521, and again, on the death of Adrian VI., Sep. 14, 1523. It is well known that, in both these instances, his pretensions were supported by all the influence of his own sovereign; and it is equally certain, that Charles V., not only on occasion of his visits to England in 1520 and 1522, and of their interview at Bruges, alluded to by him in one of his letters, but also after the vacancy had actually occurred, had given the strongest and most distinct assurances of his cordial and earnest co-operation for the same object.

It has been often asserted, nevertheless, that either in the giving of these pledges, or at least, in the actual steps towards their fulfilment, Charles was utterly insincere. Robertson,* with a sneer at the Emperor's "magnificent promises," says, that in the conclave in which Adrian was chosen, Wolsey's name was scarcely mentioned; and attributes Adrian's election "to the influence of Don John Manuel, the Imperial ambassador;"† and in his account of

* Charles, V. ii. 192.

† Ibid, 193.

the subsequent election on the death of Adrian, although he speaks doubtingly, he evidently leans to the belief that Charles had either "amused the English Cardinal with vain hopes which he never meant to justify," or that he "judged it impolitic to oppose a candidate, who had such a prospect of succeeding as De Medici."* Other historians, while they differ materially as to the circumstances, agree with Robertson as to the treachery of the Emperor. This Gaillard, in his life of Francis I., attributes to him a still more dishonourable duplicity. According to him the Imperial agents, in all their public proceedings, ostentatiously abetted the claims of Wolsey, but in secret, and under cover of this intrigue, gave all their influence to Adrian. "By this cunning manœuvre," he writes, "they made Wolsey believe that the Emperor had not failed in his promises; and even the sharp-sighted Italians themselves were deceived. The election went on without any decisive movement. Wolsey and Medici, by turns, had the preference, yet neither could gain the required superiority. The Cardinals at length, growing tired of this ebb and flow, and Adrian's party now considering itself strong enough, our Cardinal at length, as if by divine inspiration, submitted the name and the election was carried." But he adds, "that ever since the death of Leo, the Imperial party had been agreed as to what the result should be, and had made all their preparations with a view to it."

Dr. Lingard, with his characteristic accuracy, leaves the sincerity of Charles unimpeached as regards the first election,† and attributes Wolsey's failure at the second, not to any want of zeal on the Emperor's part, but to "the obstinacy of the French cardinals, who would never concur in the choice of a man the most dangerous opponent of their sovereign."‡

The correspondence of the Imperial envoys in England, upon both occasions, decidedly confirms this view; and especially relieves the memory of Charles from the suspicion of treachery towards Wolsey on the occasion of the first vacancy.

It is well known that the death of Leo X. was entirely unexpected, and took even his closest and most confiden-

* *Ibid*, ii. 259.† *Hist. of England* vi. 61.‡ *Ibid*, 74.

tial friends completely by surprise. He was carried off by a sudden illness in the very vigour of life, at the moment when his prospects were brightest and most cheering, and almost in the very hour of the accomplishment of his most cherished plans for the consolidation of his power. The vacancy thus created came upon all parties entirely without notice. In the prospect of a long reign for the actual occupant of the papal chair, few, hardly even the aspirants themselves, had begun really to speculate as to the succession; and for the foreign courts, especially the shortness of the conclave, and altogether the brief interval between the death of Leo X., and the election of his successor, afforded scarcely room for the expression of a wish, much less for the accomplishment of a systematic intrigue in furtherance of their respective interests.

And, indeed, even considered in itself, still more judged by the correspondence now made public, the interest of Charles would seem to have directly coincided with that of Wolsey in this election. It is painful to see the highest office in the Church made the subject of [these interested speculations. Nothing can be more plain, however, from the communications interchanged between the Emperor and De Mezza, the Imperial ambassador in England, than the exceeding value which this far-seeing monarch attached to the friendship of Henry at that crisis, and the almost nervous anxiety with which he sought to engage the friendly services of Wolsey as a means towards securing the continuance of his master's good offices. On the other hand, nothing could be more complete than the devotion to the Emperor's interests, or to the interests of Henry and of the Emperor, (which were then identified), than that professed by Wolsey. He declared "with most solemn oaths and protestations," that "there was no labour he would refuse in order to merit his confidence," and that "the chief benefit and emolument he could look to in such an advancement was the exaltation of their majesties.* In truth, if Charles desired a devoted instrument, (and it is painful to see that in this and the subsequent election to the papacy this was his primary consideration), it would not be possible to find one more devoted than Wolsey is represented in this correspondence; and his election to the papacy would possess for Charles

* De Mezza's Letter, Dec. 19, 1521, p. 18.

this advantage over that even of an equally attached servant from among his own subjects, that it would form a lasting bond of that English alliance to which he looked as his main support, not alone in his contest with Francis, but in the maintenance of his domestic influence and authority in the internal government of the Empire itself.

We shall not be justified, therefore, without the most conclusive evidence to the contrary, in lightly impeaching the sincerity of the desire which Charles professed for the cardinal's elevation. Now the correspondence before us not only contains no evidence of the alleged insincerity, but rather establishes the opposite conclusion.

Leo X. died December 1, 1521. On the 14th of that month. Charles, who was then at Ghent, addressed to his ambassador in London the following letter, anticipating, as will be seen, all application on the part of Wolsey, or of the king Henry on his behalf, and in truth written before the intelligence of the Pope's death had reached England.

“Reverend father in God, dear and loyal!

“On our arrival in this our city of Ghent in the evening, after our return from hunting, we received your letters of the 12 of this month, containing matter of much satisfaction, to which we are not able to make an immediate reply; but we hasten, this post, expressly to transmit to you letters to our good uncle the King, and to Monseigneur the legate. I send also your credentials, and desire you to announce on our part to the aforesaid, the decease of our holy father the Pope, as was yesterday made known to you by our Grand Chancellor. In doing of which, I entirely rely on your skill and address, being particularly desirous that they should understand, that we lost no time in acquainting them with this event; and that what our said Chancellor did in this behalf, was done only in consequence of our absence.

“We wish you further to inform Monseigneur the Legate on our part, that we have never failed to have his advancement and elevation in view; and that we most willingly hold to the promise made to him at Bruges, respecting the papal dignity; requiring only to know his own wishes, and the measures he would advise, in order to use in this affair, and in every other which concerns his interest, all the power and influence without any reserve, which we can command.

“And although we are of opinion that this election is not likely speedily to be brought to issue, and that the Cardinal of York stands well already; we are nevertheless desirous of approaching nearer to Italy than we now are, to give the most effectual proof of our cordial affection; and in our earnest desire to do for him more than

for any other person, we may thus apply ourselves the more readily to the accomplishment of his wishes."—pp. 21—23.

Before the above letter had reached its destination, Charles's ambassador had entered into an understanding to the same effect with Henry and the Cardinal. On the 19th he addressed a dispatch to the Emperor.

"Most sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty !

"On the 16th of this month after dinner at Richmond, where the King and the Cardinal were, the latter informed me, that he had received letters from the French King, which he shewed me, and the contents of which I will presently communicate to your Majesty : and further, that he had heard from the ambassador of the said King, that the death of the Pope was fully confirmed, and that the Cardinal of Medici was at Rome, that your Majesty's and the papal armies were disbanded, and that the affairs of the French in Italy were returning into their former train. These things the Ambassador writes from the mouth of the King himself. At this news the king of England is disturbed and alarmed. Two things according to his judgment ought immediately to be attended to, and provided; first, that the kingdom of Naples should hence receive no injury, a matter to be strictly looked to by your Majesty's generals; and secondly, that especial care be taken in the ensuing election to the Popedom, in order to the bringing forward a person devoted to the interests of both your Majesties, and in whom both may repose mutual and absolute confidence. And for these purposes, it seemed most expedient to the King and Cardinal that your Majesty's army in Italy should be kept up in its complete efficiency, as well for the peace of the aforementioned kingdom, as for maintaining security in the forthcoming election. With regard to the person to be elected to this dignity, the said King of England expresses his most decided and very earnest desire, that it should be the most reverend the Cardinal of York; and is anxious beyond what I can express, that your Majesty should concur in this; and in order that nothing may be omitted which on his part might lead to its success, he has determined to send an envoy to Rome, with letters persuasive and commendatory to the Cardinals, in favour of the said Cardinal of York, written after the form and purport of which I am about to speak. But since the King of England, as he most strenuously affirms, has no intention to do or to attempt anything but in perfect concert and understanding with your Majesty, and since there is but one mind, and one interest between you; he proposes sending the said envoy, not direct to Rome, but to your Majesty, in order that his instructions being submitted to your Majesty in person, (he being heard in explanation of them) may be approved or altered according to your Majesty's pleasure, which he will have strict

orders to comply with, in every particular. Besides in a negotiation so delicate, where inconvenience might arise, unless conducted with the utmost caution, and particularly when the chances in favor of the said Cardinal of York may turn out less probable than is hoped ; it is thought expedient to provide against such a contingency, by taking good care that the Cardinal of Medicis, his most powerful opponent, should not be offended. In order therefore to secure his friendship, measures are to be so arranged, as to shew that your Majesties in all your proceedings are doing nothing to his prejudice, but even all for his advantage ; unless it should appear that his chance was small, and then that every possible effort should be made openly for the most reverend the Cardinal of York.

“It is with this design that the King of England writes two letters to the Cardinals, one in favor of the Cardinal of York, and the other in favor of the Cardinal of Medicis, and suggests, that your Majesty, if it so please you, should do the like, and that his Envoy associated with your Majesty's Ambassador at Rome (the Sieur John Manuel) should make use of the said letters according to circumstances, and say and do whatever else your Majesty may judge more convenient.

“Moreover, since the Envoy to be charged with this commission may not be able to accomplish the object here referred to, either because your Majesty might direct otherwise, or other impediments might occur ; his most serene Majesty of England has selected a person duly qualified to serve and negotiate many other of your common interests in those parts, for which his presence may be requisite. The person named is Richard Page, first secretary of the King, and an approved servant of your Majesty, whom the King sends in full assurance of his seal and fidelity, ‘as if he had sent his very heart,’ to use his own expression, shewing indeed in this how much he is interested in the result of the election.

“But to return to the Cardinal and to what he feels, or what he says regarding the election of the future Pope. He has declared in my presence with the most solemn oaths and protestations to the King his master, that nothing could induce him to seek or accept of this dignity, unless your Majesty and his King deemed it conducive to the security and glory of both your Majesties ; and should this indeed be your mutual opinion, there was no labour he would refuse, in order to merit your confidence, assuring you that the chief benefit and emolument he could look to in such an advancement, was the exaltation of your Majesties. All this was fully responded to by the King, who gave his royal word, that such was his conviction ; and further, that both himself and your Majesty might so direct and dispose of his (the Cardinal's) power and authority, as if the Holy See were in their own possessions, and thus give ease to the world. It was on these grounds, added the King, that he implored your Majesty to lend a helping hand. Should this however fail, it was strongly urged, that such care and diligence should be exercised in

the election, as to secure a person devoted to both your interests ; and to employ such caution and dexterity, that he who gained it, should at least suppose his success obtained only through the concurrent interest and support of both your Majesties."—pp. 14-19.

The circumstance of the double commission and the double array of letters provided for the different contingencies which might arise, has been urged as one of the evidences of the duplicity practised by Charles towards Wolsey, and of the hollowness and insincerity of his professions. But De Mezza's letter removes all such ground of suspicion, by disclosing that the scheme of the double commission, one in favour of Wolsey, and the other in favour of De Medici, should Wolsey's chance appear decidedly inferior to that of his rival, did not originate with Charles, nor in any suggestion of his, but was actually devised, before any communication had been had with Charles, *by Henry himself*, (of whose sincerity no doubt has ever been entertained), *and with the full cognizance and concurrence of Wolsey, of whose interest it has commonly been represented as a betrayal.*

"Monseigneur Legate, my good father and especial friend ! I have received by the Secretary Pace, the letters which the King my uncle, and you have written with your own hands ; and it gives me great pleasure to find that they were in perfect accordance with what I had already written on the subject ; and the more so, because a way is opened to me, to prove how cordially I desire your increased greatness and advancement, which you will the more distinctly perceive from the letter I have written with my own hand, to the King my uncle, and still more so from my Ambassador who will confer with you on every necessary detail. I will not therefore write more at length, assured as you must be, that no effort on my part will be wanting for the desired result, and that my favor in this affair will be confined to you alone, as the Creator knows my affection is ; and may he grant you, Monseigneur Legate, all your desires, with a happy and long life."—p. 30.

As an evidence of the inordinate and unscrupulous ambition of this extraordinary man, it was alleged that he even went so far as to urge upon the Emperor the expediency of advancing the Imperial army upon Rome, and compelling the Cardinals by force, if necessary, to consent to his election. This charge appeared even to Burnet exaggerated and incredible ; but Lingard, with his characteristic candour, admits its truth. It is painful to con-

ness that the admission is fully borne out by the evidence of De Mezza, through whom the suggestion was made, and by that of Charles himself, who professed his readiness to act upon it. The Cardinal, according to De Mezza, suggested that "nothing would more contribute towards determining the election in his favour than the march of the Imperial troops towards Rome;" and that "in case neither presents nor good words have their effect upon the college of Cardinals, they should be compelled, by main force, to the choice which his majesty approves;" that at all events "in no case should they be permitted to elect a dependant on the French, the result of which would be the destruction of Naples and Sicily, involving that of all Christendom." * The reply of Charles assures both De Mezza and the Cardinal of his "most earnest co-operation;" and declares that "there is nothing which he would leave undone that might contribute to this good effect;" professing his readiness to offer assistance, "not only in letters and words of himself and his friends, but also, should need be, by force of hand, in employing all the army he has in Italy, and that not a small one;" adding very significantly, that "besides the forces which he has in Lombardy, there remain in the kingdom of Naples, the five hundred men-at-arms and the five hundred light cavalry of the rear-guard, which might be brought forward at any sudden emergency." †

How far the joint interposition of the Emperor and Henry might have succeeded in influencing the election it is impossible to say. That in the interval before the arrival of special instructions, the Imperial ambassador, Don John Manuel, was interesting himself for De Medici appears to be well established; the knowledge of it created grave suspicions and much indignation on the part of Wolsey. But that it would have been withdrawn on the arrival of the new envoy, Pace, with the joint instructions of the two sovereigns, there seems equally little reason to doubt. Pace, however, did not reach Rome till after the election of Adrián; and although his tardy arrival has been attributed to the same hollowness and insincerity of the Emperor's professions, it must be remembered that Pace was not the envoy of the Emperor alone, but also (and even

* De Mezza's Despatch, Dec. 24, p. 26.

† Letter, Dec. 27, pp. 29—30.

principally) of the English king ; that he was thoroughly devoted to the interests of Wolsey ; that he had an especial personal interest of his own in his election ; and finally, that the envoys of the French court, as well as Pace, were anticipated by the event, the news of Adrian's election having reached them upon the road.*

On the whole, however, though Charles was certainly serious in his professions of zeal for Wolsey, the choice of Adrian was perfectly acceptable to him. The letter of this upright and virtuous, though ill-appreciated pontiff, addressed to Charles upon his election, is one of the most interesting documents in Mr. Bradford's volume. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, in explanation of some of the allusions which it contains, that he had been the Emperor's preceptor, and was, at the moment of his election, his prime minister and deputy in the government of Spain.

“Tres cher et tres amé Filz !

“Health and apostolical benediction. I have been rejoiced on receiving the letter which your Majesty has written to me with your own hand, in finding that it has not escaped your memory what you have heard from me, and learned in our hours of study, that the French are ever rich and abundant in promises, as well as in all fair and soft speeches ; whilst their acts of friendship are always measured by the standard of their interest.

“This you will now prove by your own experience ; henceforward therefore, we must deal with more wisdom and foresight ; for as to the past, counsel is unavailing, though I might speak of the caution which I never failed to urge on your father King Philip, and formerly on the Emperor Maximilian your grandfather, both of glorious memory, as well as latterly upon your Majesty.

“Concerning the favor borne towards me by the French, and that which I bear towards them, you will hear from a common friend, whose name I need not mention.

“I am fully convinced of the satisfaction which you will derive from my election to the popedom ; and I never entertained a doubt that had it depended alone on your good will and affection towards me, your suffrage would have been in my favor ; but I was equally aware that it was neither suitable to your own interests nor to the good to the Christian commonwealth, that you should have used any solicitation in my behalf, knowing that such interference would have been fatal to your good understanding with one, who at this moment is of all others most necessary to your welfare in Italy.

"Although my election may in one respect be attended with inconvenience, in taking me away from the management of your affairs in Spain, yet this will be so much overbalanced by other considerations, as nowise to diminish the joy which it will occasion you. And in this my election, the feeling which influenced the sacred college of Cardinals, as you will readily believe, and as has been intimated by them to Don John Manuel, was, that it would be a choice agreeable to your Majesty : for no one, it appeared, would have obtained their votes who could be considered objectionable either to you, or to the King of France.

"I cannot therefore suppress my satisfaction in having attained to this elevation without the exercise of your influence, inconsistent as that would have been with the purity and sincerity which divine and human rights require in such proceedings ; and in saying this, you will be assured that I feel as much, if not more truly devoted to your Majesty, than if I had owed to your means and prayers my present advancement.

"Your Majesty will nowise doubt of the constancy and continuance of my affection ; and as hitherto in all matters of negociation and treaty, I have ever considered your interests before any personal objects of my own, I shall not cease so to view them ; and therefore beg you never to entertain an idea of my being led to reverse this order, and to think of any self aggrandisement, to the detriment and undervaluing of what may concern your Majesty.

"Sire ! The cause of all our misfortunes and our adversity in general is, as St. Chrysostom observes, that we pervert the divine rules, by setting our affections on what we think convenient for us, rather than on that promise, which adds all temporal good to those who first seek the things eternal. For this *maledicti sumus*. Sire ! I pray God to grant you a happy and long life. Written at Saragossa the third of May ad tempus sacræ Romanæ ecclesiæ.

"Entirely yours."—pp. 41-45.

The unexpected vacancy created, in less than twelve months after this event, by the death of Adrian, afforded another opportunity for the exercise of the Emperor's influence in Wolsey's favour. On this occasion also he despatched to Rome a special envoy. Nor does there appear any substantial reason to believe that in this instance the failure of the Cardinal was attributable to any want of zeal upon his part. It was only on the 4th of November, while he was at Pampeluna, that the certain intelligence of Adrian's death was communicated to him ; nor was it till the 23rd of the same month that he received the despatches of his English ambassador. The election, after a stormy conclave, actually took place before the nineteenth of that month ; nor is it likely, from the temper of the Roman

people, and the violent opposition which they offered to the election of a second "ultramontane," that even had his ambassadors arrived in time, they would, with all his influence, have secured the choice of Wolsey.

"It appears more than probable from the foregoing correspondence that the Emperor used all the influence he possessed, in this as well as in the preceding election in Wolsey's favor. The Cardinal's subsequent coolness towards the Emperor's interests during the following years, has been attributed to this further proof, as is assumed, of Charles's duplicity. Such an accusation however cannot be substantiated by the result of this election; but one point may be clearly inferred which would have the same effect on Wolsey's feelings, and that is, the incapacity of the Emperor to rule the event of these proceedings. To judge from the temper of the Conclave, partly influenced by the clamour of the Roman people, no foreigner on this occasion, however recommended and supported, could have hoped for success. There is a letter from Wolsey given in Burnet's history of the Reformation, which expresses the sentiment he wishes to convey to King Henry and to the world, of his joyousness and satisfaction on learning the issue of the contest. Whether he was sincere, is a different question. Experience must now however have taught him an important lesson, that he had overrated either the Emperor's inclination, or his ability. He therefore found himself at liberty to pursue a more unfettered course in his foreign administration, far from unwilling perhaps to gratify a feeling of pique or resentment against the Emperor, no unnatural consequence of his own disappointed and selfish policy."—pp. 92, 93.

No new light is thrown by this correspondence on the career of the Constable Bourbon, although several of his letters are given by Mr. Bradford, and others bear directly upon his history. But not a single one of the points which have hitherto been involved in mystery, can be said to be in any way affected by the few additional facts which these letters disclose. We are still left in uncertainty as to the quarter from which the proposals for Bourbon's defection first originated; as to the sincerity of his offers to Francis before he took the final step of joining the Imperial army; and as to some of the motives to which his unjust treatment at the court of Francis has been popularly ascribed. Indeed, we may say the same as to the whole of the French correspondence,—although it comprises some new documents, and among the rest the letters addressed to Charles by the Queen mother of

France, on occasion of her son's captivity, and those of his sister Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, better known by her after-title, Queen of Navarre, as well as those which were exchanged with the former princess, on occasion of the liberation of Francis, and his marriage with Eleonora, the sister of the Emperor. The letter to the Queen mother of France on the occasion of this marriage, is the most interesting among them.

“Madame, my good Mother,

“Since I have given back a good brother to the King your son, and am offering you the Queen my sister for a daughter, it appears to me that in order not to present you one son only, I should resume the name which I used formerly to give you, and should again address you as my good mother ; and seeing that I do so consider you, I pray you to act as such towards the said Queen my sister, as well as towards myself. I came to this town of Madrid to see the King your son, my good brother, and I was sorry not to have been able to do so sooner, but I am greatly rejoiced at finding both his health and his affections in so different a state from what they were when I last saw him. The love and friendship which he professes to bear towards me have given me no small satisfaction, and I nowise doubt the sincerity of these good feelings, which I hope you will assist in confirming, as you have promised me by your letters that you would do. On my part I assure you that the love and friendship I bear towards him are most sincere, and that I am fully prepared to accomplish every thing I have promised.

“You request in your said letter, that the King your son my good brother, should take the Queen his wife my sister with him. He has himself made the same request, and is still more earnest to see her, which he is to do next Saturday, soon after which interview, he is to set out on his journey, in order to arrive on the day which has been fixed upon. To please him and you, I have also arranged that the Queen my said sister should follow him at a distance of four or five days, and as soon as the King your son, my good brother, has ratified and sworn to the treaties, and that all things are concluded between him and me, she shall be given up at Bayonne according to your desire. This shall be done by my Viceroy of Naples after he has liberated the King your son my brother, and has received the hostages that are to be given.

“And now, Madam, that he may no longer distress you by his bad writing, he who looks upon you as his good mother will conclude by recommending himself with all his heart to your kindness, and will sign himself,

Your good Son CHARLES.”—pp. 216-218.

Of this princess, who, after the death of her husband, retired to the court of her sister, the Dowager of Hungary, Mr. Bradford has introduced the following curious description from the pen of Roger Ascham, published from the original by Mr. Tytler in his "Original Letters."

"Oct. 5th.—We tarried," says he, "at Brussels all Sunday: I went to the Mass, more to see than for devotion, will some of you think. The Regent was with the Emperor at August (Augsbourg); but the French Queen, the Emperor's sister, was there; she came to Mass clad very solemnly all in white cambric, a robe gathered in plaits wrought very fair as need be with needle white work, as white as a dove. A train of ladies followed her, as black and evil as she was white. Her mass was sung in pricksong by Frenchmen very cunningly, and a gentleman played at the organs excellently. A French Whipit Sir John bestirred himself so at the altar as I wished Patrick by to have learned some of his knacks.

"The Queen sat in a closet above; her ladies kneeled all abroad in the chapel among us. The Regent of Flanders had left at Bruxelles a sort of fair lusty young ladies: they came not out, but were kept in a mew for fear of gosshawks of Spain and France; yet they came to (view) and stood above in windows, as well content to shew themselves as we to see them.

"They had on French gowns of black velvet guarded down right from the collar with broad guards, one with another, some of cloth of gold, some of cloth of silver, great chains arr—(arranged) with precious jewels. On their heads they had glistering caul's of goldsmith work, and black velvet caps above, (with) frills of great aglets of gold, with white feathers round about the compass of their caps. They seemed boys rather than ladies, excellent to have played in tragedies. There was not one well-favoured among them, save one young lady, fair and well-favoured. The Queen went from Mass to dinner; I followed her, and because we were gentlemen of England, I and another was admitted to come into her chamber where she sat at dinner. She is served with no women, as great states are there in England; but altogether with men, having their caps on their heads whilst they come into the chamber where she sits, and there one takes off all their caps. I stood very near the table and saw all.

"Men, as I said, served; only two women stood by the fireside not far from the table, for the Chambre was little, and talked very loud and lewdly with whom they would, as methought.

"This Queen's service compared with my Lady Elizabeth's my mistress, is not so princelike nor honorably handled. Her first course was apples, pears, plums, grapes and nuts; and with this meat she began. Then she had bacon and chickens almost covered with sale onions, that all the chamber smelled of it. She had a

roast capoult, and a pasty of wild boar ; and I thus marking all the behaviour, was content to lose the second course, lest I should have lost mine own dinner at home."—pp. 234–236.

These extracts, however, as well as the letters from which they are taken, as the reader has already observed, can hardly be said to be in the strict sense illustrative of the history of Charles V. ; and we must add, that the same is true of the great bulk of the contents of Mr. Bradford's book. Fully one half of the entire volume is made up of historical and biographical sketches of the personages who are incidentally introduced, and many of the miscellaneous letters, not only do not possess the interest of containing new facts, but are in themselves singularly unattractive.

As an original contribution to the materials for the personal history of Charles, as well as the history of his relations to the states of the empire and the great kingdoms of Europe, there is nothing in the entire collection which can be compared with the Report of Navagiero already alluded to. We shall offer no apology for extracting copiously from this able composition, which, in a few brief but pregnant sentences, throws more light upon the real condition of affairs in the court, the household, the military service, and the government of the emperor, than the most lengthened description from a less graphic pen. In the brief introduction prefixed to this document, the writer professes, that in the vastness of his materials which such a subject as the court of so great an Emperor, and in times so eventful, must present, his object must rather be to consider what can be omitted, than to seek out what shall be introduced. And the performance fully justifies the promise ; for it has seldom been our fortune to meet so graphic, so nervous, so pithy, and so finished a composition.

The Report was presented in July, 1546. The first place is of course due to his

DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPEROR.

"The Emperor is now forty-six years of age. He is a Prince who amidst all his greatness and victories has retained a most humble and modest demeanour.

"He appears to be very studious of religion, and wishes by his example to excite the fervour of Divine worship in his Court ; so

that in order to acquire his favour there is no surer method than propriety of conduct, and the profession of sincere Christianity.

“His Court is more quiet and modest than I can describe ; without any appearance of vice, and perfectly well ordered. In his audiences, especially towards persons in official situations, he is extremely patient, and answers everything in detail ; but seldom or never comes to an immediate resolution on any subject. He always refers the matter, whether it be small or great, to Monsr. de Granvelle ; and after consulting with him he resolves on the course he has to take, but always slowly, for such is his nature.

“Some people find fault with this, and call him irresolute and tardy : whilst others praise him for caution and discretion.

“With regard to private audiences, he used to be more diligent than he now is ; but even now he generally has two or three every day after dinner. These private audiences are sometimes left to his Ministers ; and *they* being few, and the affairs many, no one can come to Court for any matter, whether of importance or otherwise, without being detained much longer than is agreeable to them.

“The emperor dines in public almost always at the same hour—namely, twelve o'clock at noon. On first rising in the morning, which he does very late, he attends a private mass, said to be for the soul of the late Empress. Then, after having got over a few audiences, he proceeds to a public mass in the chapel, and immediately afterwards to dinner. So that it has become a proverb at Court ; ‘Dalla messa alla mensa,’ (from the mass to the mess.)

“The Emperor eats a great deal ; perhaps more than is good for his health, considering his constitution and habits of exercise. And he eats a kind of food which produces gross and viscous humours, whence arise the two indispositions which torment him ; namely, the gout and the asthma.

“He tries to mitigate these disorders by partial fasts in the evening, but the physicians say it would be better if he were to divide the nourishment of the day into two regular meals.

“When his Majesty is well, he thinks he never can be ill, and takes very little notice of the advice of his physician ; but the moment he is ill again, he will do anything towards his recovery.

“He is liberal in some things, such as recompensing those who have served him in the field, and those for whom he has any particular regard ; but even in this he proceeds slowly. In his dress, his table, furniture and equipages, and the chase, he affects rather the state of a moderate Prince, than of a great Emperor. Although not by nature inclined to do so, his Majesty is constrained to dispense gifts on a very large scale ; for all the income of the *three orders* in Spain, which are extremely rich, must of necessity be distributed by the Emperor, as also the many benefices and bishoprics of Spain and his other dominions. It is plain that he proceeds very cautiously in these matters, and gives away with much discrimination ; having respect only to the good character and virtuous conduct of

those to whom they are given ; and on the subject of these Bishoprics, His Majesty generally acts by the advice and opinion of his Confessor, a Spanish monk of the order of St. Dominick.

“The emperor professes to keep his word, to love peace, and to have no desire for war, unless provoked to it. He is consistent in keeping up the dignity of those whom he has once made great ; and whenever they get into difficulties he trusts rather to his own judgment in their case, than to what is said of them by others. He is a Prince who will listen to all, and is willing to place the utmost confidence in his friends, but chooses to have always the casting voice himself ; and when once persuaded in his own mind, it is rare indeed that any argument will change his opinion. His recreations consist chiefly in following the chase : sometimes accompanied by a few attendants, and sometimes quite alone, with an arquebuss in his hand. He is much pleased with a dwarf given to him by His Highness the King of Poland, which dwarf is very well made and quick witted. The Emperor sometimes plays with him, and he seems to afford him infinite amusement. There is also a jester lately come from Spain who makes His Majesty laugh, and causes a deal of merriment at Court. His name is Perico, and in order to please the Emperor, whenever Philip his son is named, he calls him *Sor di Todo*.

“And now, though I might enlarge much more upon the nature, habits and virtues of the Emperor, I will only remark as a brief summary, that from all I have seen in my time and from what others who frequent his Court are obliged to confess, there does not exist in these days a more virtuous Prince or one who sets a better example to all men, than His Majesty Charles V.”—pp. 436-440.

This personal description would be incomplete, unless we add to it his sketch of

THE EMPEROR IN TIME OF WAR.

“To conclude this subject of the Captains-General, it is the received opinion that the Emperor has no better General in the army, than *himself*. He is full of spirit in undertaking difficult enterprises, and very brave and intrepid in carrying them on. He has given proof of these qualities in all his warlike expeditions : as well as of great presence of mind in foreseeing and taking advantage of every probable occurrence.

“He attempted *Tunis* where he had to combat not only with men, but with the fury of the elements and the sterile nature of the soil—and I am told he was always the first to brave every danger. It is said that at Algiers the remains of the army were preserved only by his courage and constancy of soul. The three attempts upon the kingdom of France were his doing, and though they did not meet with much success, they proved the intrepidity of his spirit. In the

last campaign, in which I myself was present, your Excellencies will hear, how the advancing to meet the enemy was his particular wish. Such gallant bearing on the Emperor's part, causes him to be much loved and esteemed by the soldiers; and the more so as he is very exact in fulfilling his promises.

"This prince cannot dissemble the pleasure he experiences in time of war; and whereas in towns and in common life he is heavy, grave, and severe, so in the camp he is all alive, active, and mirthful. He is present in every place, sees everything, and forgetting that he is a great Emperor, he does the work of a subaltern or inferior Captain."—pp. 449-450.

To this interesting account of the Emperor's military talents, Navagiero subjoins his own reflections on the relative advantages and disadvantages which attend the active part taken by him in the conduct of the military affairs of his Empire. On the one hand, he seems to think that it is attended with great inconvenience, as embarrassing the movements of the army by the necessity which it creates of guarding against the Emperor's person being exposed to danger "in any useless skirmish or hazardous undertaking;" and this he represents as the feeling of many of his subjects, especially the Spaniards, "who are of opinion, that the Emperor would do much better to stay at home." On the other hand, he recognizes in the activity and zeal with which he is served, manifest evidences of the utility of the Emperor's personal presence; but he leaves to the Doge and his council to judge upon which side the advantage really lies.

His sketches of the generals, and other officers in the service, are exceedingly brief; but they are full of point and decision. It would occupy us too long to take them all in detail. Navagiero divides them according to nations,—Flemings, Germans, and Spaniards. Of the first he says, that "if they *really knew* as much of war as they *think* they do, they would *be* the great generals they wish to pass for; but that in truth, living as they do in Flanders, in a continual course of eating and drinking, they are fit for little else." The Germans he represents as high spirited, but so proud and ungoverned, as to submit to no control; and as "brave, but imprudent and unexperienced." Of the Spaniards he speaks more favourably, though his description preserves the characteristic national trait. Don Alvaro di Sandos is considered, he says, "a brave and spirited leader, with perhaps too good an opinion of

himself; for he boasts, that if he alone had been at the head of 40,000 Spaniards, he should have come off victorious." But of all these nations, in general he declares, that "few of the officers join the service with a view of acquiring glory or serving the prince." The old condottiere principle was still strong in the military profession; and from his long observation of what was certainly one of the best disciplined armies in Europe, Navagiero declares, that "that each seemed full of his own private interests, and came to the war only for the sake of enriching himself with the spoils of the enemy, or the money of his master."

Such is his general report upon the character and dispositions of the officers in the service of the Emperor. His sketch of the three chiefs in command, the Generals Don Ferrante Gonzaga, and the Duke of Alva, afterwards of such terrible reputation, and the celebrated Admiral Andrea Doria, is worth transcribing:

"Don Ferrante is a very indefatigable man, trustworthy and faithful. He sleeps little, is most patient in reverses and personally brave; but owing to his extreme reluctance in spending both his master's money and his own, he is constantly at fault respecting the enemy's movements, and has not acquired for himself either as many friends, or as much credit as he deserves. The soldiers dislike him, and the inferior officers entertain for him more fear than affection.

"Nevertheless he is in high favour with the emperor, as was shewn by his being given the place held by the Marquis del Vasto in Italy, as soon as it was vacant. M. de Granvelle is much his friend and patron; nor does he fail to do the great man homage; for during the late war he was in the habit of paying him constant visits, and giving him entertainments; in return for which, the last time he was at Court Don Ferrante's opinion was requested on every subject of importance, not only concerning the affairs of war, but also those of peace. The said Don Ferrante has always shewn the greatest friendliness towards me, out of respect to Your Serene Highness.

"The Duke of Alva has not been much employed in war, but the Spaniards say he is a man of parts and honour, and esteem him very highly; as indeed they are accustomed to do all their own countrymen. They say that he comported himself in a marvellous manner at the defence of Perpignan; and that whenever his military services are required again, he will shine forth with a still brighter lustre. This Duke is much beloved by the Emperor, and it is said that in case of war he will be appointed to the chief command.

"I can relate but little that is new concerning Prince Doria, since he is no longer young, and his services are so well known to your illustrious Council—but I will mention, that there exists no one, of whatever nation, for whom the Emperor has a greater regard.

"His Majesty is well aware that he is indebted to him for Genoa—and for the power of passing so often from Spain into Italy, and from Italy into Spain, by which means many of his States have been preserved which would probably have been lost. Finally the Emperor acknowledges, that all his maritime renown is owing to Prince Doria, whom he is in the habit of calling '*Father*.'

"Between the Prince (Andrea) and Sig. Antonio Doria, there is very little cordiality, but rather a secret ill-will and hatred, which has often tempted Antonio to sell and alienate his galleys, and take to land-service; deeming it impossible to get on at sea, on account of the Prince's jealousy."—pp. 447-449.

Navagiero informs his government, however, that among the officers of every grade in the Emperor's army, the utmost jealousy has long subsisted; and one can hardly help forming a low estimate of the military chivalry of the time, when it is known that so utterly mercenary was the bond which attached them to the imperial service, that most of them had actually, either directly or indirectly, made secret offers to himself to transfer their arms to the service of the Republic.

His account of the soldiery of the Emperor's army will form a fitting supplement to his report upon the officers. These also are classed according to nations:

"The Emperor has employed in these wars, both cavalry and infantry from Upper and Lower Germany as well as from Italy; but only infantry from Spain.

"Of all these nations the best paid and the least available is the German.

"The insolence of this nation is almost incredible. They are impious towards God, and cruel towards their neighbour. I myself saw, in the French war, how they turned churches into stables, and destroyed or burned with fire the image of our crucified Lord. They are insubordinate, proud and drunken. Few of them are worth anything, and many are quite insupportable, but all try to domineer over every one else. They are fearless of death, but can neither foresee, nor take advantage of any passing occurrence. In the assault of a city, where much skill and dexterity is required, they are the worst people that can be: and in case of a skirmish their interminable baggage is always in the way. They are most impatient of hunger and thirst, and will insist upon being paid at the appointed moment; not enduring any reserve or reduction of

salary in the course of a long campaign, but pertinaciously demanding every farthing as long as the war continues. And since it is impossible that on such occasions there should not sometimes arise a scarcity of money or of provisions, the commander who depends mainly on this people will be exposed to serious vexation ; and will find himself deserted by them without any chance of remedy.

“The same character applies to the German cavalry. They are armed in two modes ; the greatest number are clad in steel, after the fashion of *men-at-arms*, and carry a lance and a sword. They are mounted on horses which have a particular pace, or slow trot ; just as the foot soldiers of this nation have a particular style of march. Their saddles are very low, and are made with two crossed bars of iron against which they rest their backs ; these saddles have the appearance of being very ill-adapted to support a man firmly in his seat during the shock of an encounter.

“The remaining number of these horsemen are similarly equipped and mounted, but they carry in addition a small arquebuss, and have a sword and a boar-spear hanging at their sides and attached to their saddle.

“These men were very much feared by the French, on account of their being, as it were, *doubly armed* ; since they could do some damage by firing off their guns *first*, and the instant after be as fully prepared for an encounter as all the rest.

“The natives of the Low Countries are not by nature good soldiers, owing to various causes. In former times indeed, they were deservedly reputed strong and warlike ; for whilst Belgic Gaul was uncultivated and full of swamps and marshes, the natives partook of a wild, hardy, and intrepid character. But now that the country has become commercial, and is filled with beautiful and luxurious cities, the ancient valour has degenerated.

“I must however, mention as an exception, those Belgians who were in the service of the Prince of Orange, and who deserved to be reckoned the very best soldiers in the Imperial army. The whole credit of making them so was due to the Prince ; for he took the greatest pains in selecting the men, showed the greatest interest in their training, and was extremely liberal in rewarding them ; often giving them additional pay from his own private income.

“Hence arose, on their part, the sincerest affection for the Prince, and the most perfect subordination and readiness to encounter any amount of fatigue or danger without a murmur. It often occurred at the end of a long day's march that these men would be ready to mount guard on the commissariat stores, or to relieve some detachment, or even go out and reconnoitre the country. Not only would they cheerfully turn out of their night's quarters at the Prince's order, but so popular was he among them, that they would run with the greatest alacrity after the little pony on which he scampered at their head !

“After the death of the Prince, this company broke up. A part left the service, and the rest instantly began to degenerate. So great is the importance of energy and good conduct even in one individual, and such the power of exertion and perseverance in conquering the defects of nature.

“The Spanish soldiers are very patient, and from the activity and suppleness of their movements, are alert at a skirmish or at the taking of a town. They are quick of apprehension, vigilant and united amongst each other ; prone to magnify their success, and to make light of their reverses ; courteous in speech and bearing, especially towards inferiors ; temperate and sober ; and fond of show in their dress, although they are avaricious and greedy of gain. They are not by nature soldiers, but seem to learn the profession very soon ; for the excellent Spanish troops who distinguished themselves in the Emperor's service, were entirely formed by the wars in Italy ; and those who last came from Spain and served in the French campaign, did not even know how to keep the step when they first arrived. The Emperor cannot find many Spaniards to serve him for any length of time out of their own country : for since the navigation to the Indies has become so easy, all those who are forced by necessity to become soldiers, would rather engage in Indian service, where less of fatigue and danger is combined with a better chance of making money. This is the reason that, notwithstanding all the pains taken in His Majesty's name to collect a body of 6000 Spaniards against France, hardly 3500 were raised, and those of the very lowest description. And further, these people seem to prefer serving in Italy to any other part of Europe out of Spain ; first because so many of their countrymen have returned *rich* from thence, and secondly because so much of it belongs to the Emperor, that they can almost fancy themselves at home there.

“The Italian soldiers are spirited and courageous, but proud and insubordinate. They are so badly paid by their Commanders, that they have often been driven to mutiny, and to seek for better masters and more reasonable terms.

“Many have abused and condemned them on this account, who, from being their own countrymen, ought to have given them some support and assistance.

“However their *absence* during the last French campaign, seems to have turned more to their renown than the many honourable deeds hitherto performed in the Emperor's service ; for the distinction they won on the previous year at the taking of Duren, (where they entered the town when least expected, and when the cause had nearly been given up as desperate) is now universally admitted as a proof, that had but 2000 Italian soldiers been present on the late occasion, the Emperor would never have lost St. Disier ; which loss, as Your Excellencies know, was the cause of reducing

him to accept such humiliating conditions of peace from the King of France.

“The Italian cavalry consisted of light-horse, commanded by the Captains whom I have already named; all of whom treated their men so ill, that they could retain none but those of the worst description, and all badly mounted.”—pp. 455-460.

This is the very perfection of reporting. We cannot help thinking that these few terse and pregnant paragraphs convey a more vivid idea of the state of military affairs in the days of the Emperor, and of the real character of his soldiery, than could be gathered from the most lengthened and elaborate descriptions of a professional writer upon the technical history of the art. Not a single point is overlooked,—the physical capabilities of each branch of the army, their military equipments, their moral habits, in so far as they affect their fitness for service, their likings and antipathies, and, above all, their character and dispositions, as indicating whether, and how far, reliance may be placed upon their fidelity. And in all there is an air of decision and of modest confidence in the accuracy of his information, which cannot fail to carry with it to the reader's mind the same assurance of the perfect trustworthiness of all the statements which it contains.

By far the most curious and interesting part of the Report, however, is that in which Navagiero enters into the question, “How the Emperor is affected towards the other sovereigns.” It is in the introduction to this section of his Report, that he uses the remarkable words alluded to in the commencement of this article. And when we remember the proverbial reserve and inscrutability of Charles, we may well admire the acuteness and sagacity with which the author of such a Report—so minute, so varied, and so comprehensive—must have used his opportunities of observation. There is not a single one of the European powers, no matter how insignificant, into whose relations with the Emperor he does not enter; and although to some of these he devotes but a few sentences, yet there is scarcely a single important interest among them all—at least, there is not one in any way affecting the Venetian Republic—which he does not take fully into account, in estimating the general bearing of the imperial policy. This is peculiarly observable in his strictures upon the minor principalities of Italy, Rome, Florence, Genoa, Mantua, Ferrara,

Urbino, Lucca, and Sienna. He dismisses each of them in one or two sentences; and yet, in this brief space he enables us fully to understand in what their community of interest with the Emperor consists, in what the peculiar interests of each differ from those of the other; and hence, what are those points in which their connexion is peculiarly assailable. For the general reader, however, Navagiero's report on the Emperor's dispositions towards the greater powers, will have more interest. We shall commence with his own preliminary observations, as a sample of the notions of statecraft entertained in the diplomatic circles of that day.

“To discover the genuine feelings of the Emperor towards other crowned heads, is no easy task; for nothing in this world can be more hidden and obscure than the heart and mind of man generally, unless it be *the heart and mind of an Emperor, which may be deemed all but impenetrable!*..... This much may be received as a general proposition, that Kings and Princes *neither love nor hate any body*, except as they stand affected towards their own personal advantage; which truth may be perspicuously exemplified in the Emperor, who has been both a friend and a foe to every one by turns.

“He was at one time an enemy to the King of England, and afterwards entered into an alliance with him. He made war unceasingly upon the King of France for twenty years, and ended by concluding a friendly treaty, and by giving up Milan to him. To the Lutherans he has appeared sometimes in the light of a friend, and sometimes in that of an enemy. Of the Pope he has often said the very sharpest things, and yet after all he has done as much for his advantage as even your Highness. With regard to our own Republic, one may fairly presume, that as long as he considers our alliance profitable he will retain it—but no longer. At the present time he is well aware that the friendship of Venice is serviceable, both for the preservation of his Italian States, and for the purpose of keeping the Turks in check. He will therefore remain on good terms with Your Highness, of whom he has always spoken to me in a most affectionate and respectful manner. And besides the resolution of Your illustrious Council not to accept any of the various proposals made by the most Christian King, has been more grateful than I can express, both to his Imperial Majesty and to all his friends.

“The Emperor has discoursed, not only to myself but to others who have repeated it to me, of the great dependance he places on Your Highness; and when I was taking my leave of him, he spoke at such length on this subject, than I began to marvel when he would stop. He told me he was extremely well satisfied with my services, inasmuch as he believed that I had done, and would do,

every thing in my power to keep alive the good feeling subsisting between you; and then turning to my Secretary he said, *that he hoped for no less on his part also*. The Emperor believes that this illustrious Republic has no intention of ever turning against him, and it is quite possible he may be sincere in his wish of keeping on friendly terms with us. Yet, I would not advise Your Highness to trust implicitly to his professions, should any occasion offer when the contrary might become advantageous to him.

"All Princes are naturally opposed to Republics, especially those princes who have most power, and most ambition."—pp. 461-2.

We have seen, in the earlier correspondence, how excellent an understanding subsisted between Charles and Henry VIII. Navagiero, in 1546, tells a very different tale. He couples, in a single section, the relations of the emperor towards France and England. In the earlier part of Charles's reign, his interests, in relation to France, were almost identical with those of Henry. But, on the one hand, the alienation from Henry produced by the divorce of Catherine, and, on the other, the recent alliance of that king with France, had created an estrangement which, though concealed upon both sides, is, nevertheless, discernible in all the details of their policy towards each during the latter half of the reign of Henry. The true sentiments of Charles are accurately dissected in the following passage:—

"The Emperor is but little inclined to affection for either of them.

"With regard to the King of France, he has sufficiently exhibited by his constant wars and interminable quarrels, how much he considers him an obstacle in the way of all his designs.

"The King of England gave him just cause of offence by repudiating the Queen; and the treaty of peace lately concluded between that country and France has by no means tended to allay so natural a feeling. Concerning the said peace I may remark, that it took place *only* because the two Kings suspected the Emperor of trying to nourish dissensions between them.

"Thus the King of England deems himself aggrieved by the Emperor, and the Emperor by the English King, whom he accuses of having broken the agreement made with Don Ferrante, and especially of having deserted him on the late occasion in France when he was moving towards Paris, after the siege of St. Disier.

"The English Ambassador told me, that his King having now made peace with France, would henceforward be more cautious and wary in trusting to the fair speeches and promises of others.

"However, be this as it may, the Emperor will dissemble and

keep on good terms with both these Kings, until the affairs he now has in view are accomplished ; and the fact of his having a son and a daughter to marry, will enable him to negotiate as long as he pleases with their Majesties ; since they also are intent upon providing suitable alliances for their children.

“In addition to this, the English King will certainly incline to the peaceful side, on account of his trade with Flanders and the Low Countries ; and M. de Granville will do his best to maintain an amicable feeling towards France, for private as well as public reasons.

“M. de Granville takes into consideration, that the Emperor is in feeble health, besides, being like all of us, mortal ; and that whether he or his master die first, their children will probably succeed to their possessions.

“Further, being, like a wise man, aware that those who have been high in favour with one Sovereign, are rarely or never liked by his successor, and that he himself possesses but little the esteem of the Spanish nation, which nation is all in all with Don Philip ; he naturally aims at securing the friendship of the Most Christian King ; in order that he or his family may some day look forward to a permanent abode on their own property, which is in the middle of France.”—466-7.

There is one redeeming sketch amid the many harsh and repulsive ones with which this report abounds—that of the emperor's affectionate and cordial dispositions towards his brother Ferdinand, his successor in the empire ; the warmth and sincerity with which his affection was returned, and the perfect unity of heart and purpose which appears to have subsisted between these brothers. It is almost the only relation of his entire life in which Charles seems to have forgotten the emperor, and to have acted up to his impulses as a man.

“The Emperor professes great affection for the King of the Romans, and seems to consider *his* interests as his own. When they met for the first time at the Diet of Spire, the King having remarked to his brother that he had become grey and was looking worn, the Emperor replied, ‘*Por vos, Hermano, et por vestros hijos,*’ (‘for your sake my brother, and for your children.’)

“It was in preference to his own son, that Charles obtained for him the election of King of the Romans ; and truly, whatever further greatness he may help his brother in attaining, that brother has well deserved.

“At the time of the disturbances in Spain Ferdinand's name was continually brought forward, and his presence much required in that Country ; yet though he received constant invitations to this effect he never took the least notice of them : and every other

action of his life has similarly proved, that he not only loves the Emperor as his brother, but reveres him as a father, and obeys him as a sovereign.

"It is certainly a remarkable thing to witness the union of these brothers in heart, who are so different in temperament, habits and manner.

"The Emperor is slow and phlegmatic, the King quick and choleric. The Emperor grave and inflexible with all men, the King affable and obliging even to a fault.

"The Emperor entirely concealing his ambition, the King letting it appear on all occasions."—pp. 468-9.

The passage in which Navagiero comments upon the emperor's relation to the Ottoman empire is interesting, as showing the impressions then afloat as to the peace policy adopted by Charles in the latter years of his reign. From the very commencement of his career, the conquest of the Turk had been the ruling passion of his life. In comparison with this even his rivalry with Francis sunk into insignificance. He had pursued it through every change of fortune; and, even amidst the maze of schemes and intrigues, in Italy, in France, in Germany, in the Low Countries, and in England, by which he was obliged to maintain himself in his domestic struggles, he never lost sight of this cherished object of his ambition. The desire of securing the co-operation of all the states of the empire was the secret of the weak and temporizing policy which he pursued towards the Protestant states, and of the unduly conciliatory measures which he sought to force upon the acceptance of the Church. His change of policy, therefore, about the period of Navagiero's embassy, occasioned no little surprise throughout Europe; but it is well explained in the following passage:—

"The Emperor's hatred towards the Ottoman Empire is well known. It is probable, that he formerly entertained hopes of crushing and overcoming this Power, since he always gave out, that his highest aim and object was to do so, but I think he has now given up the scheme as an impossibility, and is fully intending to conclude a treaty of peace.

"Should this also prove unsuccessful, he will be constrained to have recourse to arms, in defence of his own kingdoms, and of what is left of his brother's.

"The fact of his having sent messengers to Constantinople, after concluding a peace with the French King, notwithstanding the discredit it brought upon him, and the umbrage it gave to all Chris-

tendom, must be a strong proof to any one acquainted with his nature, that he looked upon a war with the Turk as desperate.

"He is now more than ever blamed for having joined with the Most Christian King and the King his brother, in offering terms of compromise to his greatest foe, against whom he always professed to wish for an opportunity of exerting his strength, as in a righteous cause and for the glory of God.

"Some however, excuse this proceeding by the plea, that it was necessary to have an agent on the spot in order to make sure that Francis kept his promises; and further, that the negotiation afforded an opportunity of spying out the Grand Seignor's forces, and of endeavouring to wean him from the French alliance.

"I believe a third reason might be given for the said truce, namely, that he was even then meditating the enterprise against the Lutherans which is now talked about, and of which I was secretly informed ten months ago, as I mentioned at the time in my letters to your Excellencies.

"Those who returned from the Mission to Constantinople, openly depreciated the power of the Grand Seignor as much as possible; but I know for certain, that the Emperor is of a different opinion, and that during his last conference with the Pope, he said to His Holiness: 'I am beginning to fear that God intends us all to become Mahometans; but I shall certainly put off my conversion to the very last!'.....—469-70.

Navagiero's views upon the prospects of the religious war to which he alludes in the above extract are more hesitating and undecided than any other portion of his report. He contents himself with recording the speculations of others, rather than, as is his wont, confidently putting forward his own. Still, it is not difficult to see that he inclines towards the unfavourable view.

"I believe that if it comes to war, this enterprise will assume a more vehement and sanguinary character than our age has yet witnessed. The Princes of Germany have never liked Charles V.; probably because he continually avails himself of their counsels, without treating them in the deferential and considerate manner, which Maximilian and all the former Emperors accustomed them to expect.

"They complain, that blindly led by passion, he has wasted his power in disputes with his fellow Christians, instead of turning it to account against the Turk, as was his duty; that he is now about to make war upon themselves, who by choosing him for their Emperor, brought him more glory and renown than he ever derived from anything else, and that under the pretence of religious zeal, he intends

to conduct a foreign army into Germany, to trample on their ancient liberties.

"In short, if this war *does* come to pass, it is likely to be a very fierce one; and even should matters stop short of it, I question whether the rest of Germany will ever get over the hatred it has conceived for the House of Austria. The Duke of Alva has already been proclaimed Captain General, and most people think that the Emperor will join the army in person. Some say otherwise; but I am persuaded that he cannot refrain from being present wherever war is going on.

"As to the probable issue of anything so uncertain as war, I will venture no opinion. Those who are favourable to the present undertaking, assert: first, that it is the cause of God and must prosper: secondly, that the *free cities* will not venture to give the promised help to the Landgrave as head of the League, on account of the benefits they derive from the trade in the Emperor's dominions; and thirdly, that the Lutherans have no good leader, and that German troops are useless except in a pitched battle, which the Emperor would take care to avoid. Those who are against the war maintain, that there never was a more dangerous enterprise, both for the Emperor and for all Christendom; and more especially for Italy. That with regard to religion, should he be able speedily to force the Protestants into submission and to impose certain conditions upon them, these might be observed as long as his army was present, *but no longer*. That should the war continue any time, the Turk would certainly come down upon him by sea and by land, either spontaneously, or at the invitation of the Protestants themselves. That the hostility of France and England would be excited, who, suspecting him of covering ambitious designs under the cloak of religion, would come to the relief of the Protestants by invading his territories wherever they lay contiguous to their own.

"That the Emperor cannot expect to conquer such enemies in the space of two years, which is quite as long as his army could possibly hold together; whilst the parties to the League of Smalcald might, with very little expense or trouble, go on for many more, with a numerous and powerful body of men, all fighting for the religion which they are persuaded is the best, and which they are ready to defend with their lives and fortunes.

"And lastly, that should the Lutherans be emboldened by any successful resistance against the Emperor, they would presently turn their arms against Rome; where, knowing that the Pope desires no less than their utter and complete extirpation, the warfare would be carried on with a degree of fury, resembling rather the incursions of the ancient Barbarians than anything else; and would finally result in no advantage to any party except that of the Turk."—pp. 471-4.

There is a deep lesson in the brief reflections upon the history and fortunes of Charles, with which he sums up

his Report; and it is curious as containing a distinct allusion to the emperor's design of abdicating in favour of his son and retiring from active life, at a date considerably earlier than it is commonly believed to have been entertained.

"From all these reflections, and many others, the Emperor finds himself much distressed and perplexed in his mind. In comparing his past and present fortunes, the review is far from inspiring. In his early youth he had the command of such Generals and armies as might almost justify him in contemplating the empire of the world! And he now finds himself in a painful and embarrassing position, without having effected so much as the humiliation of his natural enemy the King of France; even though he once had him a prisoner in his own power. On the contrary, he cannot but feel, that the French King will leave his son the Dauphin, in a higher position than Don Philip; or at least fully equal to him in power. And that notwithstanding his many losses, so large a part of Piedmont and Savoy are added to his territories, that he is able to assume a more powerful standing, than any King of France has yet done.

"The Emperor is also much disheartened by the necessity of giving up all hopes of conquest over the Turk, and even of condescending to solicit a truce with him. He sees himself involved in a perilous and important war with Germany, from which there appears to be no escape consistent with his honour.

"With all this, he feels the approach of age, and the increase of his infirmities of gout and asthma, which are gradually wasting away his strength and energy, and nearly depriving him of the hope of being present in person at any future enterprise.

"In short I have been told by one, intimately acquainted with his sentiments, that his wish and intention is to retire into Spain for the rest of his life, and to resign all public affairs to his son."
—pp. 474-5.

To these interesting sketches we are tempted to add a letter which may be considered to present even more authentic materials for an estimate of the Emperor's real character and dispositions—a letter from his confessor, written many years earlier, in 1530. This delicate and responsible office was held by Garcia de Loaysa, Cardinal and Bishop of Osma. On the occasion of the Emperor's coronation at Bologna, in 1529, De Loaysa was one of his suite; but instead of returning to Germany with him after the ceremony, he repaired to Rome, where he resided for two years. During this separation, he addressed a series

of most interesting letters to him, which have recently been translated into German, and published at Berlin. Mr. Bradford gives one of these which we shall venture to transcribe.

“Imperial Catholic Majesty,

“It is my ardent desire that Your Majesty should be often sensible of my loss, and should regret my causeless dismissal from your presence. Yet, I pray God, that you may not really have been in want of me, either as regards worldly matters, or for the good of your soul. In this case, I am content to suffer my unjust banishment patiently; and if my absence from Your Majesty should through any means be made up to me by your perseverance in the right way, my punishment will be converted into an occasion of rejoicing.

“Sire! nothing in this life is so important to you at the present juncture, as that Your Majesty should come out triumphantly from this affair in Germany. If God vouchsafe to grant, that you may be the means of rescuing that nation from the heresy which pervades it, Italy will exalt you as the highest and best of earthly Princes. Doubtless Your Majesty would then deserve the name of the most fortunate Emperor ever known in Christendom: and I am persuaded that should this occur, as I trust it will, Your Majesty may be assured that all further attempts in the same right course will be crowned with unprecedented success. To this end I venture to entreat Your Majesty, should this evil not be overcome by force of arms, that you hesitate not to make every pecuniary sacrifice for the faith. Offer up all you have carefully laid in store for public uses, and such as you would willingly retain in your private coffers. Your merit will thus be the greater; and whatever you expend in this sacred cause, will be repaid with usury not only in the world to come but in this also; where Your Majesty will be held in paramount honour and consideration, and have your stores replenished with showers of golden ducats, and all worldly riches. Had I a thousand lives, Sire, I would venture them on the truth of this assertion.

“Your Majesty once told me, that it was your most earnest wish to devote your life to the defence of the Faith, as your only way of proving your gratitude to God, for the innumerable blessings he has heaped upon you.

“Sire! Now is the time to show whether these words were hypocritical and false, or whether they were spoken from the heart: and the more so, as God does not now require your life as a sacrifice, but zeal, activity, and your worldly goods, which latter, in comparison with the advantage to be reaped, ought to be deemed utterly worthless.

“Give not a thought, Sire to your amusements, and do not lose courage in contemplation of the trouble which may be expected;

and which will certainly not be less, than what you have just encountered at Bologna. Consider Sire, that no crown was ever won, nor any glory ever obtained by sloth, by luxurious living, or by any indulgence in vice or pleasure.

"There are in Your Imperial Majesty two antagonist principles—indolence and ambition, which have always had a hard fight for supremacy. Hitherto in Italy, the latter has had the ascendant; and I trust it will be the same in Germany; and that by the grace of God, your love of honour and renown will triumph over the natural enemy within, which inclines you to feasting, and to wasting the best portion of your life in riot and debauchery.

"Sire! it is here reported that the Archbishopric of Tarragona is vacant. If so I would advise Your Majesty for the sake of your own conscience to give it to the Bishop of Barcelona. Should it however occur, that any person of consideration in Germany, might by this means be induced to become a convert to the Holy Faith, you must not hesitate in bestowing it upon him, even should he be a stranger and living at a distance.

"Apart from so important a consideration, I would pray Your Majesty on no account to choose a pastor for the care of souls, who must be absent from his diocese; for I here warn you that this is a great offence in the sight of God: and since you would avoid eternal condemnation on your own account, it would be little worth while to incur punishment for the faults of others.

"And further on this subject, I would pray Your Majesty never to entrust an office of this kind to a very young man, however virtuous he may appear: for disappointment often follows, and Your Majesty would find reason to repent, when it was too late to remedy the evil. An Archbishop should be one, who for a long course of years has been accustomed to *dip his beard in the chalice*, and to set the example of every virtue in his life and conversation.

"Should your Majesty follow these rules, you will not be led into any error which God will lay to your charge; but if otherwise, you have to answer for the disorders which may arise, be your intentions ever so pure.

"I informed Your Majesty in my last letter how truly you may consider the Pope your friend; and I was further confirmed in this impression, when he read to me a letter of which the Secretary Covos can give an account. It is plain that his friendship is sincere and cordial, very different from the empty compliments he used before. I pray Your Majesty to cultivate it diligently at whatever cost, for be that what it may, it cannot but be considered cheap in the end. This I write as a true servant of God, and of Your Majesty. Cursed indeed be any self interest, which could tempt me to utter such sentiments for my own sake.

"As I was one day conversing with his Holiness, I observed that it was not improbable that Your Majesty would visit Naples before returning to Spain. He replied with evident pleasure, and without

a moment's reflection, 'would to God it might be so.' This he uttered with so much animation, that hand and foot, and the whole body seemed to concur in the wish. I have remarked by many little signs that his affection to Your Majesty is sincere.

"Sire! I call to mind that Your Majesty commanded me to write to you just as usual. I will obey your orders, until I discover that such is no longer your wish. God knows that I could not make so constant and unbounded an use of this privilege, were it not for my irrepressible desire of seeing Your Majesty distinguished above all Princes that ever existed, for superior virtues, valour and prosperity.

"I pray the everlasting goodness of God to grant this wish, and to allow us your servants to rejoice and glory in your temporal and eternal welfare."—pp. 348-52.

These extracts must suffice as a sample of Mr. Bradford's collection. Although it is far from realizing the expectations which we were led to form at its first announcement, yet it is unquestionably a valuable accession to our stock of original materials for the history of this important period.

We shall only add that a document appended to the correspondence, and entitled "The Itinerary of Charles V.," although extremely dull and uninteresting, will be found of some value as a help towards the chronology of his reign. It comprises an account of all his journeys from 1519, to 1551; and, although it is little more than a mere record of his movements, and scarcely ever even alludes, except in the most passing way, to the object of the journeys which it chronicles, yet the scrupulous minuteness of its dates, and the preciseness of its information upon every thing connected therewith, will serve as a guide in the defective chronology of those writers who are most diffuse upon the actual history.

ART. III.—1. *Second Annual Report of the Poor-law Board.* 1849. England. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. 1850.

2. *Third Annual Report of the Commissioners for administering the Laws for the Relief of the Poor in Ireland, &c.* 1850.

3. *Rapport sur l'état de l'Administration dans la Flandre Occidentale fait au Conseil Provincial dans sa Session de 1849.* Par la Deputation Permanente. Bruges. 1850.

4. *Cenni Statistici sopra l'Albergo dei Poveri in Genova.* 1845.
5. *Statement of the Provision for the Poor, and of the Condition of the Labouring Classes, in a considerable portion of America and Europe.* By N. W. SENIOR, Esq. London. 1835.

PAUPERISM is at once the opprobrium of civilization and the source of its brightest glory. Its opprobrium, for it is the peculiar product of an advanced state of civilization, of an increase of wealth and material comforts—the source of its glory, because it calls forth and develops that wide-spreading, combined, and universal charity which can exist only in organized and civilized communities, and is their brightest ornament. The primitive inhabitants of these countries, like their modern representatives, the nomadic tribes of America or Australia, knew not of a class of beings systematically unable to support themselves; for, on their half-inhabited plains, as on the broad Savannahs, there was ample room for all; and their charity (such as it was), was never required to be exercised, save towards single individuals personally known to them. They were never called upon to combine to relieve whole classes, not an individual of whom, perhaps, they had ever known. Truly pauperism, which may be said to be the primitive curse of civilization, has been, under His guidance who knows how “to turn all things to good,” the origin of its greatest glory—namely, public, universal charity; which has given to the great cities of Europe their noblest monuments, and to history her brightest records. Well may the writers of one of the books before us exclaim: “Our country lives for us in its pious institutions, and the charity which educated and watched over the sons of Liguria is the noblest part of her national life.”—*Cen. Stat. Pref.*

“But it is only in the Christian dispensation, and in the principles of Catholic philosophy, that the theory of poverty and of charity, of suffering and of mercy, finds its full solution; as it is only in Christian and in Catholic countries that its practice finds its perfect and glorious development. To the pagan, poverty and suffering were an unmitigated evil—an error in creation; and, if he was led by natural feelings to give something of his superfluity to relieve that misery which offended his sight, he had no motive to that true charity which teaches to give up our gratification—nay, our all, for the relief of the suffering.

But the Divine philosophy which taught that suffering, whilst it was the universal heritage of man, was at once a punishment and an atonement, a purification and a merit ; and that labour, whilst it was a task imposed by an authority none could gainsay, was ennobled by obedience, and became an honour and a reward ; in a word, that the labours and the sufferings of man, which before were a load without meaning or relief, were a cross indeed which must be borne, but which, if borne willingly, would carry the bearer and lead him to the desired end, where there will be an end of suffering, though here there will be none.”—*Imit. Christ.* ii., 12.

And when this noble doctrine, known from the first darkly, received its full development, its sanction and its example from Him who, though He had not merited, underwent toil and suffering for those who had, and stamped suffering with the seal of His divinity, men learned that those who suffered were happy, and that those to whose lot less of direct toil and pain had fallen should share that of their brethren by sympathy, by succour, and by voluntary participation ; and the great principle of society and of civilization was proclaimed, “Alter alterius onera portate.” And here we may observe, how the various systems of belief, which have wandered away from the unity of speculative truth have also destroyed its practical results, and again unhinged this harmonious system. The Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines, which deny the merit of sufferings and of works of charity, have sapped the foundations at once of patience in the poor and of charity in the rich ; poverty and suffering, in their system, is again a purposeless evil, or, at best, an unredeeming punishment of a merciless judge. Riches and pleasure are a blessing in themselves, and he a fool who voluntarily deprives himself of either, without any prospect of reward ; and hence, in this country, where these doctrines prevail, poverty has come to be deemed almost a sin, and riches to be worshipped as a god. On the other hand, the disregard of this principle amongst a numerous and increasing class, who see and feel the inequalities and miseries which oppress mankind, and are not satisfied with the bald solution, “that such things are natural and inevitable,” has led to the conviction that they are a contradiction to the power and benevolence of Providence—a violation of the order of Nature ; and hence

have resulted those denunciations of riches, and those socialistic theories, which are founded on the denial of the fallen state of man, and are impossible, because inconsistent with that fallen state and with the system of punishment and expiation which God has established on the ruins of a fallen world.

But to develope this subject would lead us too far. In considering the question of systematic charity, its necessity is sufficiently established, apart from all questions of morality, by its being the only means to equalize, in some measure, the disproportion of conditions, to bridge over the fearful and widening gulf which separates the few who abound from the many who want, and insure not only the rich, but society itself, against the madness of a hungry and despairing majority. Nor, unfortunately, can there be much doubt that, in these countries, a legal sanction is, under existing circumstances, required to enforce the fulfilment of this duty.

It is not our intention, in this article, to enter into the questions on the subject of poor-laws which have divided, and still divide, the public mind; but we have thought it well, briefly, to investigate our own and foreign systems in the internal administration of poor relief, if, by that means, we may learn what to avoid and what to imitate, where our own practice fails, and where it may be improved or extended; and we conceive that, if we may be able to point out how the internal administration of our public charities may be better organized and conducted, we shall, perchance, not have rendered less service than had we investigated the question of the source of their legal support, or of the qualifications required of their recipients, of assessment of poor-rates, or of tests and settlement clauses. In a word, assuming that we have poor to be relieved, and poor-houses of some sort to relieve them, we seek to enquire how proper objects of charity may be best distinguished and most effectually relieved.

The great principle which ought to govern the administration of charitable relief is, that whilst poverty and misery be relieved, sloth, vice, and improvidence, meet with no encouragement, and that its scope be rather preventive than remedial; in the words of the Genoese directors, "tending to relieve unmerited misfortune; not to foment the idleness and habitual carelessness for the future, of the labouring classes; rather educating them to

provide themselves against the ills which press upon the most numerous portion of the human family, than contenting itself with seeking to mitigate those evils when accomplished."—*Cen. Stat. Pref.*

Two extremes in this matter are equally to be avoided; that over-zealous and indiscriminating charity which renders the lot of the mendicant and the pauper more enviable than that of the hard-working labourer, and thus affords a premium to sloth, and the niggardliness and hard-heartedness which grinds the faces of the poor, and adds to the poverty which Providence has allotted to so many of its children the bitter addition of contumely, disgrace, and gratuitous privations; an error which not only sins against justice by punishing poverty as a crime, but is impolitic, as rendering those whose poverty is of their own fault and those in whom it is unmerited alike desperate, and ready to upset that society which appears to them a task-master and an enemy.

In many Catholic countries, the former excess may be said to prevail; and, probably, all indiscriminate charities—such as doles of food, clothes, &c., to all applicants, are, for this reason, objectionable. Whilst, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that, in England, we have erred on the other side, and, without referring to such extreme cases as that of the Andover workhouse, our system of poor-relief, generally, has rendered the lot of the pauper worse than that of the felon.

This error has arisen (apart from instances of individual cruelty), from the mistake of looking only to physical and merely material means, as affording a test whereby to distinguish true from fictitious poverty, neglecting all the moral means at our disposal. With true John Bull instinct, considering the stomach as the only organ by which men can be governed, and that we could not exclude the idle from a workhouse except by diminishing the allowance of food to the verge of starvation, instead of making inspection, the shame of receiving relief, the deprivation of liberty and separation, the necessity of labour and responsibility the great means of sifting out the true objects of charity.

Another capital error is that of making no distinction between the different classes to be relieved. Now, there are three great classes of poor to be distinguished—the old and impotent—children without natural protectors; and, lastly—the able-bodied poor; whilst the consideration of

the latter again subdivides itself into the case of those who, by some temporary cause, are, for a time, deprived of the means of obtaining a living, whilst they have a reasonable hope of being soon again in a position to earn a livelihood, and the case of those who are permanently, or nearly so, deprived of work; in a word, where the supply of labour is too great for the demand.

It is our intention to consider the treatment of each of these classes separately; for much of the evils of our present poor-law has arisen from overlooking these important distinctions. The first and second classes are the true and natural objects of charity—such as will exist in every society; the last is the result of dense population and the accumulation of wealth—evils which seem, as far as we may judge, to be the all but inevitable concomitants of a high state of civilization and prosperity in old countries. At present, in our poor-houses the old and infirm poor are huddled pell-mell with the youthful idlers or mendicants who fill its wards—their food is the same—their share of its limited comforts, from their very helplessness, less. This should not be. The aged mechanic, whose long life of toil has left him no resource in his age but the parish work-house, should not be treated as the able-bodied pauper, of whom it is uncertain whether it is real want of work or idleness which brings him within its walls. The necessity for a stringent test is not so great; the cases in which it is an unmerited hardship are far more numerous. The natural feelings of self-respect, strengthened by a life of self-supporting toil, will deter the aged labourer from entering the house—a stringent law may compel children, when able, to support their parents. It is often urged, as an objection to any relaxation in the treatment of the aged poor, (for to the case of the impotent it cannot apply), that they should have laid by, in their youth, a provision for their declining years. Alas! they who reason thus, know little of the difficulty of laying by out of earnings which barely afford a subsistence. They know little of the earnest longings and persevering efforts of the poor to achieve this independence. Improvidence and wasteful extravagance there is, indeed, (chiefly amongst the workers of our large manufacturing towns, where wages are subject to great fluctuations.) Education, provident societies, savings'-banks, and freehold associations, are doing much to effect a cure; but, even now, in nine cases out of ten, the man

who, after a life of labour, comes to the workhouse in his old age, is the victim of misfortune rather than of improvidence. For reasons, then, as well of justice as of policy, we would urge the placing of the aged and impotent poor in a separate part of the building, where they might be freed from the tyranny of the strong, where the discipline and the seclusion need not be so rigorous, and, by which means, the charity of the rich might be more easily directed to affording them those additional comforts and allowances which the law cannot and ought not to provide.* The aged require more warmth, a somewhat better quality of food than adults, and cannot perform the same labours. All these facts form so many distinctions between their case and that of the able-bodied. Most of the countries in Europe, where relief is systematic, appreciate this distinction. In Denmark, in Wurtemberg, and in Bavaria, this distinction of classes is observed; and we have the testimony of Mr. M'Gregor for Denmark, and that of Lord Erskine for Bavaria, as to the good effects which result from it.† In Wurtemberg, the number of paupers, so far from increasing, had diminished from 64,896 in 1820 to 50,000 in 1834. In Denmark, the classification of the poor is well worthy of attention. They are divided into—first, the aged and sick and impotent, who are provided with food, clothing, and lodging—second, orphans, foundlings, and deserted children, who are placed with the peasants and brought up at the expense of the parish; and—third, the poor, unable, from want of work, &c., to support themselves. The latter are to be supplied

* It cannot be too clearly understood that poor-rates are, for the most part, paid by the poor—that is, by the class only one degree above their recipients: and that it is, therefore, an injustice whenever they are applied to supply anything beyond necessaries. This is forgotten by charitable guardians, who vote a Christmas dinner of beef and plumpudding out of the rates for the paupers; little thinking of the payers, who may find it hard to give their families a dinner of greens and bacon on that day. Their charity should prompt them to subscribe their own money—not to vote away that of the poor. But there can be no objection to the subscriptions of the charitable being applied to alleviating the lot of those aged poor in the house whom they have thus every moral certainty are proper objects of charity.

† Ap. Senior.

with absolute necessities, but are to be made to work, and are for ever accountable to their parish for whatever they may have cost it above the value of their work; and, should they afterwards acquire money, they must refund to the parish. In Belgium and other Catholic countries, this distinction is less observed, because the number of almshouses, of hospitals, of bureaux de bienfaisance, supported by ancient foundations or private charity, and administered—not by paid overseers, but by those who, taught by a religion of charity, voluntarily give up their time to the relief of their suffering brethren, leave few of those oppressed by age and infirmities to the cold charity of the law.

Such should ever be the case. Spontaneous charity is not only more consonant with the law of the Gospel, but it is incomparably more effectual, and more economic in its application. That, in industrial countries subject to sudden fluctuations of trade, a legal provision may be required to provide for the unforeseen destitution of the able-bodied, is, perhaps, unavoidable; but, that the natural objects of Christian charity should be driven to the resource of a legal workhouse, is a disgrace to a country calling itself Christian. We are, however, well aware that, as the resources necessary to meet extensive poverty can only be supplied by that abundant charity which the Catholic religion teaches, so the fitting administrators can be found only amongst those animated by her self-sacrificing spirit. Amongst her children only can be found the intimate knowledge of the poor, and of their wants of the laborious missionary—the tender zeal and prudence of the sister of charity, and that spirit of active charity which induces even her lay members (as those of the confraternity of St. Vincent de Paul), to devote their time to the personal and minute investigation of the wants of the poor. Here, in England, all our voluntary charities fail, more or less, from the want of this principle; the subscriptions are voluntary, but they are administered by paid officials; and hence it was calculated, last year, when the subject occupied a good deal of the public attention, that one-third of the funds of the different charities was absorbed by the costs of administration, whilst the cases of imposition, notwithstanding all formal and legal checks, are most numerous, from the want of a personal knowledge of the poor in the charitable governors. How differently matters are managed in

Catholic countries may be seen at a glance. In Genoa, the poor must apply through the parish priest—to whom every one of his parishioners is known, and the members of the board of administrators—persons of the highest rank in the city, investigate, personally, every case.* In Nantes, ladies of the first families (*les dames de charité*), are appointed annually to visit and give relief to the poor, each having a fixed district.† In the town of Chamberry, in Savoy, the poor are divided into twenty-four districts, which are each confided to the care of a committee of three charitable ladies, who voluntarily undertake this office. Sir Augustus Foster adds: “If this establishment were rich enough to provide employment for indigent families at their own homes, it would be far superior to all other charitable institutions.‡ Venice presents—or did present till the late political changes, at once a noble example of Catholic munificence, and of its wise and prudent distribution. From many causes, chiefly the decline of its political power and its commerce, this city abounded in pauperism. To meet this inevitable evil, besides hospitals, asylums, &c., a general fund is raised (by legacies, subscriptions, and a small tax on theatres), in this town, which numbers only 112,000 inhabitants,§ of no less an amount than £100,000. This is administered by a commission composed of men of the highest rank in the city, with the patriarch at their head; and all authorities are loud in their praise of their good management.||

The next great class of poor whose case requires to be considered separately are the children. Differing from the aged—for they are not leaving but entering life; from the able-bodied—for their poverty can in no sense be said to be of their own creation; they demand the earnest consideration of the State, for they are her future members; they are in her hands; as she forms them—good or evil, for weal or woe, they must abide with her to the end. Orphans, they have even a stronger claim. We pension and reward the children of those who die for the State in battle. Shall we cast off the orphan progeny of those who have fallen in the battle of civilization; who, having given their strength and energy to swell the common prosperity, and to achieve an independence for themselves and their children, are too

* *Cen. Stat.*† *Sen.*, p. 164.‡ *Sen.*, p. 187.§ *M'Culloch, Com. Dict.*|| *Sen.*, p. 187.

often struck down when it is almost within their grasp, by some of those chances to which our labouring classes are so liable—by accident, or by fever, or by cholera? Into the question of the treatment of foundlings we shall not now enter; we have previously discussed it in this magazine.

The leading principle to be observed in the treatment of children is, that they must be regarded as future members of society and free citizens. They are not as the adult poor, the overflowings of a redundant population—an evil no longer to be cured, but only to be palliated and endured. To contemplate them as destined to a life of pauperism and a perpetual abode in a workhouse, were to doom them to irredeemable degradation, and society to an eternal incubus. They cannot be regarded as systematically idle, or as preferring a life of mendicant sloth to one of laborious independence; hence the close attention to limit public charity to absolute necessities, and the introduction of tests of hardships, indispensable in the case of the adult pauper, is unnecessary in their case, whilst to surround their position with those moral restraints of humiliation and abasement which restrain the honest labourer from exchanging his hard struggle for subsistence with the assured existence of a workhouse, is to degrade the moral sense of our children—to destroy in them all sense of self-respect—all love of labour and of independence; to render them the pariahs of society and its deadliest enemies.

Too long have we systematically brutalized the children depending on the law for an existence and an education; too long has the unfortunate “workus” been considered by others, and taught to consider himself, a degraded and inferior being; and fearfully has the lesson been retaliated on the society which taught it. Told, from his infancy, that his poverty rendered him the equal of criminals, he has proved himself their equal in crime; instructed to consider labour an unredeeming aimless punishment, he has exchanged it for theft. The children’s ward of the workhouse was considered a den of outcasts—it has proved a nursery of thieves.* No; our children must be educated

* We do not, of course, mean to include all our workhouses in this category. Much has been done, of late years, to improve the working of the system in some places; but the fearful revelations

to become honest and useful members of society; but, to effect this, they must be treated separately and differently from the other paupers. They must be taught to consider themselves—not as degraded outcasts, but as orphans whom the State, the common parent of all, has adopted. They must be taught the merit of laborious industry, the value of honesty, the reward of virtue; in a word, they must be taught religion. They must also be taught some useful trade or occupation, whereby to earn their bread. But education cannot be effected by compulsion; fear is not a sufficient motive; reward is more effectual, and, in enforcing habits of virtue and of industry, is alone effectual.

We shall later, in considering the case of the able-bodied, discuss the supposed objections drawn from the science of political economy, against giving rewards, or a share in the profits of their work, to paupers; suffice it, for our present purpose, to know that children cannot be educated without rewards; and that those rewards which seem most the result of their own efforts are the best. Order a child to learn the trade of a shoemaker; his progress, if any, is slow, because he feels no interest in it. Tell him, that when he succeeds he shall be rewarded, or shall have a good pair of shoes of his own making, and he learns with avidity and facility. It is a practical lesson of the value of industry. In every well-regulated establishment, this principle is recognised; in the schools of the *Depôts de Mendicité* in Belgium—in those of Frankfort—in that of Genoa, perhaps the best managed in Europe, rewards, both in clothes, books, and honourable distinctions, as the cross of honour,* are distributed every month;

which were made last year as to the number of rogues and prostitutes our London workhouses supply, amply prove the general accuracy of our remarks, and the objections alleged above apply to the present *system* everywhere.

* Too little use has been made in these countries of these honourable rewards and encouragements. But foreign governments have not imitated our apathy in this respect. One of the first acts of the present much-maligned Pontiff, Pius the Ninth, was to afford every encouragement and assistance to the *scuole notturne*, (evening schools nearly analogous to our ragged schools); nor did he consider it unworthy of his high office personally to distribute the prizes to these poor children, and console them with words of loving counsel and

and also with much state, in presence of the administration, and of strangers, at the end of the year. All who are employed in the different works receive three-fifths of their earnings—two-fifths for their own immediate use, and one-fifth is laid by in a savings' fund, and is given to them when they leave. Nay, even in prisons, this has been adopted with the greatest success. In that of the *Jeunes Detenûs* in Paris, (for juvenile offenders), all are taught some trade, and are allowed, by way of reward, a portion of their earnings, with which they can purchase fruit, toys, &c.; and so excellent were the results found to be, that when we visited this prison in 1848, we found that, whilst the provisional government had, at the dictation of the *ateliers nationaux*, abolished all work in the other prisons, they had, at the earnest desire of all who felt an interest in juvenile reform, allowed the management of the *Jeunes Detenûs* to continue the same.*

It is not, however, enough to teach the young reading and writing: they are to earn their bread by their labour; it is therefore an industrial education which they essentially require: thus, in Genoa, the children are divided into two classes, whilst the one class attend the school during the forenoon, and work in the afternoon, the other are in the

encouragement. By an old institution of Rome, a public examination in the catechism, of all the children, is held in one of the churches of the city, at Easter; many of the cardinals and dignitaries attend; the examination lasts several hours; prizes are distributed; and the candidate who has most distinguished himself is proclaimed emperor, whilst the two next are declared princes, (a dignity which they retain for a year.) The boy-emperor is presented to his Holiness, and has the privilege of personally asking a favour of the sovereign, which is never refused. This ancient custom gave rise, some few years since, to a touching incident. A Roman had been condemned to death for some crime; but, as is usual in Rome, the execution of the sentence was deferred for a considerable time. The criminal had a son about fourteen years of age, who did not resemble him in vice. Diligent before, stimulated by a secret vow, the lad redoubled his attention to the instructions of his teachers. His filial piety met with its reward. He was proclaimed emperor; and, when presented to his bishop and his sovereign, he fell at his feet and begged his father's life. The boon was granted, and the father, who owed his life to the piety of his son, came forth from prison an altered man.

* See also Parkhurst Report, p. 6, quoted later.

workrooms in the morning, and the schoolroom in the evening. A very common error in industrial education is to educate all the children to trades; the great mass of the labouring classes must ever be agricultural labourers; whilst, for the purposes of emigration, the most useful class are those who combine with the habit of field labour, a moderate knowledge of the commoner trades, as carpenters, masons, smiths.*

One of the best arranged institutions for this purpose, is the new school of Reform, as it is called at Ruysselede, in Belgium. By a law passed, April 3rd, 1848, it was determined to erect two special establishments for young mendicants and vagabonds of either sex, under eighteen years of age: that for the boys already exists. A farm of four hundred acres, of very poor land, but which was enclosed and fenced, and on which there were very extensive buildings, originally erected by an English company for the cultivation of beet root sugar, and which had become bankrupt, was purchased, in 1848, for 16,000 fr., and converted into an agricultural school for 500 boys.† They are fed and clothed exactly as the children of poor peasants, and attend school for two hours each day; the rest of their time is employed on the farm, which thus serves the double purpose of an agricultural model farm, and of a school for training up these children to be good labourers. A somewhat similar institution is the Philanthropic farm school at Redhill, in Surrey, where young offenders are trained to agricultural pursuits, and receive such an amount of school teaching, (an hour and a half daily,) as is suited to their condition. The effects of this method are equally good in the Belgian and the English institution. It is much to be desired that their example and the recommendations of its able directors, may effect a change in a similar sense in the discipline of Parkhurst.‡

* It is also a well founded objection to teaching the poor children trades, which require a lengthened training, as jewellers, locksmiths, engravers, that we are doing a serious injury to artisans of that class, who have often no other inheritance to leave their children, but the laboriously acquired and valuable knowledge of their art.

† There were about 250 at it, the buildings not being all fitted up, when we visited it in Sep. 1849, in company with the enlightened representative of Bruges, M. Peers, the head of the committee for its direction.

‡ See Reports relative to Parkhurst prison, 1850.

And that the new schools, established under the poor-law commissioners, to replace the establishments of Mr. Drouet, and Mr. Aubin, should be modelled on the plan of Mettray, of Ruysselede, and of the Philanthropic.

We regret much to learn from the report of the Irish Commissioners,* that their powers for forming district industrial schools have not yet been called into operation.

The good results experienced from the attention to the young, not only in their own improvement, but in the permanent diminution of pauperism to be supported, are every where loudly proclaimed, from Wurtemberg,† from Bremen, from Lubeck, from Frankfort, from Belgium, from Savoy,‡ the testimony is the same. And if, unfortunately, so many of our workhouses educate only paupers, prostitutes, and thieves, the cause must be sought in their defective administration, not in any inherent difficulty in providing a good and suitable education for their inmates, and one which the results shall approve.§ How far, however, this can be done in our present workhouses, is matter of grave question. At present, in these establishments, the young are little distinguished from the other inmates. There is, indeed, a children's ward, and a schoolmaster or mistress, but the superintendence is the same. The one master is expected to manage the whole concern: now here, at once, arises a radical difficulty: the qualities required in the master of a workhouse, and those of a master of a poor school, are widely different; for the former are required impartiality, firmness, and a power of enforcing discipline and obedience amongst a turbulent race. But far other qualities are required to conciliate and encourage children: gentleness, patience, and above all, a love of his arduous

* Report, p. 10.

† Naville de la Charite Legale, vol i. p. 255.

‡ Senior.

§ That a good education is possible even under the most difficult circumstances, Duchatelet (*De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris*), affords a very remarkable proof, when he states, that during five years, only 41 of this unhappy class had been brought up in the immense establishment of the *Enfants Trouvés*, (foundling hospital,) in Paris. What a contrast to the results of our London workhouses, of which it is calculated, that at least one-third of the children educated there, are afterwards to be found on the streets.

duty, and his young charge, are pre-eminently necessary in one capable of successfully conducting the education of children. Hence, the peculiar success attending the teaching of the christian brothers, who devote themselves wholly to the education of the poor, and go through a peculiar training, to fit themselves for the discharge of this duty.* Hence, the wonderful success of a man like the late Dr. Arnold,† like St. Philip Neri, or like the advocate Michael Gigli,‡ who were animated with the love of their duty and of their charge.

How are these difficulties to be overcome? We cannot in these countries have christian brothers as in Belgium, to take charge of our workhouse schools: nor can we get an Arnold as master for each of our 590 English workhouses. Yet there are some men, though few, to be found, who are capable of directing the education of our poor; and it seems to us, that the only practical solution of the question, is the creation of an establishment analogous to that of Ruysselede, devoted entirely to the bringing up of the poor children. What cannot be done for every parish in the kingdom, might yet be done in two or three instances. An establishment might be formed under careful superintendence, where the best practical system of education, under the most skilful guidance, might be carried on, and to which the different parishes might send their children, paying for their keep. The expense to the parish would not be greater; indeed, it would not be difficult to show that it might be less; whilst from the numbers concentrated together, the administration could afford to employ the most suitable masters, and the most able superintendence. A parish with 30 or 40 children to take care of, finds it a heavy burden to give a scanty salary to an illiterate schoolmaster; an establishment which contained 1,000 children, could afford to pay for the most efficient director. We would earnestly urge that this system of unions combining to establish district schools for their

* None can help being struck with the vast difference of the teaching of the various religious bodies in the poor schools of Belgium, France, and Italy, and that of merely hired teachers in our various charitable schools.

† Stanley's *Life of Arnold*.

‡ Founder of evening schools in Rome. Morichini. vol. ii. p. 113.

children, which has already been carried out, in some instances, in and around London,* should be more extended and developed, especially in Ireland. Thus might our pauper children be rendered a benefit to the country instead of a curse, and one of the greatest sources of pauperism dried up; whilst we should be able to furnish to our colonies, large supplies of valuable labourers.

There remains to be considered the most difficult case of all, that of paupers, able bodied adults; of the man who, able and willing to work, is unable to obtain employment, and in the midst of wealth and plenty, sees himself prevented, by the laws of society, from acquiring a subsistence by the means with which nature has provided him. The very statement of his case involves the proof of his right to relief. In a state of nature each man draws freely from the earth the means of living; society has imposed the law of property which is necessary to its existence, and which deprives men of this indiscriminate right of feeding themselves with the produce of the earth; it must then provide a remedy, when this rule works to prevent individuals finding food for themselves. But while it is equally impolitic, as it is morally wrong, and opposed to christian charity, to allow the poor to starve; for "bread" is the cry which leads on mobs to revolution and to pillage, and to a hungry multitude may be applied the words of the poet:

"Per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Letu fulmineo."—Hor. Od. iii. 11.

Whilst, we repeat, the able bodied poor, who cannot otherwise find a living, are to be supported at the expense of the state; every pains must be taken not to encourage idleness, and not to render the condition of the man receiving relief, superior to that of his comrade struggling in the world, for a hard earned and scanty living. In England, the great method hitherto taken to effect this end, has been by means of the workhouse, to reduce the scale of pauper dietary to the lowest possible ebb, so as to ensure, as far as possible, that the food which the labourer may procure for himself, shall be superior to that which the law provides for the inmates of the poor house. We are eminently a practical

* See Report Poor-law Board. England, 1849. p. 9.

people, and distinguished for our Saxon love of feeding ; we seek to induce men to subscribe to charities by feeding them well, and we seek to deter men from entering the workhouse by feeding them ill. In fact, the guardians of Andover were only carrying out this mode of viewing the question to its logical conclusion ; when reflecting on the hardships and privations which so many of the labouring poor undergo, they determined to make the inmates of their workhouse endure still greater hardships and privations. But the system has failed under the trial ; it is impossible, without cruelty, to make the workhouse dietary inferior to that to which some of the labouring poor are often reduced. The public revolted against the logical consequence of the Andover guardians ; it was found necessary, in order to keep them in health, to feed the inmates of prisons better than those of the poor-house, and, immediately, the starving began to break windows, and commit other offences, in order to be sent to goal, rather than to the poor-house. And, finally, in Ireland, for the last three years, when a great portion of the population were reduced to the brink of starvation, it would have been necessary to have starved the paupers outright, in order to have carried out the system.

It, therefore, becomes necessary to devise some other means of distinguishing the deserving from the idle and slothful poor. And if we turn to those countries where this is most successfully managed, we shall find the principles, on which they proceed, to be mainly reducible to three. First, that of acquiring, from competent sources, a knowledge of the circumstances and antecedents of the applicants ; thus in Genoa, all applicants for relief are required to produce a certificate from the parish priest, and their case is submitted to the judgment of the council, composed of men of the highest rank and most extended knowledge in the city, who take every means of ascertaining the true circumstances of the case ; and no complaint of the misappropriation of the relief has ever been heard.* In Venice, a commission, composed of laity of the highest rank, with the Patriarch at their head, investigate each case on the report of the parish priest.†

* Cen. Stat.

† Senior, p. 189.

We have already mentioned the arrangement by which, in Chamberry, the relief of the poor is confided to 24 committees of ladies, with the very best effects.

We are now, of course, only illustrating the principle, not advocating the introduction, in its entirety, of any of these systems. Alas, we have in England no sisters of charity, to whom to confide the care of our millions of poor;* nor could the clergy in England undertake the task of certifying the wants of the poor. They have too seldom that minute and personal knowledge of their flocks which the foreign clergy have, and which is the very ground work of such a system; nay, even the Catholic clergy have far too large congregations to be able to keep up a personal knowledge of each member of them. On the continent, where the parishes are very small, and the parish priests are constantly living amongst their parishioners, they know each individual under their care, as though they were but one family. Thus, in Genoa, with a population of 115,257,† there are 28 parishes; in Rome, with a population of 154,000, there are 52. Yet something of this sort might be done in England; more enquiry might be made, and proof required, of the condition of the applicants for relief; and more especially in the country parishes, the resident landholders should deem it their duty to give the assistance of their local knowledge in administering the relief of the poor. The second principle of distinction between the labouring poor and those receiving relief, is that restraint and separation which is the necessary and fitting accompaniment of indoor relief. It was the fashion in England, some short time ago, to declaim much against the separation of man and wife in the workhouse; but unless it be intended to make the workhouse an agreeable retirement, we cannot see how it could be otherwise. Society is surely entitled to say to the pauper, we will support you sufficiently and kindly, but we must subject you to restraint and to controul; your position, whilst not one of want or privation, must be one of restraint, and of a certain unpleasantness. And if we examine the precedents of former times in our own country, and of those countries where

*Of course, we are aware that there are here and there houses of sisters of mercy, charity, &c., nor would we undervalue the exertions of Miss Sellon, at Plymouth; but these are but drops in the ocean.

† M'Culloch's Com. Dict.

charity is administered with the greatest regard for the poor, we shall find such to be the case. Of old, when there were almshouses in England instead of workhouses, there was always a separate building for each sex. The poor were taught to consider their lot, not as one of misery to be complained of, nor yet to be sought to be altogether relieved; they were considered as children whom God had pleased to chasten, that they might learn the more to leave the world and follow him. They were considered in some degree in a light analogous to those who had taken a voluntary vow of poverty, as called to a greater spirit of prayer and mortification than those labouring in the world.

Hence, we always find the regulations of almshouses to bear a close resemblance to those of religious communities.* We must confess we would willingly see restraint carried even further than the present English law does. At present, ingress and egress to the workhouse are always practically open to those who choose to submit to its regulations; and the tradesman who through the summer has worked enough to enable him to live and indulge in that excess which has drained his pocket and injured his health, at the approach of winter, finds work scarce and disagreeable, he accordingly takes up his winter quarters in the workhouse. A strolling beggar, with six children, has there taken up her abode for the winter season; for wandering about the country in wet is disagreeable, and frosty weather suits not for sleeping "à la belle étoile;" her children are removed from bad example, are being taught their religion, and fitted to earn their bread: but spring comes, the fine weather tempts the stroller forth, and she takes her children with her to teach them dishonesty and every vice, and fit them for becoming the permanent inmates of the workhouse and the prison. Why, in the name of common sense, should these people not be told "you were a charge to your country last winter and will be again; you cannot go out unless you can show that you have some honest means of earning your bread. Your children, if brought up beggars, will be for ever a burden to the state; you shall not take them away from instruction, unless to sup-

* See, for instance, the rule of Sherburne hospital, given in Surtees's *History of Durham*, vol. i. p. 127.

port them honestly.* In Belgium, the inhabitants of the *dépôt de mendicité* cannot quit them, unless the commune to which they are chargeable, declare that they have a means of earning their bread, nor can it be charged with their support if it point out a means by which they may support themselves.

In Pennsylvania the idea is carried further, for there the pauper cannot quit the asylum until he has, by his labour, paid for his support. We will, however, discuss this system a little later.

But the great principle for distinguishing the really necessitous from the idle poor, as the great means of disciplining and improving them, both morally and physically, is Labour.

Labour was ordained by God as the lot of man, from the fall of our first parents; and as the Supreme wisdom ever draws good from all its ordinances, and makes even that which was a punishment, conducive to the good of man; labour has continued from that day to be at once the expiation, and the ennobler of man. It is not only necessary as a means of procuring a subsistence, but it invigorates the frame, and gives a self-reliance, and a dignity to the mind. In the highest, as in the lowest station, the man who does not work becomes gradually an enfeebled and a miserable being. Whether placed above the necessity of working for a livelihood, he gives himself up to indolent pleasure, and becomes the victim of ennui and listlessness; or in a lower sphere he shuns honest industry, and seeks a livelihood by mendicancy, imposition, or theft; the deviation from the universal law, and its attendant Nemesis, is essentially the same. Labour, too, is the most effectual test for discriminating the honest poor from the slothful impostor. The former seeks work and rejoices to feel himself not a wholly useless member of society: the latter shuns

* Contrast the legislation of Pennsylvania, an act passed 5th March 1848: "And whereas it frequently happens that children who have been receiving public support for indefinite periods, are claimed by their parents when they arrive at a proper age for being bound out, the guardians are authorized to bind out all children that have, or may have, received public support, either in the almshouse or children's asylum, although their parents may demand their discharge from the said institutions, unless the expenses incurred in their support be refunded."

and hates all continuous toil. No sooner is work introduced into a poorhouse than the number of inmates is at once reduced. In Sheffield, Mass. U. S., the number was at once reduced by this means, from 49 to 17. In the parish of St. Mary's, Lambeth, London, the same means reduced the number to 1 in 50.*

Yet, of late years we have seen a class of politicians, who zealously laboured to exclude all labour from our prisons and workhouses, thereby demoralizing the inmates, unfitting them for future exertion, and introducing directly all the ill consequences which flow from idleness, "for satan still finds work for idle hands to do."

The objection made to labour in poor asylums, is said to be founded on the principles of political economy, and is this: That it is unjust to subject the independent labourer and producer, to competition with the products of compulsory labour.

Far be it from us to disparage the maxims of economic science; but we would observe that this law applies only to competition, in supplying the buying public, not in supplying the recipients of relief themselves. The reason is apparent, it is no advantage to the producer to afford him a market out of the taxes he pays; or to have recourse to an illustration. It is no advantage to a shoemaker to buy his shoes from him for the paupers with the poor-rate he himself pays. He would certainly say, were he given the choice, charge me so much less poor-rate, and leave me to find a market for my shoes elsewhere than at the poorhouse. The other system is like feeding a dog with a piece of his own tail.† The more paupers can be made to do for themselves, the less will be the cost of their maintenance.‡

* App. Naville, vol. I. p. 247.

† This illustration has been already used for another part of the poor laws, by Dr. Whateley, "*sum cuique.*"

‡ Our Poor-law Commissioners are slowly beginning to recognise this fact. The Irish Commissioners say, "considerable disposition has recently been shown by boards of Guardians in different parts of Ireland, to entertain projects for the profitable employment of the workhouse inmates. Although past experience in this country, and in England, has not been favourable to the opinion that pauper labour can be made a direct source of profit beyond a very limited extent, we have thought it desirable to distinguish between those

But not only is it consonant with sound economic science, that those who are a charge to the state should be made to supply their own wants; they may also, without any undue interference with free labour, be employed to supply those of the state.

The reason is analogous: as the state pays the free labour it employs only with taxes raised from the same source, any expedient which does away at once with the expenditure and the tax, is not only not an injury, but a positive benefit to the community, inasmuch as, in the former case, a large proportion of the fund is absorbed by costs of collection, &c., and the industrious classes never receive back the full amount of their taxes in employment by the state.*

There was much wisdom in Colbert's answer to one who spoke of the benefits of employment afforded by the government to the industrious classes; he pointed out that they were paid with their own money, and added: "be assured you can never give back to a people as much as you take from them."

We need hardly point out how large a field for useful employment of the poor may be found in supplying the poorhouses, the prisons, lunatic asylums, and other county institutions, paid for by the poor and county rates.† And we must frankly confess that, so great a value do we set on well directed labour, as a means of reform and education,

proceedings which are directed towards the object of providing for the wants of the workhouse establishment, by the labour of the inmates, and other proposals, which appeared to us more directly calculated to bring pauper labour into competition with the independent workman. * * * We have, at the same time, continually urged upon the boards of Guardians the importance of enforcing industry amongst the inmates of workhouses, not merely for the sake of the economy, which may arise from the intelligent application of their labour, but still more as the means of securing the discipline of such establishments, and maintaining the efficiency of the workhouse test."—Irish Report, p. 10.

* This principle is distinctly recognized in Wurtemberg. — Senior, p. 58.

† The new Irish Medical Charities Bill, by making all the medical charities chargeable to the poor-rates, renders the justice of diminishing the tax by supplying these institutions with pauper-manufactured blankets, &c., still clearer.

especially for the young, that we would rather see the labour market somewhat infringed on than the young brought up in idleness. The majority of our own work-houses in which the paupers are left in idleness, furnish a striking contrast to the foreign institutions, and the few of our own, (as that of Brighton,) where the inmates are regularly employed.

Order has been more easily preserved, and much of the former precautions against disturbance dispensed with in our improved prisons, as Pentonville, and Millbank, in which the prisoners are kept constantly employed. When visiting the prisons of Paris, in 1848, we met with a still more striking proof of the truth of this principle. The provisional government, influenced through the committee of the Louvre, by the clamour which was raised against prison work, had ordered the suspension of all labour in the prisons of Paris. In the great prison of La Force we found the guards doubled, the prisoners scowling in knots, and the guardians informed us that the prisoners who, whilst they were employed were peaceable and obedient, from the moment they were idle, had been caballing and murmuring, and that they feared for an outbreak. At the female prison of St. Lazare, the government had, after a short experiment, which resulted in an *emeute* of the prisoners, at the urgent instance of the governor, permitted the partial resumption of labour; and at the *Jeunes Detenûs*, where it had never been discontinued, the prison was in the best possible order.

Another objection which is often made to the employing of the paupers or prisoners is, that it is productive of more expense than profit. This is very strongly put by Naville, (vol i. p. 30.) who maintains, that employing paupers is always more costly than simply maintaining them. The answer to this is, not only that this is not necessarily the case, but, that in fact, in many instances such labour, when well managed, produces a very great profit. The *Albergo dei poveri*, at Genoa, contains very few able-bodied poor, yet makes profit (after allowing the workers three-fifths of the value of their labour) of fifteen per cent on the capital employed. The *Depot de Mendicité*, of Bruges, which contained 400 workers including children, made a profit on their work of £1,000 in 1848.

The *Maison de Force*, at Ghent, which contains 1200

prisoners, produces a revenue, after paying its expenses, of £4,000.*

The Atelier de Charitè, or Comiten, at Antwerp, also finds a profit in its productions, as we believe do the Case di Lavoro, at Trieste, at Venice, &c. (See Naville, vol i. note 4.)

In many countries, not only is the pauper made to work, but his support, and his freedom to quit the workhouse, is made to depend upon his doing so efficiently. In Pennsylvania, in Maryland,† in Denmark, in Belgium, and in parts of France,‡ the system of keeping a debtor and creditor account, with the pauper, is more or less carried out. The foundation of this arrangement is the idea that the support afforded to the able-bodied poor, is a debt which they owe to the community, to be repaid by their labour. They are debited with their support and credited with the value of their labour. Nor are they at their liberty to quit the asylum until they have indemnified it, at least in a settled proportion, for their cost. Although it may frequently be impossible, rigorously to carry out this principle of accountability; every approach to it, every thing which makes the pauper's support or well being dependant on his own exertions, and thus fosters industry, and self respect, is most valuable.

In Pennsylvania, by an act of 1828, (Ap. Senior, p. 19.) the guardians are authorised to open an account with the pauper, to charge him for his maintenance, and credit him with the value of his services, to compel him to work, and not to discharge him till he has compensated by his labour for the expenses incurred on his account.

In Belgium all are made to work, are charged for their support out of their labour, and should their earnings be insufficient to pay for it, are to be furnished only with bare necessities, (mere bread for food;) an exception is made in favour of those who, from ill health, or other causes, are incapable of earning. So also in the regulations of the Depot de Mendicitè, of Rouen, we find the following rule: Each able-bodied inmate is to have a task set him, pro-

* Rapport sur l'état de l'Administration dans la Flandre Occidentale fait au Conseil Provincial dans sa Session de 1849. Par la Deputation Permanente.

† In Maryland, (Naville, vol. i., p. 249).

‡ Senior.

portioned to his strength and skill. If he do not finish it, he is to be paid only for what he has done, put on dry bread, and kept to work during the hours of recreation. Every workman doing more than his task is to be paid two-thirds of the value of his extra labour. (Sen. 159.)

The efforts of the various comités de travail bureaux de bienfaisance atelier modeles, &c., of Belgium, are all directed to attain this object of making the poor feel that their well being is dependant on their own exertions; and we rejoice to say that these exertions have been attended with the very best results. The poor in these institutions, instead of being the slothful, incapable, and demoralized class which fill too many of our workhouses, are industrious, intelligent, and well conducted, eager and capable to again support themselves by independent labour, whenever the opportunity offers.

Our readers can hardly have helped remarking, however, that we have already alluded to a further extension of the system of employing the paupers: the necessity of giving them a direct interest in their labour. Men will not work without an object, or if compelled to do so, will do it unwillingly and ill. The slave and the pauper may indeed be made to work by the lash of the driver, or the dread of punishment-cell; but the task will be regarded as a punishment, and will be executed as grudgingly and as ill as possible; and instead of being a lesson, and an incentive to habits of industry, will make even remunerative labour ever after distasteful.

Man naturally dislikes all labour, but more especially that which seems to be aimless; prisoners are known to have a peculiar objection to the tread-mill, when it is used merely as a punishment, and the prisoners in Pentonville, who work eagerly in their cells for the object of learning a trade, by which afterwards to support themselves, feel it as a most grievous punishment to be compelled to work the punishment-engine, which they know, serves no further object than compelling exertion. The paupers in Tuam workhouse repeatedly broke the mill, which they considered was intended merely to inflict on them unnecessary labour.

The necessity of giving the poor interest in their labour, is peculiarly felt in the industrial education of the young. It is most essential to associate in their minds the idea of

labour, with that of reward, of exertion, with that of independence.

On this point we cannot appeal to a better authority than that of the visitors of Parkhurst prison for juvenile offenders. Col. Jebb says:—"I conceive it would be an object, in connection with these proposed changes, to be enabled to credit each prisoner with some small gratuity;" and the reports add:—"We would gladly see some direct encouragement given to the boys, and we venture to suggest, when they succeed in making the farm more productive than it has hitherto been, that a small gratuity be credited to the deserving prisoners of the first class, according to the regulations laid down in this respect, for the convicts employed on public works, at Portland, and elsewhere."*

But here again we are met with an argument derived from the maxims of economic science. It is said, the pauper who is unable to pay for his support, owes all his labour to the community; and it is an injustice to the latter to give the former any portion of his earnings. This is, however, to regard the pauper merely as a machine, or a beast of burthen, wholly overlooking the duty of cultivating his moral nature, and instilling principles of industry, which may render him a useful member of society. Nay, even as a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence, we are convinced that it will be found profitable to encourage active exertion by reward. Naville enumerates a long list of places in which it was found more expensive to employ the poor than to support them in idleness; and the same result has frequently been arrived at in our work-houses; but in all these instances the employed had no interest whatever in their labour, while in the Belgian institutions, and prisons at Genoa, at Rouen, &c., where they receive a portion of their earnings, the work is profitable.

In different places the proportion of their earnings received by the inmates, and the manner in which they are

* Reports relating to Parkhurst Prison, 1850. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty, p. 5, 6.—It will hardly be believed that what is allowed in the case of convicts, is strictly prohibited, by the Poor-law Commissioners, to be done for paupers—even children.

allowed to dispose of them varies. In the *Maison de Force*, Ghent, those condemned to hard labour receive three-tenths, those condemned to long imprisonment four-tenths, those for slighter offences five-tenths of their earnings; a part is allowed them to spend (*zakgeld*,) the rest is carried to a savings account, and bears interest at 4 per cent, and is given to them on their discharge. After five years, they ordinarily have about 200 francs saved. Their *zakgeld* they can spend for meat, bread, milk, beer, coffee. An account is kept in a book of what they earn, the superintendent enters in another what they wish to buy, and the next day it is left on the table for them.* In the *Dépôt de mendicité*, Bruges, the inmates receive one-sixth of their earnings to spend in extra food. At Rouen we have already seen each inmate receives two-thirds of his extra labour. *Albergo dei Poveri*, Genoa, the workers receive for immediate use two-fifths of their earnings, one-fifth is laid by for them in a savings' fund, and two-fifths are retained for the hospital.†

In most of these institutions the inmates are also rewarded for industry and good conduct, by being appointed to various little posts of superintendence, by honourable distinctions, by medals, &c.‡

But after every exertion which may be made to check the increase, and economize the support of pauperism—after many efforts to dry up its springs by industrial training of the young, and divert the torrent which swell its stream by fostering habits of prudence and economy in the labouring classes—there always has existed, and we believe always will exist, in densely peopled countries, a mass of labour which cannot find permanent employment, a body of able bodied paupers.

The proportion which the poor relieved bear to the population, varies in different countries. In Holland,

* Formerly zinc money was used; but it was found liable to abuse, and was discontinued.

† *Cen. Stat. Introduction*, sub fin.

‡ During the five years, two medals of gold and sixty of silver and premiums in clothes and money to the amount of £84, were distributed among the poor employed in the manufactures, who distinguished themselves in work and in good conduct. These two qualities are indispensable for their attainment, and can never be disjoined.—*Cen. Stat., Art. Workers*.

twenty years ago, it amounted to one in nine of the population, and to a tax of 4s. 4d. per head on the population and was rapidly increasing;* in Hamburg it was one in twelve, and a tax of 4s.; in Flanders, in 1849, the number of poor was one in four,† and the tax 3s. 4d. (*Rapport du Conseil Provincial*. p. 105, and seq.) In England, the same year the number relieved was one in sixteen of the population, and the poor-rates amounted to 6s. 6½d.‡

Of the 1,033,812 persons relieved in England and Wales, on the 1st January, 1850, 170,502 were able bodied. Even these statistics, however, give but a very faint and inaccurate idea of the amount of labour, which in these countries seeks in vain for employment and support.

The able inquires of Mr. Mayhew (letters to the *Morning Chronicle*) have opened our eyes to the mass of destitution and misery which our great cities hide within their magnificence; and society, startled from its lethargy, asks hurriedly what is to be done. A French Demagogue§ exultingly seizes on this evidence of the amount of misery which prosperous England bears within her bosom; and in his ignorance imagining that it is peculiar to her, predicts her speedy downfall. Some of his brother theorists|| deduce the conclusion, that as idle hands seek labour, the state is bound to provide it for them; a large school of English economists, whilst they repudiate his doctrines, advocate similar ones, maintaining that the state should endeavour to increase the demand for English labour, and enhance its wages by taxing that of other countries which competes with it. But the Luxembourg experiment abundantly proved the fallacies of the French theories; and the fact that the worst paid labour in England, that of the needle-workers, is protected by the highest duty of any,¶ is deeply suggestive of the impracticability of forcing trade.

* Senior.

† This was owing to the famine and falling off in the linen trade.

‡ Report of Poor-law board, 1849, p. 3, 6.

§ Ledru Rollin.—*De la Decadence de l'Angleterre*. (See *Ante* p. 271, and foll.)

|| Louis Blanc.—*De l'Organization du Travail*.

¶ Customs duty on embroidery, needle-work, and lace generally; for every £100 value, £20. *Tariff* 1846.

The disciples of Malthus point to over population as the source of all the evil, and in one sense they are right; but it is not enough to know the cause, we want the remedy. Over population may be an evil, but it exists and increases in spite of every check which misery and poverty can bring to bear; and as our population is annually increasing, it is an evil which it is urgent to deal with.

In ancient times also countries became too densely peopled for their then means of support; and when they found their numbers too great, they gathered together and went forth to seek new homes. The emigration associations of the Gauls and other tribes were simple enough. Those who felt inclined to seek a new home assembled, chose leaders, and packing up their small chattel possessions, they marched forth to seek unoccupied lands elsewhere.* And so would our sturdy Saxon and Celtic labourers and artizans now, who find that the land of their birth no longer affords them an occupation; but they cannot, they are hemmed in as with a wall. Fair and fertile lands beckon to them from beyond the Atlantic; but the rolling ocean, as an impassable barrier, lies between; whilst thousands repine by the repelling waves, commercial enterprise, like a rigid Charon, refuses to ferry over any, save those who have the ready obolus:

“Huc omnis turba ad ripos effusa ruebat,
Matres atque viri —————
Stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,
Tendebantque manus ripæ ulterioris amore.
Navita, sed tristis nunc hos, nunc accipit illos;
Ast alios longe submotos arcet arena.”—Æneis, vi., 305.

Many noble exertions have of late been made to remedy this evil. Private beneficence has been called on to aid particular classes to emigrate, and private beneficence, as in the case of the needle-workers of London, has nobly responded to the call. But charity, however extensive, fails before a want of such magnitude. To enable the 170,000 able bodied paupers in England to emigrate, would, at a cost of £10. a head, require a sum of £1,700,000.

* Cæsar, Bell. Gall. 1.

Our colonies have been authorised to devote a portion of their revenues derived from land sales to purposes of emigration; but these are temporary expedients which cannot last.

Emigration at the cost of the state has been spoken of, but it would be a burden such as no state could bear; and unless confined to such as had, for some time, been absolute paupers, (the very worst class for emigration,) would be subject to infinite abuse. What, then, is to be done? There remains one other resource, and we believe an adequate and practical one. It is, that the state or individual associations should enable the able bodied poor, whether paupers or not, to emigrate to our colonies, making their future earnings security for the repayment of their passage. In a word, to enable the emigrant to pledge that labour which is of value in the colonies, though valueless here, for the sum necessary to enable him to bring it to that market where it will find a ready purchaser.

All that is required is legislative sanction to an arrangement, by which an able-bodied labourer desirous of emigrating to one of our Australian colonies, for instance, should be enabled to enter into an engagement to pay back an ascertained sum for his passage in instalments out of his first earnings in the colony; and to render the recovery of such sums easy, by compelling such emigrants to register on their arrival, and submit to inspection and controul, and by authorizing their employers to pay over such portion of their wages as should be determined on to the agents of the parties who had borne the expense of their passage out.*

We have already subjected emigration to our sugar colonies to somewhat similar superintendence and regulation, and with good effects.†

If the plan were adopted by Government, the arrangements might be very simple; a registry office in England,

* The idea of trusting to future payment has already been sometimes carried out, without any legislative guarantee, by some of the steam-boat companies between England and Ireland, who have often carried over Irish harvest-labourers to England for nothing—they promising to pay on their return, when they had earned money in England; nor has, we believe, this arrangement been attended with any loss to the companies.

† Report of the Committee on Sugar and Coffee planting.

at which those desirous of availing themselves of the proposed facilities might be received, and where their agreements might be entered into.

On arriving in the colony, they should be hired out publicly at a register office, and the hirer be obliged to enter into an agreement to pay into the proper office a stipulated portion of their wages; and the public emigrant, as he may be called, not be allowed to change his master, unless he can find another solvent hirer to enter into a similar agreement. They should be subject to special regulations, like the Indian and free black labourers in our sugar colonies, until their debt to the public was paid off, and the instalments from the hirers should be made recoverable by a simple process.

It would not be difficult to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the time in which they could reasonably repay the cost of their passage. It has been ascertained, from extensive experience, that poor Irish emigrants to the United States remit, on an average, £5 to their friends at home, within twelve months of their landing. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to estimate, that each public emigrant could easily repay an equal sum annually. The cost of a passage to our Australian colonies may be taken at £15 at the outside. Assuming that it will be repaid in four years, and allowing five per cent. interest for that time, this makes it £18; and, if we add £2 more for contingencies, as losses by death, sickness, &c., we find that each emigrant would repay the cost of his voyage to the colony with interest in four years, whilst he would, at the same time, be earning a competency for himself.

Should it even be judged too bold an experiment to be tried at the public expense, we doubt not but that, were the necessary legislative sanction afforded, private enterprise would be found ready to undertake the speculation, and our colonies, whose labour is so much wanted, would gladly advance the funds necessary for its importation, could they have that labour as a ready and efficient guarantee for the repayment of the cost.

In fact, turning to experience as our guide, we find that a similar system has been pursued in some of our colonies with foreign labourers, and with the best results; although, unfortunately, the mistaken interference of Government "to protect" the imported labourer, by preventing him from entering into a contract for a longer period than one

year, has checked and impaired its action, as one year is too short a period to repay the importer for the cost of his passage out.

The following is a description of the method of hiring Chinese labourers in the Province of Wellesley:—

“ This is a kind of speculative emigration. Men come on board, and ask the captain to take them. The captain will ask them whether they have any money. ‘ No ; ’ they say, ‘ but when we get to Penang, and enter into an engagement, we will arrange to pay you ; ’ and so they do. When they arrive, you see them there on board. The vessel lies at anchor. The Chinese immediately go off. For instance, my contract man would come and tell me he wanted men. I would say, ‘ Go on board and choose so many.’ They come on shore, and then you say to them, ‘ Well ; how much are you indebted to the captain ? ’ So much. The captain comes with them and receives his money, and away he goes..... In short, these Chinamen are not possessed of a farthing, probably, when they leave China. They are brought to the Straits of Malacca on credit.”—First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Sugar and Coffee-planting. Evidence of Leonard Wray, Esq., p. 67.

The same witness points out the folly of restricting the contracts which may be entered into with labourers to one year, as do also the other witnesses examined before the committee. See the evidence of Mr. Raymond, First Report, p. 194—that of Mr. E. Chapman, Second Report, p. 7, who says : “ Up to 1838, the contracts were of five years’ duration, and that worked remarkably well ; and the colony was just getting into a prosperous state when the order in Council of 1838 was promulgated.” Mr. Geo. W. Laing, Second Report, p. 75, says : “ Extension of the contracts would be of great advantage to the planter, and, I should say, equally to the labourer.”

Our readers may easily imagine how readily our poor Irish labourers would enter into an agreement which would enable them to emigrate on condition of repaying their passage-money in four or five years. And the tide of emigration, which now, from the greater cheapness of the passage, pours to the United States, would be diverted to our own colonies, which so much need it. Indeed, already from our colonies are heard wishes that some such arrangements were made practicable, as may be seen from some letters of the Protestant Bishop of New Zealand and others, which appeared in the *Daily News* about the first

of last November. Would that, the next session of Parliament, some intelligent member would take up the subject.

But it is time to draw these observations to a close. Yet we cannot conclude without drawing attention to the cheering circumstances in the condition of our own country—Ireland, disclosed by the second report on our list. The number of poor to be relieved is most materially diminished; and at the same time, the means of relief are increased. May we not hope that, now that the overwhelming pressure of pauperism is removed, the attention of those entrusted with their care will be more turned to the better administration of that relief, and, above all, to the education of the young?

“Di, probos mores docili juventæ,
Di, senectutæ placidæ quietem,
Romuli genti date remque prolemque
Et decus omne.”

ART. IV.—*Anschar : A Tale of the North.* By RICHARD JOHN KING.
1 vol. 12mo. London : J. W. Parker. 1850.

THE pictures of modern Swedish life and manners, drawn by the facile pen of Miss Bremer, have, even in an English dress, excited no little interest in our novel-reading circles; and we suspect, too, that they have induced more than one student to turn with curious eyes, towards the original language in which these charming tales were written. Little, however, did we expect, that so bold an attempt would be made by one of our own countrymen, as to embody, in the compass of a small volume, so vast an amount of archæological research as we here meet with, and yet to clothe this in so attractive a garb, as to form a most pleasing semi-historical romance. A few years ago, “Anschar” would have fallen, still-born, from the press, even had a scholar been found in England at that time capable of writing such a work; but now, archæology is a fashionable study, and even the fair sex lisp of churches and chancels, and ogee arches, in a way that would have disturbed sadly the serenity of our fox-hunting grand-

fathers. But it is not antiquarian lore alone which renders this book remarkable; we observe throughout its pages the reflection of that mighty movement which has shaken the Establishment to its centre, by developing in her very bosom the seeds of Catholic truth. There is scarce a page in which we may not see, that the author dwells with joy upon the early struggles and unshaken zeal of the first Apostles of the faith, even though that faith was confessedly in accordance with the doctrines and observances of Rome. True it is, however, that beyond this he does not venture; and, while writing with the history of St. Willehad and of St. Anscharius avowedly before him, he has not dared to embody any of the glorious miracles and wondrous visions, by which the lives of these eminent saints were distinguished. This omission gives an air of modern days to the language of the actors in the work; the monks that speak therein are certainly *not Protestants*, but yet their language is not that of those days of strong faith and vigorous self-denial. We meet here with little or none of that belief in close communion with the invisible world, which throws so strong a halo of spiritual light around the rudest records of those early days; and, though the priests of Odin are openly declared to be the ministers of the Prince of Darkness, yet the foul fiend himself does not stand forth bodily as the defender of his long-cherished kingdom. Nor do we meet but once with the name of the Successor of St. Peter, though St. Anschar was himself at Rome, and received the pallium as Archbishop of Hamburg from the hands of Pope Gregory IV. about the year 832. It may be urged, indeed, in defence, that this little volume is not a biography of St. Anschar, but an episode of his eventful life; and, in truth, we could overlook many and more grievous faults, amid the numerous beauties that are here spread out before us. The author could hardly be expected to write as a Catholic, let us rejoice that his work contains no one offensive paragraph against our holy faith—not one word that might not be approved of by the sincerest follower of Rome.

But are we then, as Catholics, well versed in the lives of the early apostles of Scandinavia? many of whom, we rejoice to say, left their native shores of Britain, to preach the faith amid the savage hordes of the North. The life of St. Anscharius is comprised, by the excellent and learned Alban Butler, in the space of a single octavo page of his

great work ; yet the biography of this saint by Rembertus occupies seventy folio pages in the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* of Langebek and Suhm. Amid the troubles of a persecution unexampled for its length and severity, we have forgotten many of the saints whose names our forefathers especially revered. Few remember now the histories of St. Olave, when passing the church of his name in York, or the still more celebrated edifice in London ; fewer still are aware, that Tooley-street, in the great British metropolis, is named after the same holy man ; and, while St. Magnus's magnificent cathedral yet stands uninjured at Kirkwall in the Orkneys, there is, we believe, not a single Catholic in those islands to breathe a prayer beneath its roof.

In the arduous task of evangelizing Scandinavia, German, French, and English monks laboured in concert ; difference of country occasioned then no difference of creed ; all zealously devoted themselves, under the pastoral superintendence of Rome, to the spreading of the Catholic faith. Among the most successful and the most zealous of these apostles was the holy man whose name adorns the present volume. We have already mentioned his most interesting biography by his successor and companion, Rembertus, and we may here express our regret, that a life of such importance—both as regards the ecclesiastical history and the early customs of Scandinavia, has not yet found an English translator. The outline of Mr. King's volume is taken from the life by Rembertus, but, for brevity's sake, and with the license of a writer of fiction, he has not hesitated to transpose several incidents from the second to the first journey of St. Anschar into Sweden.

The work consists of a series of letters supposed to have been written by a certain Anselm, a monk of New Corbey, and subsequently the companion of Anschar in his journey to the North, to his brother monk Leonardus, dwelling in a cloister under the sunny skies of Italy.

"The period of the following story," says our author in the introduction, "is the first half of the ninth century, when the empire of Charlemagne was gradually falling to pieces, whilst the Gothic and Swedish races were still heathen, and the Northern pirates were commencing that series of incessant ravages, which, for the next two centuries, rendered their name so great a terror throughout Europe. It was at this time that Anschar, a monk of

New Corbey, a Benedictine monastery on the left bank of the Weser, was despatched by Lewis the Pious to Sigtuna, in Sweden. He had already been labouring as a missionary on the Danish Marches, and his proceeding further north was owing to a request of the Swedes themselves, who had sent messengers to the emperor, desiring him to supply them with a Christian teacher."

Anselm, the supposed author of these letters, begins his story by relating how he awaited, at Hamburgh, the return of Anschar from the emperor's court at Aix, whither he had journeyed to obtain assistance in preaching the gospel to the Swedes. Hamburgh was then one of the frontier fortresses erected by Charlemagne to awe the Northern tribes, who had already commenced their incursions, to one of which, at a later period, this fortress fell a prey. On his return from Aix, Anschar proposes to Anselm to accompany him to Sweden; and our good monk, with a trembling heart, consents to undertake the perilous journey. We have again here, an instance of our author's departing from strict historic truth. Anschar was, at the period of his first visit to Sweden, a simple priest; and, on his return to that country nearly thirty years after, he was an *archbishop*—having received the pallium from Pope Gregory IV. Anschar arrives from Aix, accompanied by the valiant Count Gerold, whom Rembert mentions as an officer of the empire, and whom we here find appointed to the arduous duty of defending its northern and eastern frontier against barbarian inroads. As a specimen of our author's descriptive powers, we present our readers with the picture of the interior of the refectory of the convent at Hamburgh:—

"An enormous fire of pine logs was blazing on the central hearth, and its light, which flashed redly against the walls and roof, rendered every corner of the apartment distinctly visible. The refectory, together with the adjoining church, had been built by Anschar soon after the commencement of his residence at Hamburgh; the walls being formed of unwrought stone, procured with difficulty and from a considerable distance, whilst the roofs were more readily provided for from the timber of the surrounding forest. Wilfred, a brother of our house, of Saxon race, but who had been educated in a southern convent, had painted the walls of the church with subjects from the blessed gospels; and, along the walls of the refectory, he had pourtrayed, with no unskilful hand, on the one side, the story of Sampson, how he brake the jaw-bone of the lion, and carried off the gates of the city in the night-time;

and, on the other, the story of Pharaoh and of his wise men, who strove with Moses for the mastery. These huge and mysterious figures, which almost seemed alive as the light from the burning hearth played fitfully upon them, looked down from their lofty station on the groups of attendants—to me almost equally strange, which were variously dispersed about the hall. In one corner, a falconer, whose matted hair fell in dark masses over his shoulders, was feeding a cast of those rare and beautiful hawks which breed in the cliffs of Norway. In another, the herdmen were piling together their long Saxon lances, with their broad leaf-like blades and stout handles of ashwood. Wolf and stag-hounds were flung at full length on the floor, and, as we entered, one or two of them raised their heads with a low deep growl, as if, like their masters, they considered themselves at home in the houses of the poor monks, and only allowed them to approach even their own firesides by sufferance. The youths of noble birth, who are always found attached to the household of such great chiefs as Count Gerold, were gathered together nearer to the hearth, conspicuous by the narrow band of fretted goldsmith's work which encircled the necks of their kirtles. Close to the hearth stood the count himself; a tall, commanding figure, with fair hair and ruddy complexion, evidently more fitted for the command of such a rude and wild frontier as that of Hamburgh, than for the refinement and lettered amusements of the halls of Louis the Debonair. He wore close-fitting hose, formed of that dark-red cloth which is made in England, and is so highly prized throughout the North, and above them a rich kirtle, striped with rare and singular furs, such as are sometimes procured by the merchants who frequent the mouths of the great Eastern rivers. Round the neck of the kirtle, and encircling each wrist, were broad bands of finely-beaten gold, marked with curious devices of birds and animals; a short double-edged axe, also decorated with gold, hung at his belt; and his long fair hair, the evidence of his noble birth, was carefully divided at the forehead, exposing the figure of a small cross, traced with a sharp instrument on the skin, and stained of a crimson colour."—p. 32.

In all that refers to the early history and antiquities of the north, Mr. King is evidently well versed; and we may instance in proof of this the description of the Count Gerold's famous sword Nagling, and the wild legend, of how the weapon was obtained from the Count's ancestors' tomb.

The scene now changes to the camp of the Swedish merchants in the wild beech forests to the north of Hamburgh, such as still exist in such wondrous beauty, in the neighbourhood of Kiel. Mr. King has a ready pen for

describing modern scenery, as well as ancient manners and customs.

“The track which we followed was one of extreme antiquity, and had been used from a very early period, by the merchants who journeyed northward into the Danish country, as well as by the Danes themselves, during their wars with the Saxons. It had been worn by the treading of many feet deeply into the soil, and every here and there steep banks, covered with moss and short ferns, rose on each side of it above the height of a man on horseback. But the branches of the great trees spread on either side quite over the road; and wherever the banks opened, a view was obtained far into the depth of the forest; between the smooth pillared trunks, which, marked occasionally with patches of a short black moss, supported the green roofs of the wood. Under the actual shadow of the trees the vegetation was but thin and scanty, but wherever there was an opening between the branches, so as to admit of the penetration of a glimpse of sunshine, the wild flowers and grasses grew up thickly between the beds of fallen beech-leaves, that everywhere covered the surface of the ground. In these sunny spots the young ferns were beginning to unfold their crozier-like shoots, and the wild hyacinths were lifting themselves toward the light, pushing upwards through the rustling leaves of the last autumn, which lay all brown and withered by the side of the green and vigorous shoots and branches.”—p. 54.

We do not wish for a more true description of the beauties of those stupendous beech woods; but, again, we doubt, whether a monk of the ninth century would be so close and so excellent an observer of nature. The good man would have dwelt far more on the glory of carrying the light of the faith among the heathens, or if evil had crossed his path, he would have been engaged in an almost personal struggle with the enemy of mankind, seeking to debar him from the conquest of souls.

Meeting the merchants in the woods, Anschar and Anselm journey with them to the harbour of Schleswig, where the ships of the traders lay awaiting their arrival. From hence they sail direct for Sweden, but on the way, the ship which carried Anselm and the treasures, intended as presents for the Swedish king, falls in with the dreaded pirates of Jullin, the city of sea robbers, whose walls may yet, it is said, be seen beneath the water of the Kurisch Haff. The fight between the two vessels is less interesting than the picture drawn by Mr. King, of the equipments of the pirate vessel.

"Her sides were painted in long waving lines of blue and crimson. Her mast was tall and richly gilt; and on its summit was what appeared to be a white bird with out-spread wings, dancing and fluttering before the wind. Her sail was one broad sheet of crimson; and the prow of the vessel, which rose high and towering above the water, was singularly carved into the form of a dragon's head, and covered with thin plates of gold. On the half deck before the mast, stood a tall man bearing a standard—a gilded pole, surmounted by a mis-shapen human figure. The rest of the crew were hidden behind the rows of glittering shields which were ranged on each side, above the edge of the ship; but the length of the vessel, the long rows of shields, and the great number of her oars, made it sufficiently evident that she was well and powerfully manned."—p. 83.

The valour of the Swedish merchants is unavailing, and after a protracted fight, they fall into the power of the vultures (q. eagles) of Jullin, who carry them to the Isle of Seals to divide the spoil. But the sight of the glorious treasures of art, of the gold and silver vessels of the church, and above all, of the richly illuminated manuscripts that Anschar was bearing to the Swedish court, so inflamed the passions of the pirates, that their dissensions broke out into open violence, and, during the tumult, our monk and his Swedish companion, Jarl, manage to effect their escape. Well may Mr. King, as an antiquary, revel in the describing of these rich volumes and curiously carved cups and embossed chalices, while he deeply deplores their loss. And that such a calamity really did occur, we have the authority of Rembertus.

"Withmar himself can relate, better than I can, the many and grievous ills they suffered on this journey. Suffice it for us to state, that while yet but half way on their voyage, they fell into the hands of pirates. But the merchants with whom they travelled defended themselves bravely, and at first, indeed, the victory inclined to their side, but subsequently the pirates prevailed, and seized on their ships, and therewith all that they contained, so that, flying to the land, they scarce escaped with their lives. And there, too, they lost the gifts for the king (of Sweden,) which they were bearing unto that land; and indeed all was taken away, save a few articles, with which they jumped on shore. And they lost, moreover, nearly forty volumes which they had collected for the service of God, but which were seized by the barbarians."—Rembertus's life of St. Anscharius, c. ix.

Of the high value entertained for the holy books, whether

of the Scriptures, or appertaining to the service of the mass, we have a curious example in the life of St. Anschar, by Rembertus. Gautbert, the consecrated bishop of Sweden, had been driven out of that country by a popular insurrection, and the books and sacred utensils of the church had been plundered and carried away. The son of a certain rich Swede carried home some of the spoils to his father's house.

"And, thereupon, his substance began to diminish, and his cattle died. And the son himself, stricken with the divine vengeance, did likewise perish. Not long after, there died his wife, his daughter, and lastly, another son. And when he thus saw himself deprived of all his goods, saving one little son, he trembled before the wrath of his gods, and thought much within himself which of the gods he might have offended, to merit such grievous punishment. Thereupon, as is their custom, he sought out a certain soothsayer, beseeching him to point out the offended god, and how he might make amends unto him. But the soothsayer having performed what is customary in their worship on these occasions, answered, that all their gods were well pleased, but that the God of the Christians was greatly incensed with him. Christ hath destroyed thee, quoth he! And because thou hast concealed in thy house somewhat of that which was consecrated to him, therefore have all these evils come upon thee, nor canst thou be freed therefrom, while these remain beneath thy roof. And he bethought him, then, that his son, who had died, had brought of the above spoils a *certain book* into his house. Whereat, being terrified and stricken with great horror, and not knowing what to do with the said book, for that no priest was now in Sweden, he earnestly desired no longer to retain it. But not finding counsel thereupon, he carried it forth in the sight of all the people then assembled, and related what he had suffered. And when none could give him counsel, and yet all feared to receive the volume beneath their roof, he asserting he would no longer keep it, laid it on the ground, and raised around it a wall, (or hedge) saying, that he might take it who listed and he vowed to satisfy unto our Lord Jesus Christ for his misdeed. And this book a certain Christian took from thence into his own house. And we learned these things from his own mouth, who afterwards lived in great faith and devotion, so that he learned with us to repeat the psalms by memory without book."—Rembertus, c. xv.

Anselm is guided by his companion to the seal's cave, a large and vaulted cavern, at one end of which the gentle washing of the waves was heard upon a smooth beach of sand. The description of this cave is admirably happy,

we could almost believe that Mr. King had floated with us through the vaulted "helyers" of the island of Papa, in Shetland, or explored the vast caverns on the western coast of that country. Finding, as they had expected, a boat within the cavern, for it was a place of concealment well known to the Swedes, our monk and his companion effect their escape. Floating on the waste of waters, the monk Anselm repeats his matins and lauds to the astonishment of Jarl, who marvels that he should thus pray to the God of the Christians, "when Rana's net is spread all around him." The conversation that ensues, introduces the wild legend of Frothi, king of Denmark, and the grey women, the marvellous grinders of the Quern.

Here, too, Mr. King might most appropriately have inserted the famous "Grotta Saungr," or Quern song, to which the above legend of Frothi serves as a kind of introduction. We know, from the elegant version of the legend of St. Christopher, given in this volume, that he is equally happy in his verse as in his prose. After landing in Sweden, Anselm follows his guide by the "Chapmans Path," till they reach the house of "Nial the rich."

"The house covered a wide extent of ground, and had many divisions, clearly marked by the various ridges of the roof. The inner court in which it stood was much smaller than that into which we had first entered, but like it, contained many single buildings, all roofed with green turf, and apparently, either houses for retainers, or offices connected with the main dwelling. The door of the principal hall immediately fronted us as we entered the court, and stood wide open, so that we could see clearly into the chamber beyond it. As we approached, I perceived that the doors themselves were singularly carved with figures of serpents inextricably twisted and knotted together, and that portions of red colouring were laid here and there along their numberless folds. The chamber into which we had entered was built entirely of wood, the walls being formed with trunks of large trees split through the centre and ranked closely together; while the roof rose steeply upwards, crossed and interlaced with rafters, like the boughs of a great forest. The smoke from the central hearth had completely stained and blackened them; and they shone out, here and there, dark and glossy, between the curling wreaths that rose from the blazing fire of pine-logs. Long rows of seats were ranged on each side of the hall; and in the centre of either row, stood one considerably elevated above the rest, before which two large wooden pillars were placed, rudely carved at the upper ends, so as to bear some kind of resemblance to the human figure. One of these seats is called in the

north, 'the house-father's chair,' and is never filled except by the head of the family. That which stands opposite to it, is reserved for the principal guest, or for the hirdman who is of most importance in the household. Above the seats, the walls are covered with skins and furs of different animals, wolves, wild deer, and oxen, upon which hung many large shields and spears, and axes of various and singular forms."—p. 147.

It is evident from this accurate description, that Mr. King has closely studied the ancient Sagas, and perhaps, too, has read what remains of the celebrated *Husdrapa*, alluded to in the *Laxdæla Saga*, wherein the Skald *Ulfir Uggason* sings the beauty and rich decoration of the halls of *Olaf Pa*.

From the house of *Nial* the rich, where *Jarl* meets again his first and only love *Gudruna*, the daughter of *Nial*, the monk *Anselm* is guided by a *Finn* to the court of king *Bjorn*, at *Sigtuna*. On their way, the *Finlander* encounters and slays a bear after the approved fashion of his countrymen, by provoking the animal to rush upon him, and then receiving him upon the point of his spear. We have not space for the combat with "Ohto, the honey foot," as the bear is termed by the *Finns*; but we select the wild legend of the first separation of the Swede from the *Finlander*, as told by *Anselm's* still wilder guide, while traversing the dark pine forests.

"There was a time when the Swede and the Finn stood alone in the forest; twin brethren they were, and all the wild creatures of the wood were theirs in common. There came a mighty storm out of the north, and the great oaks snapped before it, and the rocks rolled down from the mountains. 'Brother,' said the Swede to the Finn, 'fierce and terrible is the tempest; who may withstand its might?' 'There is shelter beneath the great oak trunk yonder, let us seek it while there is yet time.' So the Swede crept him under the tree that lay uprooted by the storm, but the Finn remained without as before, nor did he shrink before the strength of the gale. Then *Wainamoinen*, the mighty, looked forth out of the clouds upon the tree that sheltered the Swede; and it rose slowly and the boards and beams fell into their places, and, lo! it became a lofty house, such as those in which the Swedes dwell to this day. And the Finn looked upon its walls and its roofs, and saw how they stood firmly against the storm, that grew ever fiercer and fiercer. So at last he longed himself for shelter, and he went and knocked at the door of the house; but his brother looked forth and said, 'Nay; thou wouldst not come under the tree; now wander as thou wilt through the forest, and find what protection thou canst, with

me thou shalt not dwell.' So the Finn strayed far away through the wood ; but ever he held a firm front against the tempest, and his look was bolder under the black and stormy sky, than his brother was beneath the rafters of his house. And since that day, many sons have been born to either brother, but their dwelling is ever the same, the Finn's beneath the sky, the Swede's under the darkened roofs that Wainamoinen first showed them how to lay upon the walls of their houses."—p. 183.

Anselm reaches in safety the court of king Bjorn, at Sigtuna, on the Märlar lake, and here, to his great joy, rejoins Anschar, from whom he had been separated since the attack of the pirates of Jullin. And now begin the spiritual struggles of the bishop and his followers. The priests of Odin, indignant at this invasion of their territories, employ every means to drive the professors of Christianity from the kingdom. Foiled at first, in their insidious attempts to influence the mind of the king, they have recourse to violent means, and bring forward as their champion the redoubted Berserkr Skarphedinn. The character of this wild beast in human form is excellently well drawn ; and while fiercely defending the ancient worship, he is likewise the evil genius of Jarl and Gudruna, who have accepted from the hands of Anselm, the "prima signatio," or in other words, have become catechumens of the Christian faith. Already, even before this ceremony, Jarl had excited the anger and suspicion of the priestess of Freya, by refusing to make the usual libation to that goddess in the house of Nial, or rather, he evaded the offering, by signing the sign of the cross over the bowl of mead, crowned with blue flax flowers, and maintaining, as did king Hakon of old, that this was only the sign of Thor's hammer, and not the Christian emblem. Not only was Skarphedinn dreaded as a Berserk, but he was believed to assume, at certain periods of the waxing moon, the still more horrible and abhorred form of a "vargulf," or werewolf, in which shape he attacked, without mercy, all who had offended him while he retained the semblance of a man.

Herigar, one of the chief counsellors of king Bjorn, favours from the beginning the Christians and their doctrines. Herigar is no fabulous personage. Rembertus relates, that a Swedish noble of that name was one of the earliest converts to St. Anschar's first mission to Sweden,

and that he subsequently assisted in building a church in that country.

We must pass by the well-told description of the great temple of the gods at Upsala, and adjourn to the "Thing," or great council of the kingdom, which king Bjorn agrees to hold, regarding Anschar and his doctrines. The furious passions of the multitude are stimulated by the priests of Odin, till the storm is partially allayed by the wise and prudent speech of Thorarinn, the Lagman, or Lawman. But at the moment when the popular tumult is apparently stilled, Skarphedinn reappears, and once more the fury of the people is aroused by his fiery words, till a nearly unanimous cry is raised for the decision by lot.

"'The lots! the lots! bring forth the lots! was echoed from every part of the plain. We will never fight with Odin: we will not strive against the Asa. Let us know their will, and we will do it.'

"'Bring forth the lots,' repeated Skarphedinn, 'bring them forth, and whatsoever they declare, by that will we abide. They will never fail us.'

"'Let it be so,' said king Bjorn, 'by them will we abide. They will show us the truth, and declare what is best for Sweden. Bring them forth!'

"Amidst the deep silence and anxious watchfulness of the people, certain of the priests who had accompanied Skarphedinn from the temple, and had remained at the foot of the mounds, came forth from the throng of their companions, and slowly ascended the green steps that led to the summit. Two of them bore the large golden horns which I have already mentioned; while others carried between them a great sheet or mantle of embroidered linen, covered with the signs and emblems of the northern gods. This they took to the edge of the law mound, in sight of all the people; and when they had spread it carefully forth upon the ground, the priests gave notice that all was ready for the trial of the lots.

"The golden horns, the bearers of which stood on either side of the linen sheet, were filled with short rods of hazel, on which were cut signs and letters after the fashion of the northern peoples. These, at a signal from Skarphedinn, they poured forth on the outspread mantle, and as they lay there in confused heaps, the chief priests of the Upsal temple bent eagerly over them, in order to read the mystic runes, and to interpret the will of the gods from the manner in which the rods had fallen."—p. 253.

Mr. King has here pretty closely followed historical authority, especially in the speech he puts into the mouth

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of Thorarinn, the Lagman. The plain narrative, however, of Rembertus, who appears to have been actually present at this very scene, has many charms in our eyes, though it is not like Mr. King's, embellished with such attractive antiquarian lore. But these matters were not of past date when Rembertus wrote, he was an actor in the scenes he describes.

“But while he (Anschar) was thus in the greatest straits, awaiting the day of the meeting of the Thing, (*dies placiti*) it fell out, that as a certain priest ministering at the altar in the ceremonies of the holy mass, was blessing the sacred mysteries, a celestial inspiration was vouchsafed unto him, (Anschar) as he lay prostrate on the ground. And being strengthened thereby with the Holy Spirit, and comforted with great faith in his mind, he learned therein, that all would happen as he so greatly desired. Then, after mass, he announced unto the same priest, with whom he was indeed most intimate, (Rembertus himself,) that he needed not to fear, for that the grace of God was with them. And when the priest asked how he knew this, he replied, that it had been revealed to him in a vision. And with this answer the said brother was content, for he had known him to be thus divinely consoled at many previous times. And soon did the event confirm this confidence. For the king calling together his nobles, began to treat with them concerning this embassy of our Father. And they determined to seek by lots, what was the will of the gods thereon. And going therefore, as is their custom, into the open air, they cast lots, and by the will of God the lot fell that the Christian religion should be established in that country.”—(Rembertus. c. xxiv.)

Mr. King here, for the sake of adding interest to his tale, deviates from history, and makes the lots fall out adverse to the Christians. The king wavers, but at that moment, the priestess of Freya appears on the law mound, bearing complaint to the king, that Nial the rich is detained in bonds by the Emperor who had sent these Christian teachers into the land; and yet more, that by their means, his daughter Gudruna had been estranged from the faith of her forefathers. Skarphedinn, the constant foe of the house of Nial, seizes the opportunity of this avowal, and as the champion of the priests, designates Gudruna to be the next victim for the sacred grove of Odin. The king dares not resist; but only obtains a respite, while Anselm is sent to the court of Lewis le Debonair, to obtain the release of Nial. Of his journey we need not to speak, nor yet can we bestow much space on the description of king

Lewis's court, and must pass by, too, the sweetly versified legend of St. Christopher. Anselm bears a letter from king Bjorn to Lewis, written in the Runes of the north. It has been doubted by many, that the art of writing was known to the pagan Danes and Northmen, but Rember-tus's testimony in this regard is conclusive. "*Peracto itaque apud eos altero dimidio anno, præfati servi Dei, cum certo suæ Legationis experimento, et cum literis regia manu more ipsorum deformatis, ad serenissimum reversi sunt Augustum.*"—(Rembertus, c. xi.)

While in conference with the emperor regarding the northern mission, the audience is suddenly interrupted by the unwonted appearance of the Aurora Borealis, or northern lights. Well might these strange meteors terrify the emperor, for at that period they rarely, if ever, were seen in Germany, and if we may credit the Kongs-Skugg-Sio, were even of extreme rarity two centuries after in Norway. For in that most curious work, which is all but entirely unknown to the English reader, we find the Aurora most carefully described as one of the marvellous sights of the far off land of Greenland. If, then, the Kongs-Skugg-Sio was, as is generally admitted, the work of a Norwegian author of the 13th century, he surely would not have described, as a marvel in Greenland, that appearance of the heavens, which was of common occurrence in his native land.

Nial, hearing of his daughter's peril, sets out without delay for Sweden, in company with Anselm. Meanwhile, the priests of Odin had not been idle; and, by working upon the fears of the king, at length obtained his consent to the sacrifice of Gudruna, to be followed, in all probability, by that of Anschar and his associates. Jarl, the lover of Gudruna, and now, we suppose, a baptized Christian, strengthened by his new faith, and by his love for the maiden, challenges the redoubted Skarphedinn to the single combat of the Northmen, to the "Holm Gang" of which we so often read in the old sagas. According to the old laws, the duel was to be fought on an island or holm in a river or lake on which no human being, save the two combatants, was to set foot, while the multitude watched the fight from the neighbouring shores.

"The place fixed on for the holm-fight was a small island in the northern arm of the lake, not far from the spot where the stream that flows by the temple of Upsala enters the broader waters of the

Mälar. The shores of the lake rose steeply from the water's edge, strewed with large masses of broken rock, between which there spread out wide open spaces overgrown with ferns and heather. A better spot could scarcely have been chosen ; for, whilst the island itself was bare and treeless, the shelving banks of the lake formed a natural amphitheatre, from which the contest might be witnessed by vast numbers of the people. A circle of grey stones, placed upright in the turf, and, bearing no traces of the axe or of the graver's tool, marked the space of ground within which the fight was to take place, during which none but the combatants themselves were permitted to remain on the island. But the arm of the lake was itself narrow, and but a slender current separated the island from the shore on either side ; so that every blow could be distinctly perceived, and every word heard, by the spectators on the banks, which should be stricken or spoken during the impending contest.

"At last the fatal day itself appeared ; and still no tidings of Nial had reached Sigtuna. The snow had completely melted from the island and from the shores, and the freed waters of the lake were rippling and sparkling joyously in the sunshine, when the servants of the temple and of the king passed across them to prepare the lists, after which none but Jarl and Skarphedinn would be allowed to set foot within the kemp-ring. And, first, with many singular ceremonies, they stretched out a great carpet of felt, fastening it down to the ground with broad iron-pointed blocks of wood ; still leaving, however, a space uncovered between the carpet and the circle of stones. Then they set up four hazel wands at the four sides of the island ; fixing, also, towards the north, a tall spear of iron upright in the ground ; and, when they had done this, they withdrew again to the main land, all things being now in readiness for the holm-fight. And now, all men pressed eagerly forward, impatient to behold the fight that was on the point of commencing."—p. 364.

Skarphedinn had hitherto remained quiet in the ring ; but, catching sight of Jarl, who was now descending the bank to cross the lake, he lashed himself, in a moment, into the wildest Berserk fury.

Fiercely gnawing the rim of his shield—for that is one of the signs by which the approach of the Berserk frenzy is indicated, and swinging aloft his long heavy sword, he called out, in a voice that seemed of supernatural strength, 'Come hither, thou that revilest the gods !—thou for whom Hela hath prepared her couch of sorrows. Seest thou this bright one I hold in my hand ?—woe of shields !—terror of armies ! Well mayest thou quail before it.

"A ring is on the hilt,
A spirit is in the midst ;

There is fear in the point,
Useful to the holder.
On the blade sleepeth
A worm, blood-spotted.
Linked together are his rings ;
There is poison beneath his tongue.

“ Art thou yet delaying ? Fear not the current—narrower is the bridge of darkness. I wait thee ! I wait thee !

“ By the deck of thy ship,
And the rim of thy shield ;
By the hoof of thy horse,
And the blade of thy sword ;
I charge thee to tarry
No longer ; but come,
They have claimed thee whose words
All must tremble to hear.”—p. 371.

The king then proclaims the laws of the holm fight.

“ Three times shall ye strive ; having your feet upon the felt of the kemp ring. If one setteth his foot from off the felt, the strife shall cease for that time ; and he whose foot hath erred, shall be held the worse in that struggle. But, if he be driven without the stones of the kemp-ring, he shall be held ‘ hiding ’ and coward, and all men shall know that he hath lost the fight.

“ It was the part of the challenger to strike first ; but the huge sword of Skarphedinn was long raised in vain, and descended more than once without effect—so rapid were the movements of Jarl, and his eye so steadily fixed on that of his opponent. Fragments, shivered from the shields of either, soon lay strewed about the circle ; and men, who had expected that the first stroke of the Berserk would at once terminate the fight, looked strangely one on another, as though half-hoping that the contest might prove a more equal one than had been looked for. For yet more remarkable than the skill of Jarl, was the manner in which the supernatural fury of the Berserk seemed to have abandoned him. He sent forth neither shout nor cry ; and those who could look upon his face, saw that it was overspread with a deadly and livid paleness. Stroke upon stroke descended ; at first with the utmost fury on either side, but it soon became clear to all, that some unusual influence was at work with Skarphedinn. His blows came feebler and with more and more uncertainty ; and he receded gradually from the centre of the kemp-ring. He seemed, at last, to lose all power over his weapon ; and, finally, to the wonder and amaze of all who were present, retreating before the sweeping sword of Jarl, he quitted the felt which had been spread out beneath the combatants, and remained with both feet on the sward between it and the stone circle.”—p. 373.

We have arrived near to the end of the volume; yet we willingly would have presented our readers with many passages of great beauty which occur in every chapter of the work. Mr. King has been, perhaps, historically right in making a monk the narrator of the incidents he describes; yet much of what we here find belongs rather to the warrior and the worldling than to the cloistered and humble religious of Corvey. As an antiquarian work, Anschar deserves the highest rank; and, as a work of fiction, it is perfectly exempt from one single objectionable word or sentence that would cause a Catholic to hesitate ere he placed it in the hands of youth. Mr. King's object was, undoubtedly, to embody in the narrative of the supposed Anselm, the copious archæological lore with which he is thoroughly acquainted; and if, in doing so, he has occasionally forgotten the monk and passed into the modern writer, he has done so with dignity and talent. Nor can we regret altogether this his error, as otherwise we should have lost too many—if not all—of those charming descriptions of scenery which enhance the merits of the work.

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- ART. V.—1. *The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity.* By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A., author of "*The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism.*" 8vo. London: Burns and Lambert, 1850.
2. *The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism, by the Decrees of the Seven Ecumenical Councils and the Traditions of the Fathers.* By THOMAS WILLIAM ALLIES, M.A., Rector of Launton. Oxon. Second Edition, Enlarged. 8vo. Oxford: Parker, 1848.
3. *The Pope; Considered in his Relations with the Church, Temporal Sovereignities, Separated Churches, and the Cause of Civilization.* By COUNT JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Translated by the Rev. ÆNEAS M.D. DAWSON. London: Dolman, 1850.

SINCE the appearance of the memorable *Essay on Development*, no book was ever looked for with more intense anxiety by the whole controversial world, than the

work at which Mr. Allies, during the past summer, was known to be engaged, upon the pretensions and privileges of the see of Rome. All the circumstances were, indeed, most remarkable. The unprecedented success of Mr. Allies's former publication on the same subject;—the extraordinary proofs of labour and research which it exhibited; its singular moderation, and evident sincerity of tone; the frankness and unreserve of its admissions; the assured confidence, withal, of its statements and conclusions; in a word, the calm, deliberate, and unhesitating certainty with which its judgment against the Papal claims was pronounced;—had created a curiosity which might well be described as painful, as to the grounds of a change of opinion, so rapid, so decided, and so complete, as that which was implied in his secession from the Anglican church. The most extravagant anticipations were entertained upon the subject. It was alleged that he meant to go over the very same ground a second time, and to reply seriatim to every single argument which he had advanced in his former work. He was to consider it page by page, and column by column; to note down, retract, and disprove, every false or untenable position which his new lights might enable him to discover; in a word, the work was expected to unite a refutation, with a retraction, of his former statements and of the arguments by which they were enforced.

Mr. Allies, however, has proposed to himself a much less ambitious, and, we are satisfied, in the present circumstances, a much more judicious course. Among the many forms in which it is possible to present any truth which one wishes to enforce, perhaps the least effective, and certainly by far the least inviting, is that of a professed reply to an adversary. When the adversary is one's former self, we need hardly say that the form of reply becomes doubly unattractive. With a view, therefore, to a popular exposition of those views of the Papal Supremacy which he has been led to embrace, Mr. Allies could not possibly have selected a form more certain to disappoint the curiosity of the general public, than that of a detailed reply to the exceedingly dry and minute compilation of authorities which form the staple of his *Anglican Church cleared from the charge of Schism*. Such a reply, (or, at least, a detailed work upon the Papacy, drawn up with a constant reference to the evidence on the oppo-

site side which is there presented,) may, we trust, be looked for, as an early fruit of Mr. Allies's leisure. But, for the purposes of the present volume, we cannot hesitate to say that it would have been entirely out of place. For professional theological students, doubtless, it would have been deeply interesting; but as a means of reaching the hearts or the understandings of the thousands who have read this volume with profit and delight, it might almost as well have been written in a learned language. Even if it did not weary such readers by its prolixity, and disgust them by its dryness, it could at best but serve to puzzle and perplex them; if they had courage and perseverance to pursue the investigation to the end, they would have risen from it with vague and confused notions; their attention would have been drawn from the great general principles of the case into the discussion of particular points and the examination of disputed authorities; and their judgment, harassed and worn out by minute and irrelevant criticism, would have been incapacitated to appreciate the moral weight of the great chain of evidence, thus broken into fragments by the process of the enquiry.

The Essay now before us, therefore, is not, in the strict sense of the word, a *reply* to Mr. Allies's former volume. On the contrary, beyond the recitation of the name of that volume in the present title page, and a brief allusion to it in the preface, the author will, at first sight, appear to have ignored it as completely as though it never had been written. Not only does he not profess to examine and combat its views, but there is not a single direct reference to it in all the body of his present essay. He uses over again the same general array of facts, with substantially the same body of authorities. But instead of separating them into detached and independent fragments, he considers them, for the most part, in their bearing upon one another. He regards them as constituting one united whole; and his argument is founded upon them, in their integrity, as presenting indications of a continuous and providential disposition of events which cannot be satisfied upon any other theory than that of a divinely appointed supremacy vested in the successors of St. Peter in the Roman See.

And yet, although he does not directly address himself to the disproof of his former arguments and conclu-

sions, it is easy to observe that, from the beginning to the end of the essay, they are ever present to his mind, and that the selection of facts and authorities, the order in which both are arranged, and the points of view in which they are presented to the reader, are suggested by the very conclusions to which he had himself been formerly led, and are intended to anticipate and overturn the fallacies upon which these conclusions had been founded. And hence, although Mr. Allies's present essay may appear, at first sight, to be but an ex-parte statement of the evidence in favour of Papal claims, and to ignore altogether the reasons or authorities which may be alleged on the other side, it will be found, nevertheless, completely to overthrow the common foundation on which they are all based, and to anticipate, or, we should rather say, to refute by anticipation, almost every argument derived from the anti-papal view of those authorities. This is perhaps most directly observable in the chapter upon the Scriptural Proof of the Primacy; but it pervades almost all the rest, and especially the chapter on the End and Office of the Primacy, and the admirable section (in the fifth chapter,) on the Derivation of Episcopal Jurisdiction from the Person of Peter.

It can hardly be necessary for us to explain the view of the Roman Primacy taken by Mr. Allies in his well-known "Vindication of the Anglican Church from the Charge of Schism." The leading idea of that exceedingly able work, and that in which it differs from the whole host of Protestant controversialists, and from most even of its predecessors in the Anglican school, is, as our readers will recollect, on the one hand its full and free recognition of a Primacy in the See of Rome, and of the patriarchal constitution of the church, with all its consequences; and on the other, a denial of the claim of supremacy, which, in the Roman view, is one of the essential privileges of that Primacy. On the existence and origin of this Primacy, his admissions were more frank and unreserved than those of any other controversialist. He held (p. 19) that it was not of merely human institution, nor the result of the civil pre-eminence of the imperial city, and that, "from the very earliest time when the church comes before us as an organized body, the germ at least of this pre-eminence is observable." He admitted further, that it was not the result of any arbitrary or conventional concession on the part of

the other churches, but that "from the very earliest times it was explicitly claimed by the Bishop of Rome himself, and as freely conceded by others to him, *as in a special sense the successor of Peter.*" The consequences of this succession, he allowed, was always felt and appreciated as "*something real, and not a mere title of honour.*" What this was, he no nowhere undertook to define, at least by positive statements; but the reality of its existence he freely confessed. "From the very first," he said, in a passage so remarkable, that we shall transcribe a portion of it—"the Roman Pontiff seems possessed himself, as from a living tradition which had thoroughly penetrated the Roman Church, with a consciousness of some peculiar influence which he was to exercise on the whole church. This consciousness does not show itself here and there in the line of Roman Pontiffs; but one and all, whatever their individual characters might be, seem to have imbibed it from the atmosphere which they breathed. St. Victor and St. Stephen, St. Innocent, and St. Leo the Great, and St. Gregory, are quite of one mind here. That they were the successors of St. Peter, who himself sat and ruled and spoke in their person, was as strongly felt and as consistently declared by those Pontiffs who preceded the time of Constantine, and who had continually to pay with their blood the price of that high pre-eminence, as by those who followed the conversion of the empire when the honour of their post was not accompanied by so much danger. I am speaking now, be it remembered, of the feeling which possessed them. The feeling of their brother bishops concerning them may have been less definite, as was natural; but at least even those who most opposed any arbitrary stretch of authority on their part, as St. Cyprian, fully admitted that they sat in the see of Peter, and ordinarily treated them with the greatest deference. This is written so very legibly upon the records of antiquity, that I am persuaded any one who is even very slightly acquainted with them cannot with sincerity dispute it." And in another place, citing the testimony of one, and perhaps the greatest, of these Roman Bishops, St. Leo, he felt himself "bound in fairness to admit that the germ of something very like the present Papal system, without, however, such a wonderful concentration and absorption of all power, is discernible in his language" (p. 262). But he escaped the consequences of this admission by maintaining—(strangely enough for

one who admitted their sanctity of life)—that the view put forward by St. Leo, and by his fellow-Popes, was peculiar to them, and that it met no sanction from the “contemporary Bishops and Fathers who had not succeeded to St. Peter’s see.”

This admission, too, went farther, and involved ulterior consequences, which Mr. Allies did not then appreciate, or, perhaps, even anticipate. It was not merely in the “teaching” of “St. Leo and the other Popes generally,” but in their “*teaching and acts*” that he discovered this germ of something very like the present papal system.” He admits that, in both, the Primacy is dwelt on so strongly, as quite to throw out of sight the apostolic powers of other bishops; and that their view, “if rigorously carried out, substitutes St. Peter singly, for St. Peter and his brethren.” (p. 263.) It was natural in the position which Mr. Allies then occupied, that he should ignore the evidence of this consequence; that he should, at least, by implication, ascribe this undue extension of the privileges which all conceded to the zeal, or, perhaps, the unconscious ambition, of the Popes; that he should overlook the important fact, that, on the same principle on which he held the Popes to be suspected witnesses, where their own privileges are concerned, a papal advocate might discard the adverse testimony of Fathers, (for the most part *themselves bishops*.) in favour of the *independence of the episcopate*; or, what is more fatal still, that a presbyterian might ignore altogether the whole chain of evidence for the *divine right of bishops, which consists, almost exclusively*, of the witness of *members of the episcopal body*; that the power thus claimed did not remain a dead letter, but was reduced to action; and that, speaking of the letter of one of those popes who put forward the claim with as much distinctness as any of his contemporaries, no less an authority than St. Augustine confessed that “he wrote back in such a manner as was fitting, and as became the Prelate of the Apostolic See.”

It has been urged, indeed, as an objection to the effectiveness of Mr. Allies’s present publication, that there is nothing in it to account for, or explain the sudden and complete change of views which it exhibits in every page; that it brings forward no new facts or authorities; that it adds nothing to the evidence which the author had before discarded as utterly insufficient; in one word, that it presents

the strange and seemingly inexplicable logical phenomenon of the deduction of two opposite conclusions from precisely the same premises.

Now if this were true to the fullest extent of the assumption, it would not be without many most striking precedents, even among the occurrences which we have been witnessing month after month, during the progress of the wonderful movement towards the Church which Providence has vouchsafed to the generation in which we have been born. Indeed, it is hardly in the nature of things that a man's views of facts and authorities should not be, even unconsciously, modified by the circumstances in which he is placed, and by the aspect in which he regards them. From the days of the shield of gold and silver, we have never been without examples of these conflicting judgments; and in proportion to the obstinacy with which men cling to their own point of view, and exclude all consideration of the aspect in which others contemplate the object in question, must always be the bitterness and the pertinacity of the contest. Nothing, for example, is more intelligible than that, according to different ideas of the nature or extent of jurisdiction, the same fact, or series of facts, may seem to one mind, to imply the exercise of a real power of jurisdiction, and to another may seem perfectly explicable on the hypothesis of a simple Primacy; that, to one man, the same canon of the very same council may seem to originate, and to confer on the bishop of Rome, some right or privilege, while another, (believing this right to be inherent in the Roman See, and to have existed from the beginning,) will hold the canon to be intended merely to regulate its exercise; or, finally, that, where the same transaction presents two different phases, each party will instinctively fix his regards chiefly, if not exclusively, upon that which is in accordance with his own preconceived ideas, and exclude all thought of the other from his mind.

It is equally conceivable that, on the second consideration of a question, the same individual, by the application of some new test, may detect weakness and inconclusiveness, even in what he had before considered the strongest portions of the evidence; that he may discover some facts to be irrelevant on which he had most confidently relied; that he may come to see some under an aspect heretofore entirely unobserved; and even that he may find the legitimate consequences of others to be precisely the

opposite of those which he had previously deduced. Such a test, as to the value of the evidences of the Primacy, Mr. Allies has discovered in the distinction of the power of order from that of jurisdiction—a distinction which, in his former work, he had considered to be an “arbitrary and *expost-facto* invention of the great school of St. Ignatius of Loyola,” (Pref. p. xv.) and in the true theory of the unity of the episcopate, of which that work exhibited a strange misconception.

Hence, were it even perfectly true that the present essay did not contain any new facts, or new details of the same facts, and that the evidence on which it rests was precisely the same as that put forward by its predecessor, we could still understand the possibility of its leading, most legitimately, to a different conclusion.

A very remarkable illustration of this may be found in the history of the controversies to which Mr. Allies's former book gave occasion. Our readers cannot fail to recollect the exceedingly able and vigorous reply which it drew forth from Mr. Edward Thompson, and which was noticed in this Journal at the time of its appearance. Mr. Thompson's conclusions, it is scarcely necessary to say, were diametrically opposed to those of his antagonist. And, yet, so little of new matter has Mr. Thompson put forward, so perfectly identical with those of Mr. Allies was the great body of the facts and authorities on which his argument was based, that he did not even make a pretence of looking elsewhere for authorities, but reasoned directly and immediately upon those which Mr. Allies had collected;—rarely even drawing upon the context for the purpose of modifying or explaining the construction which the passage in itself seemed to bear, and, generally speaking, contenting himself even with the very words of Mr. Allies's citation. If, to two minds, the same body of evidence appeared susceptible of two so opposite constructions, we need not wonder that it should present the same variety of phase to the very same mind, at different times and under different lights.

Nevertheless, it is very far from being true that Mr. Allies's present essay adds nothing to the evidence in favour of the Primacy of jurisdiction, to what had been found in the *Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism*. One example of this occurs in the chapter on the Scriptural proof of the Primacy so very

remarkable that we shall introduce the passage here, not alone for the purpose of illustrating what we have said, but also for its own sake, as one of the most simple, and yet most complete and satisfactory evolutions of the Scriptural argument which is to be found in the language.

In the preface even of the second edition of his Vindication of the Church of England, speaking of the passages in Matt. xvi. 18, 19, and in John xx. 21—3, Mr. Allies had declared the idea of "Peter's having received the episcopate whole and complete in himself," and of his being distinguished from the other apostles by any power of jurisdiction, to be "a pure fiction," (p. xii.) and a "mere baseless assertion," (p. xiii.) founded "on no warranty of Scripture, but even condemned by the words and mode in which Scripture describes the institution of the apostolate and episcopate." (p. xv.) How different the connected view of the whole question of Scriptural evidence, which is contained in the following admirable statement.

"Assuredly, therefore, not without a special meaning were some things said to all the Apostles in common, and some to S. Peter alone.

"Let us distinguish these.

"And, further, let us distinguish the *promise* from the *fulfilment*.

"Now, there was once signal *promise*, respecting the government of His Church, made by our Lord to S. Peter singly, and another made to all the Apostles together, including Peter. They have a close connection with each other, and the better to see their force let us put them in parallel columns:—

TO PETER.

TO THE APOSTLES.

"1. I say also unto thee,
That thou art Peter, and upon
this Rock I will build my Church,

"2. And the gates of hell
shall not prevail against it.

"3. And I will give unto thee
the keys of the kingdom of
heaven,

"4. And whatsoever thou shalt
bind on earth shall be bound in
heaven, and whatsoever thou
shalt loose on earth shall be
loosed in heaven.

"Verily I say unto you, What-
soever ye shall bind on earth
shall be bound in heaven, and
whatsoever ye shall loose on
earth shall be loosed in heaven.

"Here it will be observed, that four things are *first* promised to

Peter alone, the fourth of which is *afterwards* promised to the Apostles together, including Peter.

“And the *fulfilment* of this fourth promise is made likewise to all the Apostles together, thus :—

“Peace be unto you : as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.

“And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them : and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

“The other passages which express powers given to the Apostles in common, are these :—

“1 Cor. xi. 23—25 : The Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread : and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, Take, eat : this is My Body, which is broken for you : *this do in remembrance of Me*. After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my Blood : *this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me*. See also Luke xxii. 19.

“Matt. xxviii. 18—20 : Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.

“Mark xvi. 15 : And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.

“Luke xxiv. 49 : And, behold, I send the promise of My Father upon you : but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.

“Acts i. 4, 5, 8 : Being assembled together with them, He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of Me. For John truly baptized with water ; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.

“Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you : and ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.

“We have seen that three out of four promises made to Peter singly were not made to the other Apostles, and two remarkable passages remain, which belong to Peter only.

“Our Lord, when all the Apostles were around Him, at the time of His passion, singling out Peter, said to him, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have *you*, that he may sift you as wheat : but I have prayed for thee, and when thou art converted, *confirm thy brethren*.

“And *after* He had delivered His commission to the Apostles

assembled together, and sent them, as He was sent from the Father, bestowing on them the power to forgive sins, all which involved their Apostolate, He took an occasion, when Peter, James, and John, His most favoured disciples, and four others, were together, to address S. Peter singly in very memorable words. John xx. 15:—

“So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me *more than these*? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. (Βόσκει τὰ ἀρνία μου.)

“He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. (Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου.)

“He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved because He said unto him the third time, Lovest thou Me? And he said unto Him, Lord, Thou knowest all things: Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed My sheep. (Βόσκει τὰ πρόβατά μου)”—pp. 13-17.

On these passages, the sum of all that our Lord addressed, whether to the apostles in common with Peter, or to Peter singly, Mr. Allies argues as follows :

“Let us now sum up the powers conveyed in them : first those given to the Apostles in common ; then those peculiar to Peter.

“Of those given to the Apostles in common, the following are *ordinary*, that is, requisite for the perpetual government of the Church.

“1. Offering the holy sacrifice—This do (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, hoc facite, the sacrificial words,) in remembrance of Me. In other words, Power over the natural Body of Christ.

“2. Forgiving sins, in the Sacrament of Penance—Whose soever sins ye remit, &c. That is, Power over the mystical Body of Christ.

“These make up the Priesthood.

“3. Baptizing—Baptizing them, &c.

“4. Teaching and administering all other Sacraments and rites, and enjoining obedience to them—Teaching them to observe all things, &c.

“5. Inflicting and removing censures— } “Whatsoever ye

“6. Binding by laws— } shall bind, &c.

“7. The presence of Christ with them in this office to the end—
Lo I am with you alway.

“These involve the Episcopate.

“The following are *extraordinary*, making up, in fact, the Apostolate, as distinguished from the Episcopate :—

“8. Immediate institution by Christ—As my Father sent Me, &c.

“9. Universal mission—Go ye into all the world.

“Now, all these powers S. Peter shared in common with the other Apostles, and therefore in all these they were equal, but the following are peculiar to himself:—

“1. He is made the Rock, or foundation of the Church, next after Christ, and singly—‘Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church.’

“2. To the Church, thus founded on him, perpetual continuance and victory are guaranteed—‘The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.’

“3. The keys of the kingdom of heaven ; that is, the symbol of supreme power, the mastership over the Lord’s House, the guardianship of the Lord’s City, are committed to him alone—‘To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’

“4. The power of binding and loosing sins, of inflicting and removing censures, of enacting spiritual laws, given to him elsewhere *with* the Apostles, is here given to him singly—‘And what soever thou shalt bind,’ &c.

“5. The power of confirming his brethren, because his own faith should never fail.

“6. The supreme pastorship of all Christ’s flock is bestowed on him—‘Feed My lambs—be shepherd over My sheep—feed My sheep.’

“Thus, comparing together what was given to the Apostles in common, and what was given to Peter singly, we find that:—

“1. He received many things alone—they nothing without him.

“2. His powers can be exercised only by one—theirs by many.

“3. His powers include theirs—not theirs his.

“4. The ordinary government of the Church, promised and pre-figured in the keys of the kingdom of heaven, conveyed and summed up in, ‘Feed My sheep,’ that is, the pastoral office—radiates from his person ; the Episcopate is folded up in the Primacy.

“Moreover, as to the continuance and descent of these powers, the same principle which leads all Churchmen to believe that the ordinary powers bestowed on the Apostles in common for the good of the Church are continued on to those who govern the Church for ever, leads also to the belief, that the power bestowed on Peter likewise for the good of the Church continues on to his successors in like manner. Indeed, part of the promise is express on this head, assigning perpetual continuance to the Church founded on Peter.

“Further, we learn in what respects the Apostles were equal to Peter, and in what he was superior to them.

“They were equal in the powers of the Episcopate ;

“They were equal also in those of the Apostolate, superadded to the former, that is, immediate institution by Christ, and universal mission ;

“They were inferior to him in one point only, which made up his Primacy, namely, that they must exercise all these powers in union with him, and in dependance on him : he had *singly* what they had

collectively with him. He had promised and engaged to him, *first and alone*, the supreme government, a portion of which was afterwards promised to them with him ; and after the Apostolate, granted to them all in common, he had the supervision of all entrusted to him alone. For even they were committed to his charge in the words, 'Feed My sheep.' And so he alone was the doorkeeper; he alone the shepherd of the fold ; he alone the rock on which even they, as well as all other Christians, were built; in one word, he was their head, and so his Primacy is an *essential* part, nay the crown and completion of the divine government of the Church; for the Body without a Head is no Body.

"Thus they were all, doctors of the whole world, as S. Cyril and S. Chrysostom tells us, yet under one, the leader of the band.

"They could, and did, exercise jurisdiction, erect Bishops and plant Churches, in all parts of the world, but it was in union with Peter, and in obedience with him.

"His Primacy, then, consisted not in a superiority of *order*, but in a superiority of *jurisdiction*.

"After the departure of the Apostles, this superiority of jurisdiction in the Primacy would be seen more clearly. For they communicated to none that universal mission, which they themselves received from Christ, the Bishops whom they ordained having only a restricted field in which they exercised their powers ; and it is manifest that our Lord in person instituted no Bishops after them. Thus these two privileges of the Apostolate, universal mission, and immediate institution by Christ, dropped. But S. Peter's Primacy, being distinct from his Apostolate, continued on. There was one still necessary to bear the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and to feed all the sheep of the Lord's flock. That power, first promised, and last given, to Peter, the crown and key-stone of the arch, that which makes the whole Church one flock, was an universal Episcopate. Thus the Primacy is jurisdictional, with regard to all Bishops, as it was with regard to the Apostles ; and two powers emerge of divine institution for the government of the Church to the end of time—the Primacy and the Episcopate.

"And the power thus given to Peter singly, *in promise*, that he should be the rock, the foundation of the Church, never to be moved from its place, the bearer of the keys, binding and loosing all in heaven and earth, in *fulfilment*, that he should be the one shepherd charged with the care of all the sheep,—this power is, of its own nature, *supreme*. It embraces the whole flock, as well as the different sheep ; the Church collectively, as well as its members distributively. It reaches to every need which can arise. Once grasp its true nature, and you see that it cannot be limited by any power over which it is appointed itself to rule."—pp. 17-21.

We have seldom read a scriptural argument more pleasingly, and, at the same time, more conclusively, elaborated,

than in this admirable passage. Our object in introducing it, however, has rather been to meet the objection against Mr. Allies's book, to which we have adverted, and which we have encountered in many quarters. No one who contrasts the scriptural evidence as it stands in the two works, can hesitate to say, that the latter contains abundant material for a reconsideration, and, we need hardly add, a reversal, of the former judgment.

The same is also true, in a very remarkable degree, of the argument from antiquity. Of course it is not in the nature of things, that a popular essay of a hundred and fifty pages should take up and examine every authority contained in an elaborate treatise of nearly six hundred. On the contrary, many of the topics of Mr. Allies's larger work are here but passingly referred to, and most of its minor details are overlooked altogether. But on the really important topics—those upon which the substantial controversy hinges, and the proof or disproof of which necessarily brings the proof or disproof of all the rest, as a consequence, in its train—the discussion assumes a completely new form; a very considerable array of new authorities are produced, and the heads of argument appealed to are, for the most part, independent. On the very point to which we have been alluding—the origin of jurisdiction from Peter—one of the primary positions in "*The Anglican Church Cleared from Schism*," was, that "the immense preponderance of the testimony of antiquity was against it," (Pref. p. 13), and that, "no one idea seems so thoroughly contradicted by the whole history of the Church down to the reception of the false Decretals." (p. 14.) Now, as we shall hereafter see, there is no one point on which Mr. Allies, in the volume now before us, has accumulated more evidence than the very converse of this opinion. He has shown, by numerous citations, that the idea which his former convictions rejected, "*possessed*, in truth, the early fathers;"—that it was carried from "their hints and intimations into more perfect consciousness, till it was evolved by the complete reason and the fervent love of a St. Thomas and Bonaventure," (p. 97;)—that Tertullian, (whom he overlooked before,) put it forward distinctly in the second century, (ibid;)—that the "whole mind of St. Cyprian" (the mainstay of his former theory) "seemed penetrated with it," (p. 98;)—that the "thought of Cyprian

was elucidated by S. Optatus," (p. 101;)—that St. Ambrose was "possessed with the same view," (ibid;)—that "Pope Siricius spoke and acted upon it," (p. 102;)—that "St. Jerome's sentiments were precisely the same," (p. 103;)—and that "the great Saint, [Augustine] who is among the fathers what Paul is among the Apostles, Thomas among the doctors, recognized St. Peter as the root of Church government, and as continuing on in his successors," (p. 103.) He has shown the same for all the leading fathers of the Greek Church also;—for Origen, S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Basil, S. Gregory of Nazianzum, S. Chrysostome; the same for the great councils of the east; for the representatives of all the great churches. And, what is most important of all, though he still recognizes the greater distinctness of the language employed by the popes themselves, than by the other fathers, he explains, on perfectly satisfactory grounds, that "it was natural that the governing power should speak more fully of itself." (p. 111.) In one word, the reversal of his former judgment upon this most vital question, although he never once directly adverts to it, is vindicated upon such grounds as to make it plain, not only that, in his new work, the whole case has been fully reconsidered, but that the remarkable change of opinion which it exhibits is the result of a new, a more comprehensive, and a more logical examination of those authorities and facts by which alone the sense of antiquity can be determined.

We shall best illustrate this, however, by such brief analysis of Mr. Allies's Essay as our limits will permit. It will be remembered that the professed object of his former work was a vindication of the Anglican church from the charge of schism; and although it was sought to accomplish this rather by negative than by positive arguments—rather by overthrowing the "monarchical" pretensions of Rome than by establishing the independence of England—still the conclusion which it was intended to establish directly regarded the Anglican, rather than the Roman, Church. Now the present essay is of precisely the opposite character. It is mainly, if not entirely, positive in its statements and conclusions; and its direct object is to establish the supremacy of the Roman see, irrespectively altogether of the conflicting claims of independence on the part of other churches. The main drift of his former argument was, on the one hand to demonstrate the essential

“equality of the episcopate—the *par dignitas* of Pope Leo IX. ;” and on the other to explain away the seeming evidences of superior authority on the part of the Roman See ;—partly by the theory of a primacy of rank, partly by the acknowledged privileges of the patriarchal constitution. In the present work, instead of addressing himself to the special evidences of these and other similar minor positions, incompatible with the idea of Rome’s original and divinely instituted supremacy, he undertakes to demonstrate, by direct evidence, the existence of such a supremacy, and the recognition in every age of the essential idea which it involves. And thus, by establishing a position, the requirements of which none of his former theories or hypotheses will satisfy, he equivalently refutes them all, even without the necessity of directly disproving in detail the arguments on which they rest.

Commencing with the undeniable, and, to an earnest enquirer, the startling fact of the existence of the Papacy as a living power,—“supreme, controlling, harmonizing, conservative, unitive, defining,” he proceeds to seek—partly in the constitution of the Church as established by her Divine Founder, partly in the practical commentary on that constitution supplied by the whole series of her history—a key to the origin of this wonderful institution, which has survived the ruin, not alone of all the great institutions which it found already established, but of the numberless successive dynasties which have risen and fallen during the long ages of its own eventful history. Conversely, he finds, in the very existence and vitality of this power, a key to the darkest facts of that wondrous history. And by a chain of reasoning, simple, popular, easy of apprehension, and yet most logically exact and conclusive, he shews that the promises made by our Lord to Peter, the commission with which He intrusted him, the object and end with which this commission was given, the power which it involves in itself, and the essential privileges which the Fathers of the Church regard it as involving, can only receive their legitimate realization in the hypothesis of a real and substantive primacy of jurisdiction. Thence he proceeds to shew that the Church has ever, according to times and seasons, borne witness to this supremacy ;—not always with the same distinctness, but ever with an unchanging consciousness of its reality and its essential characteristics ;—now by hints and intimations,

and now by professions as unequivocal as though they had emanated from the school of Bellarmine or Baronius. He traces, from the earliest to the latest times, her witness to the general supremacy of the Roman See over the whole Church; to the divine institution of this supremacy, and its derivation from the promises of our Lord to Peter, and the commission with which He actually entrusted him; to the derivation of episcopal jurisdiction from the person of Peter, and to the recognition of the Roman See, as through him, its perpetual fountain in the Church. He shews the same, in a still more remarkable manner, in reference to the great churches of the East, by the acknowledgment of their own rulers and councils from the earliest times down to the very period of their final revolt; from the attitude which the Roman Pontiff assumed and was permitted to hold, in relation to the greatest councils which the church has ever seen; from the terms in which he confirmed or annulled at pleasure the decrees of these councils; and from the practical acceptance of these confirming or annulling judgments by the entire Church, on the very ground of this authority of the See of Peter. Lastly, he contrasts the supremacy of Rome, thus attested, with that claimed and exercised by the Crown over the Church of England. He compares the evidence in favour of one with the evidence in favour of the other; he considers the end which both are intended to subserve; and he contrasts, temperately, but strongly and with withering effect, the results of each in the accomplishment of that end. All this, it will at once be seen, is, of its own nature, chiefly *ex-parte* statement. It is principally or entirely the evidence upon one side. But, as we have already said, the positions which it establishes are in themselves of such a nature as to anticipate or exclude every species of counter-testimony; and when read with the living commentary supplied by the continued existence and vitality, even to the present day, of that mysterious power which they attest, form a body of evidence which few unprejudiced minds, even without one moment's further investigation, could refuse to admit.

The section upon "the Primacy as an Existing Power," is by far the most brilliant in the book; the rest, indeed, being necessarily dry and unpopular, from the masses of authorities which form the staple of them all. We shall transcribe a few passages from the chapter.

After a general statement of the leading characteristics

of the several great families of professing christians at the present day, he proceeds.

"On the whole, then, we may set down the actually existing Christianity as divided into three great portions, the Roman Catholic, united in government and belief, and comprehending two-thirds of the whole ;

"The Oriental with the Russian, and the sects parted from it ;

"The Protestant, or Anglo-German.

"At this moment, then, a variety of nations, having the most various worldly interests, and the most distinct national, moral, and political character, are united in acknowledging, as the head of their religion, the successor of S. Peter, the Bishop of Rome. And after all the divisions and conflicts of Christianity within itself, two-thirds of all professing it are still of one mind, and more than one hundred and sixty millions of souls, by the confession of an adversary, see, in the divine framework of the visible Church which holds them together, one main-spring and motive power, controlling and harmonizing all the rest : in the circle which embraces them and the world, one centre, S. Peter's See, the throne of the Fisherman, built by the Carpenter's Son.

"The Anglican Church professes a belief in episcopacy ; it is not unworthy of its attention, that of about eleven hundred Bishops now in the world (admitting the claim of one hundred of Anglican descent) eight hundred own allegiance to the Pope. If a General Council could sit, there would be no doubt on which side the vast majority would be.

"If nations could represent the Church, as at the Council of Constance, there would be as little uncertainty in the result.

"Such is the aspect of things in the present day ; but Christianity numbers more than eighteen hundred years. 'Remember the days of old : consider the years of many generations. Ask thy father, and he will show thee : thy elders, and they will tell thee.' Of eighteen hundred years let us go back three hundred and fifty, from 1850 to 1500.

"Where is the Anglo-German phase of Christianity ? What nations did it number ? What powers of the world did it set in motion ? *It was yet to come.* Its principle, indeed, had lurked in the restless mind of Wickliffe ; had seemed, and but seemed, to expire in the ashes of Huss. It was darkly and mistily agitating unquiet thoughts in England and Germany, flying, like a bird of ill omen, round the proud towers of the Church of God, or festering in corners of corruption over high powers misused. But in fixed shape and consistency, as yet *it was not.* That which now claims to be the pure and reformed Church *had no existence.* The Anglo-Saxon mind had been formed and grown up under the control of S. Peter's see ; and the country of Luther still with one voice revered Winfrid, who, from the island won to the cross of S.

Gregory, went forth to his successor, begged his apostolic blessing, and planted in Mayence the crosier which he had received from Rome. The Churches of Germany and England owed to the papal see their whole organization, and had subsisted, the one for eight hundred, the other for nine hundred years, under that fostering power. The claim which Germany and England now reject was then written on every page of the ecclesiastical legislation of those countries. Their first metropolitans had received their jurisdiction from the Pope; the diocese of every German and English Bishop had been defined by the Pope; the institution of every Bishop to his see had been received from the Pope, and at the most awful moment of his life, every spiritual ruler had sworn that he would uphold the see of S. Peter, and its occupant, '*principem episcopalis coronæ.*'

"Go back but three centuries and a half, and this ninth part of Christianity—this busy, prying, restless mind, which criticises every thing, and believes nothing; pulls down, but never builds up; analyzes the principle of life, and by the dissection kills it—which treats the holy Scripture as the ploughboy treated the watch, pulls it to pieces to look at its mechanism, and then wonders that it will not go; which grudges to men even the Apostles' Creed, and will not let them hold that there is one baptism for the remission of sins, but on condition that they communicate with those who deny it, this spirit which, in its most advanced development, casts Christianity itself into the alembic, and makes it come out a volatile essence of pantheism—in one word, Protestantism *was not.*

"Thus those who most bitterly reject the papal supremacy as an usurpation of late times, are found themselves to have begun to exist ages after the supposed corruption which they denounce.

"But there are older, more consistent, more dignified deniers of the Pope's claim, than those who date from the Reformation.

"To meet these, let us go back, instead of three hundred and fifty, a thousand years. In the year 850, not only Italy, and Spain, and Gaul, and Britain, and Germany, but the Roman Empire of the east, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and their subject Bishops and people, acknowledged S. Peter's successor, without a doubt and without a murmur, as '*chief pastor of the Church which is under heaven.*' I shall have occasion to bring forward presently testimonies from the highest authorities among them, and from their Bishops assembled in Ecumenical Council; testimonies of the complete obedience which they yielded to the Pope's supremacy, as well in matters of faith as of discipline.

"But in 850 modern Europe was at least in part constituted—the foundations of present legislation had been laid—some thrones, still existing, had been raised; the north had cast forth its hordes whom the Church was moulding into empires, and out of freemen making legislators: Charlemagne had been crowned Emperor of

the Romans before S. Peter's shrine, by the hands of S. Peter's successor, and Alfred was just about to receive his first education at Rome under S. Leo the Fourth. Let us go back another five hundred years, into that old Roman civilization, when the children of Constantine sat on his throne, and Athanasius was being tried for his faith. A general Council is assembled at Sardica, A.D. 347, and it recognizes S. Peter's successor as in full, time-honoured possession of his supreme power. It directs, not as a new thing, nor as the recognition of a new power, but what was 'best and most fitting,' as being in accordance with all ancient usage, that all Bishops, in case of difficulty, 'should refer to the head, that is, the see of the Apostile Peter.'

"And the first Council in which the whole Church was represented, the Nicene Council, famous to all ages, stated, not as granting a favour, but bearing witness to a fact, and acknowledging a power existing from the very first, without attempting to define it—for indeed that power was neither derived from its gift nor subject to its control—"the Roman Church always had the Primacy." p. 4-8.

These two great facts, that two-thirds of all existing christians *still recognize* the papal supremacy, and that the nations which constitute the remaining third, *did, for many centuries, equally recognize it*, he assumes as establishing at least a "right in possession." Further, he contends that this "right in possession" must not only throw the burden of proof upon those who deny it, but must also be held as supplying a key to the interpretation of all doubtful and obscure events in its past history. An existing power has a right that all such doubts should be interpreted in its favour; and if ever there was a power of which this principle should be admitted, assuredly the papacy must be confessed to that power.

"Not merely is it older than all the monarchies of Europe; little is it to say that it has watched over their first rudiments, fostered their growth, assisted their development, maintained their maturity; it has been further upheld by a deep belief, shared in common by many various nations, older in each of them than their existence as nations, and continuing on through the lapse of ages, while almost every thing else in those nations has changed, not only does it rule, claiming an equal and paternal sway over all, in spite of their various jealousies, their national antagonism, or their diverse temperament, so that German and Italian, who love not each other, Pole and Spaniard, who are so dissimilar, have yet in their faith a common father; but moreover every circumstance of the world has altered, and society gone round its whole cycle, from a corrupt heathen civilization, through a wild barbarism conflicting with Christianity,

into wise and venerable politics built upon the Church, and having its life infused into their own, while all throughout a line of old men has been on the banks of the Tiber, ruling this huge and many-membered Christian commonwealth, not by the arm of the flesh, but by the word of the Spirit. Nations fought and conquered, or were subdued; populations were changed, and races engrafted. German and Italian, Frank and Gaul, Goth and Iberian, Saxon and Briton, Slavonian and Hun, were dashed together. There were centuries of bitter wrong,—the pangs of Europe hastening to the birth. But a presiding spirit was there too, and brooded over all,—a spirit of unity, order, and love. At last the darkness broke, and it was found that these wild nations one and all recognized the keys of Peter, and felt the sword of Paul. An omen of this victory had appeared in early times. S. Leo set forth the true doctrine of the Incarnation; the Church listened, and was saved from a heresy already half imposed upon her by the civil power of the Eastern empire. The Western empire trembled at the approach of Attila, and the same Leo went forth to meet the barbarian, who was awed by the simple majesty of his presence, and the power of God in the person of His chief minister.

“Fourteen hundred years have past, and Leo’s successor still sits upon his throne; hundreds of Bishops, and millions of faithful, still believe that his voice sets forth and protects the true faith in every emergent heresy; and that wild force which Attila wielded has been tamed to the dominion of law in that long course of intervening ages by the power which Leo represented. Yet, great as was his influence as head of the Church, still incomparably greater now is the authority of his successor amongst the nations of the earth, after all defections, amid all the unbelief of these latter times, when ‘many run to and fro, and knowledge is increased,’ and perilous powers are in motion and combination, powers which seek to substitute the human intellect with the arts and commodities of life springing from it, for the grace of God healing the nations, and the truth which He has committed to the guardianship of His mystical body.

“Manners, races, empires, have changed and passed away, but what S. Prosper sung in 431 is as true now:—

‘Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundo, quicquid non possidet armis
Religione tenet.’

S. Augustine, at the end of the fourth century, pointed to the line of Bishops descending from the very seat of Peter, to whom the Lord entrusted His sheep to be fed, as holding him in the Catholic Church. It was a cogent argument then, but what is it now, when fourteen centuries and a half have added more than two hundred successors to that chair, and more than forty generations have encircled it with their homage?

“Is it possible for an *usurpation* to subsist under such condi-

tions? Will many various nations agree that the head of their religion should be external to themselves? Will the members of these various and jealous nations, who are equal in their episcopal power, allow a *brother* to arrange their precedence, control their actions, terminate their disputes, rule them as one flock, and that for fifteen centuries together?

“Or where shall we seek the foundation of such a power? The Church bears witness to it, but did not create it. Councils acknowledge it, but it is before councils. The first of them said, ‘The Roman Church always had the Primacy.’ Who is sufficient to create such an institution, and to maintain it? to take a common pebble that lay at his feet, and build on it a pyramid that should last for ever; on which for evermore the rain should descend, the floods fall, and the winds blow, and all the power of the evil one be exerted in vain? One alone, surely. So this authority itself declares. So the Church itself witnesses. So unnumbered Saints from age to age proclaim. That One who said, ‘Let there be light,’ and ‘This is My Body,’ said also, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.’”—pp. 9—12.

It is hardly possible to read these noble paragraphs without being reminded of the celebrated passage of Mr. Macaulay, in his review of Ranke’s History of the Papacy; but, with all their similarity to each other, how different the principles on which the two views rest! Mr. Macaulay, and the writers of his school, refuse to admit the supernatural character of that wondrous power, the permanence and undiminished vitality of which they do not hesitate to recognize; they shrink from the seeming mystery which the admission would involve, and content themselves with admiring the wondrous wisdom and energy of the *human mechanism* by which it has been maintained. How infinitely more mysterious than the mystery from which they shrink, would be the maintenance of a human usurpation, upon such principles and through such revolutions as the papacy has outlived! And how much more philosophical, as well as more truly sublime, is the conclusion of Mr. Allies, that the very nature of the power—the individual, provincial, and national privileges which it absorbs—the circumstances through which it has been preserved—the parties whom we find agreed in recognizing it—and the very grounds upon which it is claimed as the

inheritance of one especial Bishop—supply a moral evidence of the impossibility of its usurpation, the rejection of which would seem to undermine the very foundations of historical truth itself.

Of Mr. Allies's scriptural proof of the primacy of St. Peter we have already spoken. The complement of that proof, in its application to the successors of St. Peter, is admirably elaborated in the third section, "on the End and Office of the Primacy;"—that is, the maintenance of the Church "in its double unity—the unity of body, and unity of the spirit; its unity as one visible society, and its unity as one spiritual system." The popular theory of unity was one of the earliest of the modern Anglican systems, and, even to the present day, is most earnestly defended by all the children of the movement; but the unity which they recognize is a historical, not an actual, reality. The Church, according to their theory, *was* one. In her perfect state, she is one. But the privilege has been forfeited, either in punishment of sin, or because the Church has been made captive by the secular power, and is violently held in a state of division.

The futility of these and all such theories of unity, Mr. Allies has exposed with searching severity.

"Let the Church be extended to any degree in the number of her Bishops, yet she is one, and they are one, in 'the unity of origin;' not merely in that Peter *was* one 'from whom the very Episcopate, and all the authority of this title sprung;' but, in that Peter *is* still one, and that now, in the nineteenth century, just as when S. Leo said it in the fifth, 'If any thing, even in our time, by us be rightly done, and rightly ordered, it is to be ascribed to his working, to his guidance, unto whom it was said, "And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren;" and to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, in answer to the triple profession of eternal love thrice said with mystical intent, "Feed My sheep." And this, beyond a doubt, the pious shepherd does even now, and fulfils the charge of the Lord.'

"In truth, we are living men, with living souls, and we need a living Church, and not a dead one. Those who can bear that the body of Christ should be corrupt, may also endure that it once was alive, but is now dead; or, that it once was one, but is now three. All these three notions can indeed only be expressed by an honest word which arose in a dishonest time;—they are a *sham*, and they who put them forward do not, at the bottom, believe either in the one Body or in the one Spirit, for it is *vi* dent that the one body perishes, when the one spirit ceases to

animate it. What will it help the wandering soul to tell it, there was once a teacher sent from God, but he has ceased to bear God's commission? Or the wrecked mariner, there was once a ship, which rode the waves bravely, but it is not now within your reach? And what will it help one who is longing, aching, perishing, for the truth, to answer there once was a Church, 'the pillar and ground of the truth,' and so it remained, as long as it was undivided, that is, for many hundred years; but it is divided now, and therefore is now no longer the pillar and ground of the truth; but stay where you are, and hold all which that Church held, and you will be safe.'

"This is Anglicanism.

"Was it for this that our Lord prayed, 'that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me?'

"Or does S. Peter still sit in his one chair? Is he still the living source of a living Episcopate? Does he still proclaim, with the voice of the one universal Church, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God?' Does he still hear in answer, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it?'

"This is Catholicism.

"'Peter,' says S. Augustine, 'represented the very universality and unity of the Church.' And this Episcopate, which has its living source in the person of Peter's successor, and its centre in his chair, which is thus derived from him, and perpetually carried back to him, can and does embrace the whole earth, extends unto all nations, for no difference of race or speech is 'foreign' to the household of Saints, makes all languages one, for it has the Pentecostal gift, and this is surely universality; and yet is gathered up, directed, influenced, held together, by one, a Bishop himself, and having a particular flock, a Bishop of Bishops, and having an universal one, and this is surely unity. The whole Episcopate is morticed into that Rock of Peter, by which it is one and immovable. Separate a portion of it from that Rock, and it is no longer 'one Episcopate, a part of which is held by each *without division of the whole.*' That division mars all. With unity strength, and with strength courage departs, and the spring of its power is gone; it no longer stands in one place; its footing is lost; the powers of the world set their feet on its neck; and for that one voice, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' which is the voice of the Rock, it is much if it do not cry when the world accuses it, 'I know not the man.' To 'one Body, and one Spirit, one Lord, and one Faith,' what is added?—'One Baptism.' And by those who do not stand on Peter's Rock, this one Baptism for the remission of sins will be declared a difficult and mysterious doctrine, understood by pious minds in different ways, and therefore not to

be imposed on any. To make God's truth an open question is to deny the Lord when you are accused of being His disciple.

"But impart that one and true Episcopate to as many as you will, its voice will be one, and its power one, its rule equal, its courage unswerving, because the 'unity of its origin' is one, and 'the Catholic Church throughout all the world will be one bridal chamber of Christ.'"—pp. 40-42.

And in illustrating the practical working of the two systems—the Papal and the non-Papal, or anti-Papal—in realizing this great object of Christ's commission to his Church, he is even more forcible. The contrast of the practical, living, working, fructifying, unity of faith and communion in the Roman Church, with the feeble, or more truly, the lifeless sterility of the separated churches of the East, and with the endless feuds and divisions of the Anglo-German communions—displaying their vitality only in those divisions—is one of the most powerful pictures we have ever seen.

"Where Peter speaks, you have one faith, one homogeneous and harmonious system of teaching—sacraments which embrace the whole spiritual life from the cradle to the grave. He teaches that infants are received into God's kingdom by the laver of regeneration in Baptism, nor are his disciples shocked at his voice; because he likewise teaches them, that if those who have received this divine gift sin, they can only recover it by penance: they must enter afresh into that kingdom out of which they have wantonly cast themselves, by the second baptism of tears, and the plank which remains for the shipwrecked: where Peter's voice is not heard, the doctrine of Baptism is either taught without the doctrine of penance, and then it becomes at once a stumbling block, or it is not taught at all, and the whole sacramental system is overthrown. He teaches, moreover, that our Lord has established a real ministry for the forgiveness of sins, and bestowed on men a real power to consecrate his Body, the source of unspeakable blessings to men, the inexhaustible fountain of sanctity, the spring of superhuman love. This it is which enables him to ask of those who listen to his teaching the surrender of their dearest affections, and the life of angels upon earth. And he teaches this not in an ambiguous, hesitating manner, as one rather ashamed of his message, who would rather insinuate than state what he had to say; but he is plain-spoken in his premises, bold and consistent in his deductions. From the Divinity of our Lord's Person he infers, that the Lord's mother has an office and a function in his kingdom of love: from the reality of His Eucharistic Presence he proclaims that Saints live and reign with Him, hear prayers, and work miracles. The world listens, and

sneers, and cavils, and disbelieves, is affronted, abuses, persecutes, but the elect are converted and saved.

“Go to those who once acknowledged Peter as their Doctor and Teacher, who left him in possession of his full inheritance, and you will find this consistent and harmonious system mainly held indeed, but somehow afflicted with sterility, a ‘Church in petrification,’ as some one has called it.

“Go to those who left Peter denouncing him as a corrupter of God’s truth, as antichrist sitting in Christ’s seat, and you find this divine system broken into fragments; some holding one part, and some another, all exaggerating what they have, and depreciating what they have not, and misunderstanding the whole. There is no longer any agreement, no longer the shadow of one faith. The dissentients broke into numberless bodies, and have been breaking off more and more ever since: they set out with acknowledging an authority, which they put in themselves, but they finish with denying that there is any, and proclaiming as their indefeasible right the liberty to judge Scripture for themselves, and to deduce from it what seems good to such private judgment: a corollary to which, in a tolerant and luxurious age like our own, is this, that every one has indeed a right to his own opinion, but that no one should impose such opinion on his neighbour; and thus all truth is got rid of.

“Or if there be one part of those dissentients in whom from the beginning there was more worldly policy than sincerity of belief, however erroneous; if there was one province of Christ’s mystical kingdom, on which Cæsar had cast longing eyes, and said in his heart, ‘Give me but the sceptre of Christ, and I shall be omnipotent,’ think you that worldly law and Cæsar’s policy have had power to arrest the downward descent, to maintain the one inheritance of faith, to set it forth in its simplicity and purity? Alas! what do you find?—ambiguous formularies, studiously so drawn up to be signed in different senses by those who minister at the same altar: a system so ill compacted, that those who believe in sacraments are tormented by one half which they engage to maintain, and those who disbelieve them, have to drug their consciences as to the other half; and these two parties, opposed in every principle of their belief, this bundle of Luther-Calvinist heresies stifling Catholic truths, held together by a civil law, and by the anxiety of a State,—which has no conscience of its own, and looks on all dogma with sheer indifference,—to wield a weapon of great influence, a system based on worldly comfort and outward respectability, instead of the pure unearthly aims, the keen faith, and self-denying life, of the one Bride of Christ.

“Can this be that of which our Lord spake?—‘that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me?’”—pp. 44—46.

And the true foundation of this contrast is none else than the living and working office of the Primacy.

“What, on the other hand, is the belief which has been from the first at the very heart of the Church, which has inspirited her members from age to age to stand against the world; to disregard its frowns, to think a life well spent in maintaining a point of doctrine, and death endured in behalf of any part of her teaching, a martyrdom? What else but that there is one faith lodged within her, which it is her very function to guard, set forth, and apply, to unfold from the germ to the full and perfect fruit, to draw from the pregnant sentences and short intimations of holy writ, to harmonize and arrange, distribute and portion out, so that man, woman, and child, may find in it their stay, that Saints may grow up under its nurture, and its fruit be for the healing of the nations? And, what is part and parcel of this belief, that as our Lord’s presence was with Peter and his brethren, in those first days, and throughout their ministry, so it would be evermore. The Comforter, whom He had promised, was not to be given for one generation, or one century, or two, or four, and then to be withdrawn, but for ever. He could not fail the body in which He dwelt, while Peter presided over it in person; as little could He fail, in the fifth century, when one of Peter’s successors presided in His place; as little in the ninth, or the twelfth, or the fifteenth, as little in the nineteenth, or in any to come. For to suppose His failing is to ignore the whole idea on which the Church is built: it is to turn the mystical body of Christ into a school of philosophy, a branch of learning. Had it been so, the lower empire would have corrupted it, the barbarians have swept it away with sword and flame, the Reformation have torn it to pieces, and Voltaire laughed it out of the world.

“Not a Council which ever sat, not a Father who ever wrote, not a martyr who ever suffered, but believed in a perpetual illuminating grace of the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church of God to the end of time. Without it Councils and Fathers would not have existed, and still less martyrs. Men do not suffer for *opinions*, but for faith. And now, as age after age went on, as the Church burst the limits of the Roman Empire, and added nation after nation to her sway, as she passed the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, what power within her was to hold together that wide system of teaching worked out into such manifold detail? What power to eject from her bosom heresy after heresy, which by the will of God was to arise and try her, winnow the wheat and scatter the chaff? That same power which guarded and maintained the unity and universality of her outward framework, became the voice of the Holy Spirit within her, defining and ordering her faith. Her Episcopate did not break into fragments within each separate nation, and constitute systems of government co-extensive with their several sovereignties, because the perpetual fountain of the one Episcopate had

its spring and plenitude in S. Peter's See, and every individual who held a part of it, held it *without division of the whole*, and her faith remained one, homogeneous, and complete, because it was the faith of Peter, which could not fail, because the one Shepherd led the whole flock into the same pastures, because as Peter had spoken by Leo, and spoken by Agatho, so likewise he spoke by Innocent and by Pius ; so he gathers the voices of his brethren now, lifted from eight hundred provinces to one throne, weighs them in His wisdom, and gives them a single expression and an universal potency. He who breaks from the Body of the Universal Pastor commits schism; he who disregards the voice of the Universal Pastor falls into heresy. S. Celestine judged Nestorius, and S. Leo judged Eutyches ; and their heresies were cast out of the Church, and carried with them the whole sacramental system of the Church, and an indisputable Episcopal Succession : they laid hold of nations, and lasted for centuries ; their heresies might seem to men of the world subtle metaphysical misconceptions. I doubt not that six of the most learned lawyers of the most unimpeachable integrity which England could produce would pronounce that both were 'open questions,' and might be innocently held ; and that men's 'consciences must be set on hair-triggers,' to fight about such things. But nevertheless two Popes judged those heresies, and God has judged them too ; their prestige is passed away ; no civil power finds it worth while any longer to live upon them. But the Church of God goes on still upon her course ; the voice of Peter still lives within her. She is still one in her outward framework, one in her inward belief ; she still claims to be obeyed and trusted, because the See of Peter is within her, and the presence which cannot fail, the power which enunciates truths, and makes Saints, has its organ in that voice, and abides by that rock."—pp. 46—9.

It would clearly be impossible to compress into a few pages the patristic evidence of the supremacy, which forms the subject of the fourth and fifth sections. To attempt any condensation, where the difficulty has rather been to prevent the excessive accumulation of evidence, would be to do a grievous injustice to the very nature, even more than to the form, of the argument. We shall supply a better idea of the whole, by choosing a few examples, as specimens of the general mode in which the author deals with the main body of the authorities.

We select his commentary on a passage in St. Leo's letter to the Bishop of Thessalonica, the metropolis of eastern Illyricum ; chiefly because it illustrates the antiquity and the soundness of that division of the power of the apostolate, (and, in the post-apostolic Church, of the episcopate,) into the power of order and the power of

jurisdiction ;—a division which the author, in his former work, had held to be “an invention of the school of Ignatius Loyola,” and the full recognition of which has been the chief cause of the complete and signal revolution which his ideas of Church-government have undergone.

“S. Leo was deriving a part of his own universal Primacy to the Bishop of Thessalonica ; that is, he was giving him, over and above his proper powers as Bishop of the individual see of Thessalonica, a power to represent the Pope, constituting him, in fact, a Patriarch over the ten Metropolitans of Eastern Illyricum, including Greece ; just as the Bishop of Alexandria was over Egypt, and the Bishop of Antioch over the East, that is, the province called Oriens. These are S. Leo’s own words : ‘As my predecessors to your predecessors, so have I, following the example of those gone before, committed to your affection my charge of government ; that you, imitating our gentleness, might relieve the care which we, in virtue of our headship, by divine institution, owe to all Churches, and might in some degree discharge our personal visitation to provinces far distant from us. For we have entrusted your affection to represent us on this condition, that you are called to a part of our solicitude, but not to the fulness of our power. But if in a matter which you believe fit to be considered and decided on with your brethren, their sentence differs from yours, let every thing be referred to us on the authority of the Acts, that all doubtfulness may be removed, and we may decree what pleaseth God. For the compactness of our unity cannot remain firm, unless the bond of charity weald us into an inseparable whole ; because, ‘as we have many members in one Body, and all members have not the same office, so we being many, are one Body in Christ, and every one members one of another.’ For it is the connexion of the whole body which makes one soundness, and one beauty ; and this connexion, as it requires unanimity in the whole body, so especially demands concord among Bishops. For, though these have a like dignity, yet have they not an equal jurisdiction ; since even among the most blessed Apostles, as there was a likeness of honour, so was there a certain distinction of power ; and, the election of all being equal, pre-eminence over the rest was given to one. From which type the distinction also between Bishops has arisen, and it was provided by a great ordering, that all should not claim to themselves all things, but that in every province there should be one, whose sentence should be considered the first among his brethren ; and others again, seated in the greater cities, should undertake a larger care, through whom the direction of the Universal Church should converge to the one see of Peter, and nothing any where disagree from its head.’

“S. Leo wrote this five years before the fourth general Council which called him, as we have seen, ‘head over the members,’ and

'father of the children,' and 'entrusted with the care of the Lord's vineyard.' It is impossible for expressions more perfectly to tally than those of the Council and the Pope.

"Let us consider what S. Leo tells us here.

"*First*, he observes that while the Apostles were equal as to all power of Order, that is, as to the whole Sacerdotium, as to what is conferred by consecration, yet as to how they should exercise this power, in what places, and under what conditions, they were put under one, viz. S. Peter. And thus, even though they were sent into all the world by our Lord Himself, yet that mission was to be exercised under the pre-eminence of one. This means, in other words, that S. Peter's superiority consisted in his Jurisdiction over them, exactly as S. Jerome says, 'Among the twelve one is chosen out, that by the appointment of a head the opportunity for schism might be taken away.'

"*Secondly*, 'From this type the distinction between Bishops has arisen,' namely, that while all were equal as to the Sacerdotium, (as the same S. Jerome says, 'wherever a Bishop is, be it at Rome or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanæ, he is of the same *rank*, the same *priesthood*,') the jurisdiction of one differs in extent from that of another, as is self-evident in the cases of Rome, and Constantinople, and Alexandria: but likewise, to complete the type, there is a jurisdiction extending equally over all; there is one Peter among the Apostles, and there is Peter's successor too among the Bishops. This he goes on to say. For,—

"*Thirdly*, there is the Bishop over the Diocese, the Metropolitan over the Province, the Primate, or Patriarch, over the Patriarchate,—but all this for one end,—'in which the regimen and sum,' as Pope Boniface observes, 'consists,'—namely, that 'through them the direction of the Universal Church should converge to the one See of Peter, and nothing any where disagree from its head.'

"Now here, in the Apostolic, and in the Episcopal Body, in the original 'Forma,' and in the 'Compages' which sprung from it, there are two powers, and no more, of divine institution:—the Primacy of Peter, and the co-Episcopate of the Apostles; the Primacy of Peter's successor, and the co-Episcopate of his brethren.

"All that is between, Metropolitan, Primatial, or Patriarchal arrangements, are only of ecclesiastical growth, and therefore subject to diminution, or increase, or alteration; they do but 'relieve the care which, in virtue of his headship by divine institution, the Universal Primate owes to all Churches.' The power of this Primate suffers no diminution from their existence; they are not set up *against* him, but *under* him; not to *withdraw* 'the care which, in virtue of his headship, he owes to all Churches,' but to '*relieve* it.'

"Circumstances may make it expedient that under him metro-

political powers should be concentrated for whole provinces in single hands, which should accordingly confirm their subject Bishops, or even Archbishops.

"Circumstances again may make it expedient that the Universal Primate should directly and immediately give institution to all Bishops.

"But in the one case, equally as in the other, he is *supreme*. If the Patriarch is accused, he hears, judges, absolves, or condemns him. If his ordination is objected to, he confirms or annuls it; if his faith is doubted, he clears or he deprives him. If he is tyrannical, his subject Bishops appeal to the One Head, and are righted."—pp. 54—57.

The reader who recollects the distinction which Mr. Allies had formerly made between the statements of the Popes themselves and those of other fathers, will understand the pains which he has here taken, to show that every claim put forward by Leo, is accepted by the fathers of Chalcedon. We may add the testimony of another great bishop of the same sec, in order to illustrate the same principle. It is from the letters of St. Innocent on the Pelagian controversy, elicited by the direct appeal of St. Augustine, and accepted by him with the most complete unreserve, as in all things "becoming the Prelate of the Apostolic See."

"But we will turn to another controversy—one of the most subtle which has ever distressed the Church—one which harassed S. Augustine for many a year. Whither, after all his labours, writings, and prayers, in the Pelagian controversy, did he turn for its final solution? To S. Peter's Chair. Two African Councils had condemned Pelagius, and their decrees, drawn up by S. Augustine, were sent for approval to Pope Innocent I., together with another letter from S. Augustine himself and some friends, in which he says, 'We do not pour back our *streamlet* for the purpose of increasing your great *fountain*, but in this, not however a slight temptation of the time, (whence may He deliver us, to whom we cry, Lead us not into temptation!) we wish it to be decided by you, whether our stream, however small, flows forth from that same head of rivers whence comes your own abundance; and by your answers to be consoled respecting our common participation of one grace.'

"In reply, A.D. 416, S. Innocent praises the Council of Carthage, that 'in inquiring concerning these matters, which it behoves to be treated with all care by Bishops, and especially by a true, just, and Catholic Council, observing the precedents of ancient tradition, and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have confirmed the strength of our religion not less now in consulting us, than by

sound reason before you pronounced sentence, inasmuch as you approved of reference being made to our judgment, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all we who are placed in this position desire to follow the Apostle himself, from whom the very Episcopate, and all the authority of this title sprung. Following whom we know as well how to condemn the evil as to approve the good. And this too, that, guarding, according to the duty of Bishops, the institutions of the Fathers, ye resolve that these regulations should not be trodden under foot, which they, in pursuance of no human but a Divine sentence, have decreed; viz., that whatever was being carried on, although in the most distant and remote provinces, should not be terminated before it was brought to the knowledge of this See; by the full authority of which the just sentence should be confirmed, and that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order, whom they should absolve, whom, as being bemired with ineffaceable pollution, the stream that is worthy only of pure bodies should avoid; so that from their parent source all waters should flow, and through the different regions of the whole world the pure streams of the fountain well forth uncorrupted.'

'Here we have S. Innocent affirming, 1., that questions respecting the Faith had always been referred to the judgment of the Holy See. 2. That this tradition rested on Scripture, that is, on the prerogatives granted by our Saviour to S. Peter. 3. That decisions emanating from the Holy See were not liable to any error, 'that the pure streams of the fountain should well forth uncorrupted.' 4. That all the Churches of the world had ever been bound to conform to them: that thence all other Churches might derive what they should order,' &c.

'To the Council of Numidia S. Innocent says, 'Therefore do ye diligently and becomingly consult the secrets of the Apostolical honour, (that honour, I mean, on which, beside those things that are without, the care of all the Churches attends,) as to what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters, following, in sooth, the prescription of the ancient rule, which you know, as well as I, has ever been preserved in the whole world. But this I pass by, for I am sure your prudence is aware of it: for how could you by your actions have confirmed this, save as knowing that throughout all provinces answers are ever emanating as from the Apostolic fountain to enquirers? Especially so often as a matter of faith is under discussion, I conceive that all our brethren and fellow-Bishops can only refer to Peter, that is, the source of their own name and honour, just as your affection hath now referred, for what may benefit all Churches in common throughout the whole world. For the inventors of evils must necessarily become more cautious, when they see that at the reference of a double synod they have been severed from Ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence. Therefore your charity will enjoy a double advantage;

for you will have at once the satisfaction of having observed the canons, and the whole world will have the use of what you have gained ; for who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ ?

“ Here we may observe, besides what was said above,—1. That nothing concerning faith was held for decided, before it was carried to the See of S. Peter, and had received the Pope’s sentence. 2. That before his sentence the determination of particular Councils only hold good provisionally,—‘ what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters.’ 3. That such determination only had the force of a consultation or relation as to a difficulty, made to the Pope before his own sentence,—‘ at the relation,’ he says, ‘ of a double synod.’ 4. That the Pope’s sentence, by which he confirmed Councils, was a final judgment, excluding the condemned from the Church’s Communion, ‘ when they see that they have been severed from Ecclesiastical Communion by our sentence.’ 5. That Bishops, as well as the faithful in general, always submitted themselves to such a decree, ‘ Who among Catholics will choose any longer to hold discourse with the adversaries of Christ ?’

“ S. Innocent the Third could have said no more about the powers of his See ; what does S. Augustine observe upon it ?

“ ‘ He answered to all as was right, and as it became the prelate of the Apostolic See.’ And as to the effect of his answer, there are famous words of S. Augustine, which have passed into a proverb, ‘ Already two Councils on this matter have been sent to the Apostolic See ; replies from whence have also been received. *The cause is terminated ;* would that the error may presently terminate likewise !’

“ We need no more to tell us what S. Augustine meant by that ‘ Headship, which,’ he says, ‘ had ever flourished in the Apostolic See.’ It involves, we see, the necessity that all other Churches should agree in faith with it, as having deposited in itself the root of the Apostolic confession, concerning the two natures of our Lord, to which the promise was given by our Lord, that the Church should be built upon it. S. Augustine and S. Innocent express the one true faith under S. Cyprian’s image of the fountain, who in the same most remarkable passage where he sets forth the ‘ one Episcopate, of which each holds a part without division of the whole,’ says, ‘ as from one fountain numberless rivers flow, widely as their number may be diffused in broad abundance, yet unity is preserved in the source ;—one still is the head, and the origin one.’ ”—pp. 61-4.

But the most signal instance of all, is that of the great council of Chalcedon itself. There is not in the whole history of the early papacy, and perhaps even in the days of its complete mediæval development, a more distinct enunciation of the papal privileges, or at least of the principles on which these privileges are founded, than in

the letters of the great Pontiff, under whom this council was held. Even in his earlier work, Mr. Allies had recognized (p. 262) in the language of this Pope, "the germ of something very like the present papal system," though he refused to put this construction upon it, because he did not believe it to be "supported by the acts of the ancient Church." How inconsistent this assumption, with the relation which Leo claimed, and was permitted to occupy, towards the council of Chalcedon!

"In the year 451 the great Council of Chalcedon was called to censure the heresy of Eutyches. S. Leo had, in a letter to Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, laid down the true faith; and he speaks in the following letter to the Council of the obedience which he expected to be rendered to his decision.

"In these brethren, Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, Boniface and Basil, Presbyters, who have been sent from the Apostolic See, let your Brotherhood deem me to preside over the Council, my presence not being disjoined from you, for I am there in my representatives, and long since have not been wanting in setting forth the Catholic Faith: for you cannot be ignorant what from ancient tradition we hold, and so cannot doubt what we desire. Wherefore, most dear brethren, rejecting altogether the boldness of disputing against the faith inspired from above, let the vain unbelief of those who are in error be quiet, nor venture to defend what may not be believed; inasmuch as, according to the authorities of the Gospel, the words of the Prophets, and the Apostolic doctrine, it has been most fully and clearly declared, in the letter we have sent to the Bishop Flavian of happy memory, what is the pious and sincere confession concerning the mystery of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, and president of the Council at Ephesus two years before, had taken his place among the Bishops; but at the very opening of the Council, Paschasinus, legate of the Apostolic See, said, 'We have in our hands the commands of the most blessed and Apostolic man, Pope of the City of Rome, which is the head of all Churches, in which his Apostleship has thought good to order that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council, but be introduced to make his defence.' And Lucentius, another legate, gives the reason:—'He must give an account of the judgment he passed; inasmuch as not having the right to judge, he presumed, and dared to hold a Council without the authority of the Apostolic See, which never was lawful, never has been done.'

"And Dioscorus takes his seat as a criminal.

"The condemnation of Dioscorus is afterwards passed in the following terms by the Pope's legates:—'Paschasinus,—and Lu-

centius,—and Boniface,—pronounced. Leo, most holy and blessed Archbishop of great and elder Rome, by us, and by this holy Council, together with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who is the Rock and ground of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the right faith, hath stripped him as well of the rank of Bishop, as also hath severed him from all sacerdotal ministry.’

“All assent to this.

“Moreover, the Council subscribes to every particle of S. Leo’s letter.

“I have already given above the substance of their letter to him. No stronger terms can be found to express the Supremacy, than those there voluntarily tendered to him.

“Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, humbly assures him, as the Council had done, ‘that all the force of the acts and their confirmation had been reserved to the authority of your Blessedness.’ Notwithstanding, S. Leo confirms their decrees only as to matters of faith, and refuses the canon about the see of Constantinople.

“Thus the Papal Supremacy is set forth in these two Councils, held at the most flourishing period of the ancient Church; and not only so, but it is recognized as existing from the beginning, and founded on the prerogatives given by our Lord to Peter, whose person is viewed as continued on in his successors; and the grant of infallibility, deposited in the Church, is not obscurely declared to be seated in the person of her chief.”—pp. 79—82.

Perhaps, indeed, the papal prerogatives are more signally displayed in his dealings with the heterodox council, which preceded that of Chalcedon—the well known “Robbers’ Council,” [*σύνοδος λήστρικη*] of Ephesus. Mr. Allies only refers to it passingly in his sections upon the Pope in his relation to councils.

“This point is closely connected with the next, the confirmation of Councils. And perhaps nothing shows more conclusively the imperium over all belonging to the See of S. Peter than this right.

“S. Jerome tells us that at the latter part of the fourth century the Roman See was perpetually referred to for its judgment on difficult matters by Councils both of the East and West. ‘I was secretary to Damasus, Bishop of the Roman city, and answered the synodical consultations of the East and West.’

“S. Innocent a few years later says that nothing was terminated without the consent of that See.

“But the strongest exertion of this power is, giving that ratification to General Councils, without which they do not express the voice of the Church Catholic. And this power will be sufficiently proved, if some Councils which would otherwise have been general,

were not so, simply from wanting this Papal ratification: and others, not of themselves general, became so, simply from having it.

"Of the former class is the Council of Ariminum in 359, attended by more than four hundred Bishops, and whose formulary was signed by the Bishops of the East. Yet in the Council held by Pope Damasus at Rome ten years afterwards, it was declared that the number of Bishops assembled there could not carry force, because the agreement of the Roman Bishop was wanting. And this has been always held since.

"Yet more remarkable is the case of the second Council of Ephesus, regularly called, attended by all the East, and by the legates of S. Leo, but annulled by his subsequent opposition to it, and branded as the Robbers' Council.

"Of the latter class, a Council held at Constantinople of one hundred and fifty Bishops of the East alone, which set forth the divinity of the Holy Spirit, became the second General Council solely by Pope Damasus accepting its decrees of faith.

"A Council held by the influence of Justinian, against the wishes of Pope Vigilius, and bitterly opposed by all the West, became the fifth General Council, because it was subsequently confirmed by Vigilius.

"And the influence of the Popes, it is well known, alone induced the West to receive the seventh General Council, where indeed the Papal Legates were the only Westerns who sat.

"Again, observe that S. Leo *annuls* the second Council of Ephesus, but *excepts* the ordination of Maximus to Antioch; and *ratifies* the Council of Chalcedon, but *excepts* the exaltation of the See of Constantinople.

"And the third General Council having left to Pope Celestine the decision as to the excommunication of the Patriarch John of Antioch, Xystus his successor writes to S. Cyril:

"As to the Bishop of Antioch, and the rest, who with him wished to be partisans of Nestorius, and as to all who govern Churches contrary to the ecclesiastical discipline, *we have already determined this rule*, that if they become wiser and with their leader reject every thing which the holy Council has rejected *with our confirmation*, they are to return into their place as Bishops.'

"A Council at Rome, held in the year 485, writing to the Clergy of Constantinople, observes, with regard to the name of Pope Felix alone being appended to the decree deposing Acacius, 'As often as the Priests of the Lord are assembled within Italy for ecclesiastical matters, especially of faith, the custom is retained that the successor of the Prelates of the Apostolic See, in the person of all the Bishops of the whole of Italy, according to the care over all Churches which belongs to him, should regulate all things, for he is the head of all: as the Lord says to blessed Peter, 'Thou art Peter,' &c. Following which voice the three hundred and eighteen

Fathers assembled at Nicæa left the confirmation and ratification of matters to the holy Roman Church, both of which down to our time all successions by the help of Christ's grace maintain.'

"If an assertion thus publicly made, by such an authority, in the absence of any thing to contradict it, is not to be believed, very few facts of history are more worthy of credit.

"Pope Gelasius, writing to the Bishops of Dardania, in 495, observes, 'We trust that no true Christian is ignorant that the appointment of every Council which the assent of the universal Church has approved, ought to be executed by no other See but the first, which both confirms every Council by its authority, and maintains them by its continued government, in virtue, that is, of its headship, which blessed Peter received indeed from the Lord's voice, but the Church, no less following that voice, hath ever held, and holds.'

"Ferrandus, a well-known deacon of Carthage, writing in 533 to two deacons of the Church of Rome, says :

"'The divine precepts are only in the canonical books, and the decrees of the fathers in General Councils, not to be refuted, nor rejected, but maintained and embraced, according to that command of Holy Scripture, 'Hear, my son, the law of thy fathers, and despise not the advice of thy mother.' For the law of the father is conspicuous, as it seems to me, in the canonical books : the advice of the mother is contained in universal councils. The Bishops, moreover, who meet there, subscribe their own statutes, that no doubt may be left by whom the discussion has been held : but, besides these, no further subscription is required : for it is held to be sufficient for full confirmation, if, brought to the knowledge of the whole Church, they cause no offence or scandal to the brethren, and are approved to agree with the Apostolic faith, being confirmed by the consent of the Apostolic See."—pp. 128-131.

Nor, even while we are ashamed of the length to which our extracts have already extended, can we think of passing over the brief, but pregnant, section, in which he sums up the evidence of the necessity of communion with the See of Rome.

"Every witness whom I have hitherto brought confirms likewise the remaining point,—the necessity of communion with the Pope. If his Primacy extends over the whole Church, as its controlling, regulating, maintaining, and uniting power, which supports its discipline, and gives voice to its faith ; if this be by direct gift of our Lord, Who conferred upon Peter alone that whole Episcopate, of which others were to hold a part in communion with him and in dependance on him, and as long as this Episcopate endure, the original condition of its existence endure likewise ; if, as having *that* whole and complete in himself of which others have a part, he

is the living source and spring of mission and jurisdiction ; if the Eastern Church acknowledged such a Primacy, when the imperial power was proudest in her, and when the See of Rome was politically no longer subject to that imperial power ; if ‘ the Churches may not make canons contrary to the sentence of the Bishop of Rome ;’ if his See ‘ confirms every council by its authority, and maintains them by its continued government ;’—how can he not be the centre of unity, so ‘ that whoever dares recede from the rock of Peter may know that he has no part in the Divine mystery ?’ Is it any wonder that every Saint is penetrated with this idea ? that S. Ambrose cries, ‘ Where Peter is, there is the Church ;’ S. Jerome, ‘ Whoso gathereth not with thee scattereth ;’ S. Optatus, ‘ He is a schismatic and a sinner, who against that singular chair sets up another ;’ S. Augustine, ‘ Come, brethren, live in the *root*, be grafted into the *vine*—this is the *Rock*, which the proud gates of hell prevail not against ;’ the whole Oriental Church together, ‘ Those severed from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, not agreeing in all things with the Apostolic See, shall not have their names recited at the sacred mysteries ;’ or again, ‘ We follow and obey the Apostolic see ; those who communicate with it, we communicate with—those condemned by it, we condemn ;’ or, that the Catholic Church of old, assembled in her most numerous General Council, confessed the Bishop of Rome to be the organ of the Holy Spirit dwelling in her ; ‘ Leo, most holy and blessed Archbishop of great and elder Rome, *by us and by this holy Council*, together with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who is the Rock and Ground of the Catholic Church, and the Foundation of the right faith.’ Heresy itself, by the voice of one sprung from our own island, in S. Augustine’s time spontaneously expressed this. The Briton Pelagius laid his confession of faith before Pope Innocent I. in these words :

“ ‘ This is the faith, most blessed Pope, which we have learnt in the Catholic Church, and which we always have held, and hold. In which if any thing perchance is laid down with somewhat of ignorance, or want of caution, we desire to be corrected by you, who hold both the faith and seat of Peter. But *if this our confession is approved by the judgment of your Apostleship*, then whosoever tries to cast a blot on me, will prove himself ignorant or spiteful, or even not a Catholic, but will not prove me a heretic.’ ”

“ An early Father, Bishop and Martyr in Gaul, but a Greek by birth, and only two steps removed from S. John, has given us the reason of all this, ‘ With this Church (the Roman) *on account of its superiority of headship*, it is necessary that every Church should agree, that is, the faithful on every side, in which the tradition from the Apostles has ever been preserved by those who are on every side.’ ”

“ May we not, then, sum up the whole belief of the Church concerning that living power which her Lord has put at her centre, in the words of one who has been called the last of the Fathers, who

at least in his day was loved and honoured by all who themselves were worthy of love and honour? Thus speaks S. Bernard to that monk who had been his own spiritual child, but was become his father, as holding the See of Peter; and in him speaks a countless multitude of Holy Doctors, Saints, and Martyrs, who have had no other home, hope, or comfort, but in the Church of God, who but carried on what they had inherited, a perpetual living tradition. Thus he interprets S. Augustine: 'This is the Rock against which the proud gates of hell prevail not.'

"Come, let us inquire yet more diligently who you are, that is, what person you, for a time, sustain in the Church of God. Who are you? a great Priest, the Supreme Pontiff. You are chief of the Bishops, heir of the Apostles, in primacy Abel, in government Noah, in patriarchate Abraham, in order Melchizedec, in dignity Aaron, in authority Moses, in judgment Samuel, in power Peter, in unction Christ. You are he to whom the keys are delivered, to whom the sheep are entrusted. Others indeed there are who keep the door of heaven, and are shepherds of flocks, but you have inherited both names above the rest, as in a more glorious, so in a different way. They have each their several flocks assigned to them, while to you singly all are entrusted as one flock. And not only of the sheep, but of all the shepherds you are the only Shepherd. Ask you whence I prove this? By the word of the Lord. For to whom I say, not of Bishops, but even of Apostles, were all the sheep intrusted so absolutely, and without distinction? 'Peter, if thou lovest Me, feed my sheep.' Which sheep? the people of this or that city, or region, or specified empire? My sheep, He saith. To whom is it not plain that he did not designate some, but assign all? nothing is excepted, where nothing is distinguished. And perhaps the rest of his fellow-disciples were present, when, by committing them to one, He commended unity to all in one flock, and one shepherd, according to that 'My dove, My beautiful, My perfect is but one.' Where is unity, there is perfection. The other numbers have not perfection, but division, in receding from unity. Hence it is that others received each their own people, knowing the sacrament. Finally, James, who seemed to be a pillar of the Church, was contented with Jerusalem alone, yielding up to Peter the whole. But well was he there placed to raise up seed to his dead brother, when that Brother was slain. For he was called the brother of the Lord. Moreover, when the brother of the Lord gives way, what other would intrude himself on the prerogative of Peter?

"Therefore, according to your canons, others have been called to a part of your solicitude, but you to the fulness of power. The power of others is conferred within certain limits; yours is extended even over those who have received power over others. Can you not, if fitting cause exist, shut heaven to a Bishop, depose him from the Episcopate, even deliver him to Satan? Therefore does your

privilege stand to you unshaken, as well in the keys which are given you, as in the sheep which are entrusted to you. Hear another thing which no less confirms to you your prerogative. The disciples were in the ship, and the Lord appeared on the shore, and, what was cause of greater delight, in His risen Body. Peter, knowing that it is the Lord, casts himself into the sea, and thus came to him while the rest arrived in the ship. What meaneth that? It is a sign of the one only Priesthood of Peter, by which he received not one ship only, as the rest each their own, but the world itself for his government. For the sea is the world, the ships Churches. Thence it is, that, on another occasion, walking like the Lord on the waters, he marked himself out as the single Vicar of Christ, who should rule over not one people, but all; since the 'many waters' are 'many peoples.' Thus, while every one of the rest has his own ship, to thee the one most great ship is entrusted; the Universal Church herself, made out of all Churches, diffused through the whole world.'"—pp. 131—136.

We have transcribed at full length this magnificent quotation from St. Bernard, less for the sake of the exposition of the papal privileges which it contains, than because the view which it puts forward, is precisely that which Anglicans habitually represent, as the very type and essence of the modern papal usurpation. There is scarcely a single one of its details for which Mr. Allies has not here accumulated early authority, almost in the very terms employed by this great defender of the mediæval papacy.

Thus far the evidence has been purely of a defensive character. It would be a great injustice, however, to Mr. Allies to pass over the concluding sections, in which he considers the position of the church of England, especially with reference to the two great fundamental points, (1) the origin of mission and spiritual jurisdiction, and (2) the supreme ecclesiastical judge. These are the two great points on which, in the Anglican view, the whole Reformation of the church of England turns. It would be impossible to do justice to his arguments except in his own words, and, therefore, even at the risk of being tedious, we shall venture to transcribe the passage entire.

Having shewn that from the days of the mission of St. Augustine, the power of the Roman See as the ultimate source, in both the particulars specified above, were faithfully and consistently recognized; he proceeds to consider what source has been substituted since the church has separated itself from Rome.

“As a matter of fact, for more than nine hundred years the See of S. Peter was in this nation the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, and matters of faith could be carried before it, as the court of appeal in last resource.

“And as a matter of fact, for nine hundred and sixty years sixty-nine Archbishops sat in the seat of S. Augustine at Canterbury, by the authority of him who sent S. Augustine.

“But by whose authority did the seventieth sit? who gave to Dr. Parker not his orders, not his episcopal character, but *mission*, to execute the powers which belong to that character in the determinate See of Canterbury, and *authority* to execute the powers of a Primate in the province of Canterbury?

“To this no answer can be given but one,—Queen Elizabeth gave, or at least attempted to give, that mission and that authority.

“Let us simply state historical facts.

“Queen Elizabeth, at her accession, found the ancient relation, which for nine hundred and sixty years had subsisted between the See of S. Peter and the Church of England, restored by the act of her sister, after its disturbance by her father and brother. This relation consisted mainly in two points—that the Pope instituted all Bishops, and was the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge.

“Queen Elizabeth caused an Act of Parliament to be passed, depriving the Pope of these two powers. And this Act was passed in spite of the remonstrances of the Episcopate, the Convocation, and the two Universities.

“But she did not stop there. Who was to possess these two powers? Somewhere they must be. She coveted them for her Crown: she took and annexed them to that Crown.

“She made herself Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge by causing the appeals, which had ever been made from the Court of the Archbishop to the Pope, to be made to the Crown. More need not be said on this head, as all the Courts of the kingdom have just affirmed this power to exist in the Crown; and as her Majesty, in exercise of her authority as Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, has just reversed the sentence of the Archbishop's Court, and decreed, that the Clergy of the Church have it wholly at their option to preach and teach that infants are regenerated by God in Holy Baptism, or that such a doctrine is ‘a soul-destroying heresy;’ nay, as the perfection of liberty, the same Clergyman can now at the font, in the words of the Baptismal Service, declare his belief in the former doctrine, and in the pulpit proceed to enforce the latter!

“She took to herself, likewise, the power of *instituting* Bishops, which is of originating mission and jurisdiction; for every Bishop of the Anglican Church has been from that time instituted by order and commission from the Crown, and by that alone. Now it has been well said that ‘Sovereigns who covet spiritual authority have never dared to seize it upon the altar with their own hands: they

know well that in this there is an absurdity even greater than the sacrilege. Incapable as they are of being *directly* recognized as the source and regulators of religion, they seek to make themselves its masters by the intermediacy of some sacerdotal body enslaved to their wishes: and there, Pontiffs without mission, usurpers of the truth itself, they dole out to their people the measure of it which they think sufficient to check revolt; they make of the Blood of Jesus Christ an instrument of moral servitude and of political schemes, until the day when they are taught by terrible catastrophes, that the greatest crime which sovereignty can commit against itself and against society is the meddling touch which profanes religion.'

"Dr. Parker was instituted by four Bishops without a diocese, who had no power whatever of their own to give mission to the See of Canterbury: they professed to act under Queen Elizabeth's Commission.

"But to show how the fountain of this mission and spiritual jurisdiction was made to reside in the Crown, we need only refer to the law which enacted, that in case an Archbishop should refuse within a certain time to institute a Bishop at the command of the Crown, *a case which in three hundred years has never occurred*, though Dr. Hoadley and Dr. Hampden have been among the persons instituted, the Crown might issue a commission to any other Bishops of the province to institute, thus overruling the special authority of the Archbishop, as Archbishop.

"Moreover, the letters patent of every Colonial Bishop declare in the most express words that Episcopal jurisdiction to govern such and such a diocese, which the letters patent erect, is granted by the Crown.

"And not only does the Crown *grant* this jurisdiction but it can *revoke* it after it has been once granted.

"Take the latest exercise of this power.

"The Queen has been pleased by letters patent under the great seal of the United Kingdom to *reconstitute* the Bishopric of Quebec, and to direct that the same shall comprise the district of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Gaspé *only*, and be called the Bishopric of Quebec: and Her Majesty has been pleased to name and appoint the Right Rev. Father in God, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Doctor of Divinity, *heretofore Bishop of Montreal, to be Bishop of the said See of Quebec*. Her Majesty has also been pleased to constitute so much of the ancient diocese of Quebec as comprises the district of Montreal, to be a Bishop's See and Diocese, to be called the Bishopric of Montreal, and to name and appoint the Rev. Francis Fulford, Doctor of Divinity, to be ordained and consecrated Bishop of the said See of Montreal.'

"All that the Archbishop has to do in such a matter is to give Episcopal consecration to a person so designated, on pain of having

his goods confiscated, and his person imprisoned : *but he does not give the diocese or the mission.*

“ Her Majesty likewise—in the exercise of Papal authority—has created sundry Metropolitans, as of Calcutta, to whom she has subjected all India ; and Sydney, to whom she has subjected not only Australia, but Van Diemen’s Land and New Zealand.

“ Now here let me observe two things.

“ First, that the power to nominate for election, or to elect one to be a Bishop, is quite distinct from the power to institute or confirm, which latter is *the deliverance of the spiritual power of government.* The former privileges may be and are exercised by the civil power ; but the latter authority must be derived from a spiritual source.

“ Secondly, the civil power may, if it so choose, give the sanction of civil law to the assignments of dioceses made by the spiritual power ; and attach a certain *civil* validity to the spiritual acts of Bishops instituted by spiritual power. But here the case is quite different. The diocese is made and erected, divided and altered, solely by the civil power. The spiritual jurisdiction actually possessed by a Bishop over his flock is taken away, as concerns a part of that flock, and conferred upon another. The Bishop is purely passive under this.

“ And so particular Bishops, already supposed to be under the See of Canterbury, are without permission of that See subjected to an intermediate Metropolitan.

“ Now the whole principle of the Anglican Reformation consists in these two things,—that the civil power is made the origin of Mission and Spiritual Jurisdiction, and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. Those who ask for these things to be altered ask that the Reformation would be pleased to undo all that it did amiss, and so restore itself to Catholic Unity. Would that they may be heard, but there are few signs of it !

“ And the whole of what I have written in the preceding five sections shows that the Papal authority consists in exactly these two points. And thus it was that Queen Elizabeth took and transferred the Papal Supremacy to herself. And thus it is that authority to administer the Sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ in this or that place or district, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the power to bind and loose, are pretended to be given by an earthly Sovereign. Can there be found in the history of eighteen hundred years a heresy more directly anti-Christian than this ? It strikes at the very heart of the Church of God.

“ From the beginning the crime of being a creature and a slave of the State has been alleged against the Anglican Establishment. Is this charge true ? and, if so, in what does it consist ?

“ It is not because a communion is *established*, because its Bishops are *nominated* by the Crown, and sit in Parliament ; because their acts have a civil validity ; because its Clergy are civil officers : that

it can be justly called a creature or a slave of the State. All this may be innocently, may be rightly, may be most happily. But a communion is the creature and the slave of the civil power when the origin of its mission and spiritual jurisdiction, and the supreme judgment upon its doctrine, are vested in the civil power.”--pp. 144-9.

This is even more evident in the very first step of the new order of things—in the first link of the new chain of succession.

“The Primacy was vacant, and sixteen members of the Episcopate alone survived. Of these *fifteen* refused to sever that link between their Sees and the See of Rome, which had subsisted for nine hundred and sixty years, from the very foundation of the Church, refused beside to acknowledge the transference of the two above-named spiritual powers to the Crown. In virtue of that law they were deposed.

“One Bishop, Kitchen of Llandaff, had the heart to accept these conditions, and continued on in his See, surrendering to courtiers the greater part of its endowments. But even he took no part in the confirmation or consecration of the new Primate.

“And so the ancient Episcopate, which derived its succession from S. Augustine, and its mission from S. Peter, became extinct in banishment, in captivity, and in duress. The Episcopate which for well-nigh a thousand years, had formed, and civilized, and blessed England in a thousand ways, and by which it was a member of the great Christian Body, was swept away.

“And a new Episcopate, deriving its mission from Queen Elizabeth, and perpetually dependant for its jurisdiction on the Crown of England, and owning in that Crown its Supreme Ecclesiastical Judge, arose. This is its origin, this the principle on which it is built, the subjection of the spiritual power to the civil in spiritual things, in faith, and in discipline. *Humanam conati sunt facere Ecclesiam*. They attempted, and they have succeeded. For myself, now that after long years of pain and distress, of thought, of inquiry, and of prayer, since by the mercy of God the light has broken upon me, let me say as much as this,—for not to say it would be to conceal the strongest conviction, neither formed in a hurry, nor reached without great suffering,—let those who can put their trust in such a Church, and such an Episcopate, those who can feel their souls safe in such a system, work in it, think for it, write for it, pray for it, *trust their souls to it*. But the duty which I owe to Almighty God, and the regard which I have for my salvation, compel me to declare my belief, by word and by act, that it is an *imposture*, all the more dangerous to the souls of men, to the affectionate, to the obedient, to those who believe that there is ‘one Body and one Spirit,’ because it pretends to be a member of the Catholic Body, with which it has broken the essential relation, and to possess spiritual powers, which it has indeed forfeited.”—p. 149-50.

Would that we could bring home this solemn and impressive warning—doubly impressive from the pen of one in whose life it has become a reality—to the mind and heart of every sincere and earnest enquirer after the truth of God!

We have been tempted, by the manifold beauties of this remarkable Essay, so far beyond the limits which we had originally proposed, that we have scarcely space for a single word upon the admirable work of De Maistre, which stands second upon our list. Fortunately, however, the original is too well known, and too highly esteemed, to stand in need of any commendation at our hands. Fortunately, too, the translation is of such a character as not to call for a word of criticism. It is easy, simple, and natural; and while it fully conveys the meaning of every nicety of the original, it is free from that severity and stiffness which are too often the price of accuracy. Its appearance is singularly opportune; and it may well serve as a supplement to the work of Mr. Allies, with which we have ventured to couple it. It would be difficult to find two works, each excellent after its kind, and both intended to demonstrate the same truth, which can be said to reach their common conclusion by processes so different, and so independent of each other. Hence, the reader who has exhausted the topics of Mr. Allies's Essay will scarcely have anticipated a single argument, or forestalled a single view of the brilliant and attractive work of De Maistre.

With one observation more we shall take leave of the subject. Many of Mr. Allies's critics have found fault with his sudden and complete change of opinion, and have stigmatized the volume before us as a simple turning his back upon himself, and a renunciation of his former opinions, without sufficient new grounds to justify the reversal of his judgment. It is said that there is nothing in the arguments by which he is convinced in 1850, which he had not rejected in 1848, and that there is not a single particular of that theory, which he now accepts as filling up his ideal of the primitive constitution of the Church, which he had not already maturely considered in the conclusion to which he then arrived.

We have seen that these statements are entirely without foundation. But even were it otherwise, his example should nevertheless supply material for grave and anxious consideration, to all who are still separated from the Church,

even those whose present convictions appear most firmly fixed, and have been the result of most anxious and laborious investigation. It is one of the many instances which these wondrous times have shewn us, how little reliance need be placed even upon the sternest resolves and the most seemingly fixed and settled conclusions. Mr. Newman had at one time satisfied himself that "at the time of the Council of Trent the whole Roman Communion had bound itself by a perpetual bond and covenant to the cause of Anti-christ.* Yet he came first to claim, as the best defence of the Anglican Church, that the articles did not necessarily exclude the Tridentine Doctrines, and ultimately to receive the whole body of that creed as the dictation of God's Holy Spirit. Even at a later period, he had held that the popular system of Rome had overlaid and defaced the fundamental doctrines defined in that council; yet in a few short years he was brought to admit, that this popular system does not in any way "interfere with the awful and incommunicable relation which subsists between the creature and the Creator."† Mr. Allies held, a few short months since, as the result of years of study and almost unexampled research, that the pretensions of papal Rome are founded on a "baseless fiction," without warranty of scripture or antiquity. He has come under God's grace to believe, and to establish to the conviction of every earnest mind, that the see of Peter is the "Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity." After these changes in such minds, who will trust the convictions of his own feeble judgment? and, among ourselves, will doubt that the merciful dispensation which has brought the truth home to these master intellects, will, in its own good time, visit multitudes at this moment unconscious of its approach, and even hardened against its influence? and that to multitudes, in whose eyes to-day the claims of Rome are "insolent," and her peaceful efforts to advance the truth of God "insidious," it may yet be given, in Mr. Allies's touching words, "to pass under her protection the short remains of this troubled life—to wander no more from her fold, but to find the Chair of the Chief Shepherd to be indeed 'the shadow of a great Rock in a weary land.'"

* Tracts for the Times, No. 15. † Essay on Development, p. 448.

ART. VI.—*On the Religious Ideas.* By WILLIAM JOHNSON FOX, Esq., M.P. London: Fox.

THERE is no more remarkable circumstance connected with the very remarkable excitement against our holy religion, which we have lately witnessed, than the blindness to their real, even worldly, interests, which has been exhibited by the principal declaimers. Those among whom the excitement has chiefly ranged, have been chiefly of the professional, the mercantile, and the middle classes; and there is no one object (we suppose) which such men as these have more at heart, than the preservation of *peace and order*, the security of life and property. Now, it cannot be questioned that there has existed for some time past, and exists more strongly than ever at this moment, among the classes below these, especially in the town population, a deep, growing, and indignant dissatisfaction with the existing social relations. All who have means of knowing the real mind of these classes, combine in giving the same account; and they combine too in stating, (what we should otherwise, of course, have been pretty sure of,) that the men so disposed are prevented from violence and disturbance by no principles of loyalty or allegiance, but by considerations of prudence alone. Thus "*incedimus per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*;" and it is difficult indeed to know how long our prized "*peace and order*" are destined to remain secure.

What is our best hope of guarding against this most serious danger? Impressing on the public mind the pure principles of Christianity. It is that very spirit of gentleness, humility, and (again) unworldliness, inculcated by Christianity, which is the best ally to the civil magistrate in his legitimate functions; as the experience of so many centuries has sufficiently testified. But we consider it as an indubitable fact, and it is one certainly which many Protestants now-a-days admit, both that the Catholic Church is incomparably more successful in indoctrinating the masses, than is any other body of professing Christians; and also, that of two persons, e. g., equally influenced respectively by the Catholic and by some Protestant system, the former will be far the more deeply imbued with these principles of loyal and self-sacrificing obedience for

conscience' sake: so that, on both these accounts, our own religion is eminently and singularly serviceable for this important object of public peace and tranquillity. Indeed, there is no fact more certain, than the intense hatred entertained by these discontented agitators against the Catholic religion, and the deep mutual antipathy between them and the Catholic poor.

Yet, great though the dangers are with which public peace and tranquillity are threatened—singularly dear as are the blessings so imparted to the middle classes of Englishmen—vast as are the services which our religion can and does render them in behalf of those blessings—those very classes have been led into a position of violent hostility to us; and that under the influence of the most narrow prejudices, and the most groundless apprehensions. So far indeed as an idea exists of some aggression on the temporal powers of Queen and Parliament, it does not deserve the name of a prejudice; it is a mere ridiculous bugbear. But as to what is a more real subject of jealousy, the Pope's spiritual power, is this (even on their own principles) an evil at all comparable with the resulting good? Far be it from us, indeed, to underrate the practical effect of this exclusively spiritual power, its deep and pervasive influence; and readily can we understand the annoyance of politicians, when some of their schemes are more or less thwarted by its exertion. Still, are not their plans in like manner thwarted every day by the crotchets of the Wesleyans, or the prejudices of the Establishment, or the party-spirit of the Universities, or the intolerance of the Latitudinarians? All these influences are quite as real, and some of them more politically potent, than that of the Catholic Church; and yet, which of them is there which is able to plead, as a set off, political services comparable in importance to those above specified?

For our own parts (as might have been expected) we go still further; and maintain that this spiritual power, which in the higher and supernatural order we regard as so unspeakably beneficial, in the lower and temporal order also is a positive good. For let us be allowed to imagine so blessed, yet so humanly improbable an hypothesis, as the speedy conversion of great part of England to the Catholic Faith. We are quite convinced that, in such a case, this very spiritual power would be the means of bringing about peacefully, harmoniously, gradually,

those measures of social amelioration, which we see not how the unassisted temporal power can possibly accomplish, and which nevertheless seem almost indispensably necessary, in order to prevent the occurrence, sooner or later, of some tremendous political convulsion.

Let us come now (to approach nearer our immediate subject) from the region of action to that of speculation. Here also we shall find the Catholic Church prepared to perform the same service for the same classes. There are great numbers, (we are persuaded), of those who have taken the lead in the recent outcry, who consider themselves most zealous, and who *are* most zealous so far as words and expressions go, for such doctrines as those of our B. Saviour's Divinity, or the Inspiration of Scripture. There is perhaps not one in the whole number, who is *not* most warmly attached to the code of social morality existing in this country; as regards e. g. the sacredness and indissolubility of the marriage tie. Against both classes of truths represented by such tenets as the above, there is a most active and able intellectual insurrection in full progress at this very moment; an insurrection, therefore, which must be regarded by those of whom I speak with disgust and aversion: and yet, we are persuaded that no consistent intellectual front can be presented against the insurgents, except by help of Catholic theology. Nor does it avail to reply that the English are a practical people, and that these sacred principles may safely be left in their existing state of theoretical incompleteness. This is no good reply, we say; for intellectual instruction, (whether for good or for evil), has been brought to that point, that the classes below those whom we are addressing,—the mechanics, for example, and journeymen in towns,—have obtained a quick apprehension at least of superficial argument, and a most ready power of detecting logical inconsistency. And we may depend on it, that opinions taken up pretty generally by such men as these, if advocated also by the more ardent and enquiring spirits among the higher classes, must acquire a power in legislation, and, (still more important), in directing the whole future course of education; gradual, indeed, but finally so irresistible, that the mere vis inertię of the wealthy and the money-getting, (the absolute strength of which nevertheless we are as far as possible from undervaluing) will be unable to oppose so much as a momentary barrier to its course.

The truth of the Christian Religion, as a Revelation, has been within the last year or two, plainly and distinctly denied among us, by a series of calm, powerful, and well-instructed writers; writers, too, (so far as we can judge) far more honest and truth-seeking than any former infidel school on record. We have mentioned one of these writers at the head of our article; not with any intention of methodically combating his arguments, but only of extracting passages which may illustrate our general theme. To answer Mr. Fox's Lectures, would be to enter into the real nature of the proof for God's existence, for natural morality, for Religion, for a Future State; an undertaking, we need not say, for which a Quarterly Review is hardly the place. We will only say that these Lectures must not, in our judgment, be regarded as a fair specimen of the ability enlisted on the infidel side; for many other productions on that side are both far deeper, and far more candid.

Our position then is, that so far as the middle classes may have succeeded in their attempt to prejudice those below them against Catholics and the Catholic Religion, they will be found to have inflicted a severe wound on principles which they themselves hold most dear. Take, at starting, one obvious instance. The walls of London have lately been inscribed in a vast number of places with the words "No wafer Gods." It has been most justly observed in regard to this, (most painful as it is to repeat such things) "What consistency is there in persons objecting to a *wafer* God, who themselves believe in a *Baby* God?" Can those well-intentioned persons who have lately taken a prominent part against us, seriously think (if they will only give themselves time to think) that the cast of thought and temper of mind, which they have been fostering by such profane and shallow exclamations as the above, will stop just where they would have it stop?—that it will attack the Real Presence and spare the Trinity?—that it will sneer at Transubstantiation, and revere the Son's Consubstantiality? When these lines are in the reader's hands, the season of Christmas will be in progress—a season for which the English have had immemorially a special veneration. In the contemplations of that holy period, let our Protestant readers approach in spirit to the stable of Bethlehem; let them gaze on that little Infant at His Mother's breast; let them observe His weakness, His

helplessness, His speechlessness; and remember that He is the Eternal God; that He made Heaven and earth by the mere expression of His will; that He can destroy any one of us and reduce us to nothing, by one single breath. Can they really believe this, and yet seriously tax us with superstition, or (still worse) cover us with light and unmeaning ridicule, for our worship of the Sacred Host? Neither the reason surely, nor the imagination, is more startled by the latter than by the former of these worships. And indeed of the readiness with which the evil spirit, recently evoked, extends to the most sacred mysteries of the Faith, we have a remarkable instance in a fact which we heard as very good authority; viz.—in many places on the walls, in close juxta-position with “no wafer Gods,” appeared the following: ‘No Jew God (!!!)’ ‘No Pigeon God;’ in apparent allusion to the Holy Ghost.

Further, we observe that the intellectual analysis of such doctrines as the Trinity and the Incarnation has never been (to say the least) much pursued among Protestants. Our own firm conviction indeed is, that (for this reason among others) great numbers who fully imagine themselves to hold these doctrines, in no true way apprehend and realise them. But we may be most thoroughly certain that this sort of *nominalism*—this profession of doctrine, without contemplation or apprehension of it—will be simply odious and repulsive to speculatively ardent and enquiring minds. If they are to hold these doctrines at all, they will hold them consistently and systematically. Now we Catholics have nothing to do but study our own standard theological works, in order to bring forward, in a shape attractive to such men and suitable to their need, these very primary and essential mysteries: and we may rely on it, that if the rising generation is to retain belief in them at all, it must be by means of some such agency. It is wonderful at present how much simple *misapprehension* of these doctrines prevails among misbelievers. Thus Mr. Fox fancies that an assertion of the Atonement “affects to put Providence in a predicament, and reduces the Deity to saying, on the question of Redemption, ‘Die, man, or justice must’” (p. 117); whereas the whole current of our theology expresses just the reverse; viz.—that many other ways for saving man were most fully open to God, without violating His attributes. Again, he imagines that we believe God to have regarded our Adorable

Saviour "with the internal feelings of aversion, reprobation, and condemnation" (p. 76); a tenet which we should reject as the most frightful blasphemy. And so, (*ibidem*) whereas he speaks of the Atonement as a sort of "commercial transfer," and as being "rejected in thought whenever the moral sense is allowed its free scope," there could be no better intellectual remedy for these notions, than a study of the earlier disputations of De Lugo on the Incarnation.

Another illustration of our thesis is to be found in a tenet still more dear to the vast majority of the classes in question; we mean the authority and Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Mr. Fox has some very forcible remarks on the subject.

"The Koran *much more distinctly claims to be, in its entirety, a revelation*, than the Bible. The Koran does not mix up, as the Bible does, history, poetry, argument, and a great variety of the forms of communication between God and man. It is one long appeal of Deity to His creatures. It is a divine monologue: the prophet is merely the amanuensis. God speaks and Mahomet writes. Other religions have similar pretensions."—p. 34-5.

"One of the best descriptions of the Bible was given by Edmund Burke.

"The Scripture," he says, "is no one summary of doctrines regularly digested, in which man could not mistake his way: it is a most venerable, but multifarious, collection of the records of the Divine economy: a collection of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics, carried through different books by different authors, at different ages, for different ends and purposes. It is necessary to sort out what is intended for example, what only is narrative; what to be understood literally, what figuratively; where one precept is to be controlled and modified by another; what is used directly, and what only as an argument *ad hominem*; what is temporary, and what of perpetual obligation; what appropriated to one state and to one set of men, and what the general duty of all Christians."—p. 41-2.

Is this a book which will be accepted as an undoubted Revelation of God, by enquiring and unprejudiced minds? The logical process required, according to Protestant ideas, in order to arrive at a conviction of Christianity, is to examine the historical evidence, first for the authenticity, and then for the inspiration, of one book after another. Proof of the authenticity of St. Matthew does not help

to prove the authenticity of St. Luke; nor that the authenticity of St. John: nor, again, does the authenticity of St. Matthew tend to prove the Inspiration of that very same work. Speaking generally, (the exceptions are most trifling,) no one book of the Bible recognizes any other book; and no book recognizes its own Inspiration. Does any one suppose that an argument which, for its force, requires, first of all the elaborate process above described, and then a second process equally elaborate to discover what doctrines are contained in these sacred books—does any one suppose that such an argument as this, will be practically influential on men who really *go* by argument, and not by mere habit and routine? Will a man in practise, exercise day by day a painful restraint on his passions, 1st because the best attention he can give to historical enquiries, make it probable to his mind that the Scriptures are authoritative, and 2nd, because, (taking a further step,) the best attention he can give to those Scriptures, makes it probable that they represent strife, envy, discontent, and impurity, to be mortal sins? Why, to omit all other considerations which crowd upon one's mind, the passages in which these sins are denounced, are quite insignificant in the way of number and distinctness, as compared with those in which *the Visible Church* is proclaimed as the one teacher of the faith. A student of the Bible would as naturally consider himself referred by it to the oracle of Delphi, for instruction in the Gospel, as to his private examination of that Bible. A heathen of the present day, who should receive a copy of the Bible and read e. g. the book of Acts, would make it his first and immediate enquiry, "where then are the Apostles or their representatives, to teach me this religion, its doctrines, and its laws?" And can it be expected that an ardent and active mind will, on the one hand, be so very widely awake to all those passages which enforce purity and humility, so convinced of their genuineness, so confident of their *authoritativeness*, so satisfied of their true interpretation, and their applicability to his circumstances;—while on the other hand he is stone-blind to that other far larger array of passages, which point with the clearness of day to a Visible and authoritative Church, such as, in point of fact, existed at that time, and has no less confidently professed to exist in every period since that time?

Do we wish to learn, on the other hand, the sort of exhi-

bition which *would* be practically influential? Let us conceive a body of Catholic missionaries, whether in some heathen country, or among the neglected masses of our own population. Let us picture to our mind the men themselves, bearing in their very countenances the mark of holy and mortified lives, exposing themselves with eagerness to toil and danger, and at the same time carrying with them, as far as may be, the image of a pure church. They proclaim it to be the duty of all to submit to the doctrines they proclaim; while each one of them teaches the very same scheme of doctrine which all the others teach, and teaches it as the one exclusive truth. To those who look for historical evidence, they appeal to Scripture merely as a body of historical documents. They point out in every page of those documents, the existence, at that time, of one Visible and organised Society, appointed by God as the depositary of His revelation; and they point out as palpably and undeniably marked on the very surface of history, that in every age, from the Apostolic downwards, one and one only such Society has existed. They claim to come in the name of that Society; they assume the authoritative tone which befits that claim; they call on the people, as a matter of divine obligation, to sue for reconciliation with God through their ministration; and if there are some among the people who have been validly baptized, they further require a confession of their sins, as the condition of such reconciliation. Such external claims, such appeals to history, and such consistency of their practice with their profession,—taken in combination with the nature of the doctrines they teach, and the responsive echo which these doctrines find in the human mind,—will act on masses of men with a power and persuasiveness, which no other teaching of the same kind can even commensurably approach. And in saying, “*of the same kind,*” we mean, teaching which requires of men self-restraint, mortification, gentleness, obedience, in a word, a conflict with all their evil passions. That teaching of an *opposite* tendency will, under many conceivable circumstances, find full as ready a hearing, and full as enthusiastic a reception, is the very thing we are saying. And we ask, what influences are there which can be opposed with so much as the shadow of a prospect of success against such antisocial and licentious tenets, if the influence of Catholicism, their divinely appointed antagonist, be neglected or impeded?

There are several other matters of less moment than these, which yet are in themselves far from unimportant. We may mention one which occurs to our mind. The public opinion of England holds very firmly at present, (long may it continue to do so!) a belief in God's superintending watchfulness over human affairs. But a whole class of tenets on *physical science* seem to have made good an undisputed ground among us, which not only lead, of necessity, to consequences contradictory of this Providence, but which many able thinkers are at this moment carrying on to those consequences. We allude to those tenets which represented the whole physical world as committed by God, once for all, to a fated and predestined round, with which He has resolved no further to interfere; that whether it shall rain on any given day, or otherwise, is a question to which we might literally predict the true answer, if we knew enough of physical science; and that prayer therefore for either alternative, is a superfluous and superstitious mockery. That such tenets as these are in no way required for the validity of inductive processes, in no way necessarily involved in the axioms which lie at the foundation of modern science, has been shown by no less an authority in such matters than the late Dr. Chalmers. On the other hand, if once admitted, it seems the obvious and most legitimate consequence, that they shall be extended from the physical to the moral world: and that human events, the formation of character, the growth of nations, the course of history, shall be regarded as matters, in the direction of which God has no personal and active concern; which we cannot attempt to influence by prayer, or other impetration, without ignorant superstition; and which are the direct and (as one may say) passive results of that human character, which God has impressed, once for all, at the beginning. Is this a result for which respectable and worthy Englishmen are prepared? And if not, may it not be worthy a thought whether the old-fashioned Catholic position, the prayers for rain and for fine weather, the deprecation of God's wrath during thunder, the regarding the cholera and other pestilences as messengers of God's wrath, may not be the safer and truer alternative to fall back upon?

But not dwelling longer on these comparatively minor particulars of doctrine, is the firm belief in God Himself likely to remain, when divested of his attributes in the

way in which modern philosophy divests Him? It is already the received notion, (as we were just saying,) that addresses to Him in deprecation of physical evils, or for the attainment of physical blessings, is a superstition, though a harmless one. The next step taken is, that moral and social evils are equally out of the domain of His interference; that personal character itself is the mere product of fixed and unchangeable causes; and that to pray for help against temptation, is no less unreasonable and unmeaning in itself, than to pray for a long day in December. If men succeed in thus shutting Him out of all concern with what is nearest and dearest to them, is it to be imagined that they will long continue to believe in Him? If all that is highest and choicest be really but the blind working of natural laws, why imagine a God at all, Whose one sole work is to imprint those laws, and then sink back into eternal inactivity? Is it not common sense and common reason to recoil from so vast and strange an hypothesis as that of an Eternal and Infinite Being, when that above-mentioned is the sole result for which the hypothesis is made?

In another respect we consider that Mr. Fox and the school who agree with him are, as regards their Theism, in an essentially false and unstable position. It appears to us axiomatic, that if there be an Infinite Being, to Whose mercy we owe every thing we have and every thing we are,—the very first duty of His creatures is the rendering Him due homage and due gratitude. If there be a God at all, duty as to God must be the first and most indispensable of duties. To say that there is a God, but that we are under no obligation to think of Him, and to regulate our mind and actions on that thought, seems as direct a moral contradiction as can be imagined. We repeat, if there be a God, benevolence to man *cannot* be the highest duty: much less can it be, according to the wretched and narrow superstition prevalent in the class, the sum and substance of all man's duty.

Mr. Fox indeed is not simply an Utilitarian; yet what is his language?

“Let us do the duties of our position, whatever they may be; and happy are those who, what the Lord findeth to do, do it with their might; yet happier if, while achieving the peculiar business of the day, while working the work of time, they do it with ‘thoughts that wander

through eternity,' and repose upon the Infinite."—(p. 14, 15.)

In other words, the *main thing*, (he seems to say) is to do our worldly work heartily; though it is the better if we do it with the thought of God. Now we maintain that the simplest and most direct corollary from the being of a God, is the direct opposite to this lesson. If He be our chief Benefactor, and if he is to be our future Judge, the first thing, and surely not the second, should be the thinking of Him, "Let us, at all events, think of God, adore Him, hope in Him, love Him; happy those who live in the thought of Him; yet happier if they are able to do the full duties of their worldly position without losing Him from their thoughts." Such is the only consistent lesson of a Theist; and such is not Mr. Fox's.

But it is not Mr. Fox's school only, but the common Protestantism of the day also, which is out of harmony, in some of its tenets, with that full and confident belief in the existence and attributes of God, which yet it most sincerely professes. Its aversion to the whole idea of the contemplative and celibate life;—its reluctance frankly to admit God's right to the first place (not in our consideration of duty only, but) in our affections—its suspicion of all glowing and tender language addressed to Him or to our B. Saviour, as overstrained and unreal;—all this is the very opposite to that which should legitimately follow, both morally and intellectually from an unfeigned belief that we owe Him infinitely more, than to any created being, and have infinitely more both to hope and to fear at His hands. Here, as in former cases, if it is desired (as it is most earnestly desired) that independent thinkers shall retain the belief in question, surely it is no slight service which a religion like ours can in many cases render; a religion which, while it most carefully eschews all attempt to screw up (as one may say) ordinary minds to an unnatural pitch, yet loudly and unflinchingly maintains, that incomparably the highest and noblest life here below, is the life of those, to whom the thought of God is that one element, which is the life of all their actions, the centre of all their speculations, the source of their highest and most rapturous emotions. If there be a Creator, the most honourable and fitting duty of His creatures must be the paying him such homage as this.

While upon this subject, we do not wish to pass over altogether without notice another feature in Mr. Fox's

Theistical scheme. He protests (p. 120) against the idea of what he calls 'divine vindictiveness;' which he regards as 'a strange and foul conception for man to entertain.' By this phrase he designates a belief, that Justice is as much an ultimate principle of the divine governance as Benevolence itself: and accordingly (p. 83) he attacks in terms such Scripture phrases as God being "of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," and "angry with the wicked every day," as being (p. 84) the "rude thoughts of wild and stern men," which he is yet so kind as to admit, "had a truth for their origin." We are not going here into an argument against this tenet; though we may be allowed the pleasure of referring to an admirable discussion, both of the tenet itself, and of the cast of mind which is led to entertain it, in the 5th Sermon of Father Newman's series, preached many years back before the University of Oxford. And we will venture so far to digress from our immediate subject, as to give just one or two quotations from this sermon; which many of our Catholic readers have probably never seen, and of which those who have seen it may not grudge the being reminded.

"These opinions will be found to centre in Socinianism or Theophilanthropism, the name varying according as it admits or rejects the authority of Scripture....The essential dogmas are such as these—that the rule of Divine government is one of Benevolence and nothing but Benevolence; that evil is but remedial and temporary; that sin is of a venial nature; that repentance is a sufficient atonement for it; that the moral sense is substantially but an instinct of benevolence; and that doctrinal opinions do not influence the character or prospects, nor deserve our serious attention." (p. 91.)

"Such tenets are frequent in times of political peace and safety; when the world keeps well together, no motions stirring beneath it to disturb the continuity of its surface, which for the time presents to us a consistent and finished picture. When the laws of a country are upheld and obeyed, and property secure, human nature appears more amiable than it really is, because it is not tried with disappointment; more just, because it is then its interest to respect the rights of others; more benevolent, because it can be so without self-denial. The warnings contained in the historical Scriptures, concerning the original baseness and corruption of the heart, are in course of time neglected.....

"But fairly as this superficial view of human nature answers in peaceable times, speciously as it may argue, innocently as it may experimentalize, in the rare and short-lived periods of a nation's tranquillity; yet, let persecution or tribulation arise, and forth-

with its imbecility is discovered. *It is but a theory ; it cannot cope with difficulties ; it imparts no strength or loftiness of mind ; it gains no influence over others.* It is at once detected and crushed, in the stern conflict of good and evil ; disowned, or rather overlooked ; the combatants on either side vanishing, no one knows how or whither." (p. 90.)

Our concern with this thesis of Mr. Fox's in our present argument is this, that we consider it another instance of the false intellectual position in which many are placed, towards truths which yet they sincerely regard as most primary and essential. This ignoring of the Divine Justice, this resolution of all God's attributes into (not *Mercy*, for that *supposes* Justice, but) *Benevolence*, is (more or less consciously) the tenet to which the whole Protestant world have long been tending ; and we are quite convinced that it is a false and merely half-way position. The arguments which prove the existence of God, if valid at all, are valid for a *Just* no less than Merciful God : so far as such arguments are taken from the external world, unmixed and simple benevolence is not the attribute to which those phenomena point ; so far as the said arguments are taken from our own moral nature, conscience and a knowledge of the freedom of our will alike lead to belief in God's Justice, as one simple and ultimate attribute of His nature. Insomuch that the whole Catholic doctrines of Hell, Purgatory, Atonement, Indulgences, and the rest, as prominently witnessing and upholding this great attribute, will be found eminently serviceable, and not the reverse, when men are led really to probe received opinions to the bottom, in behalf of the great truth of the existence of a God.

We must not be supposed to admit that there *is* greater benevolence, among those who represent benevolence as the sum and substance of virtue. Most signally and emphatically the contrary ! Those shallow and frivolous tenets give no such support or encouragement to human nature, as to fit men for that abandoning self-sacrifice, which must be at the foundation of true benevolence ; nor (admitting a small number of exceptional instances) is it too much to say, on the whole, that where the *profession* is simple benevolence, the *practice* will tend to be disguised selfishness. Here, as in so many other cases, those who attribute in theory a disproportionate and exclusive importance to some one excellence, in fact and result, have less of it than the average. Thus, the Society of Friends, whose boast

is that they are opposed to forms, are more, perhaps, than any other class, enslaved by forms; thus those who profess to build political science wholly on history, are, perhaps, of all the most incompetent judges of history; thus those who accuse Catholics of bigotry and of shallow reasoning, are often the shallowest of reasoners and the most intolerant of men; thus those who profess to be mainly practical, are often the very persons who are found perfectly incompetent practically to meet a crisis; and thus, also, those who in theory so idolize benevolence, are not ordinarily the foremost or most elevated in practising it. What exhibition of it, indeed, can bear comparison with the unwearied labours of Sisters of Charity and Mercy, and the various charitable confraternities of the Church? Let the cholera or some such pestilence burst over the land, what does the boasting philanthropist accomplish, in comparison with even the matter of course and routine labours of the unpretending Missionary Priest?

But we should not give a sufficient general outline of the idea with which we wish to impress our readers, if we do not, before concluding, say one word on the ethical, as distinct from the theological question. We have already observed, that there is probably no one article of doctrine or morality for which the middle classes in this country are so commendably zealous, as the sacredness of the marriage tie; no national fact of which (with great reason) they are so proud, as the purity of female character in those particular classes. Long may both principle and fact remain among them! and that it may the longer remain, may they be led to look more favourably on such helps as the Catholic religion has to offer them!

For, in the first place, how one-sided is their present practice! In theory indeed, they profess licentiousness to be equally sinful in *either* sex; but how is it in practice? Their language in controversy, as for instance when treating on the celibacy of the Priesthood, continually implies that in the single of one sex, the virtue in question is morally impossible. Now those intended for the Priesthood are placed from their early years under a system of special training, to prepare them for their future lot; that lot has been their free and deliberate choice; they are supported in it by every high and supernatural motive. In Protestant England, on the contrary, to great numbers of men mar-

riage is morally impossible ; for it is impossible, without a total sacrifice of comforts and decencies which to them, by habit, have become necessities. Or going again to a lower rank, you have vast bodies of soldiers over and over again, ordered, say to such a climate as India, and absolutely prohibited, except a few of them, to have their wives in their company. How does the nation's passive acquiescence in these facts, square with the received theories, on the one hand of the deep sinfulness involved in licentiousness, and, on the other hand of the moral impossibility of unmarried men avoiding it? It cannot be made to agree at all ; and there is a sort of tacit understanding among all classes, to cut the knot by resolutely turning their attention away from the subject. The sort of allusion to it, which from time to time breaks out, only makes the ordinary silence the more significant. Some years ago, and in the same connection, we drew attention, in this Review, to a remarkable passage written by an able and accomplished member of the legal profession ; the Editor (if report be true) of a Weekly Journal, among the most energetically hostile to the Church at this moment.

"It is at all times," says Mr. Foster, "a delicate matter to touch upon this portion of men's histories," (viz., their private character,) "partly from the nature of the subject, and partly from a kind of soreness, which the community feel upon it, *owing to the inconsistencies between their opinions and their practices*, and to certain strange perplexities at the heart of those inconsistencies, which it remains for some bolder and more philosophical generation even to discuss."—*Life of Strafford*, p. 281.

Now here again we ask, is this a state of things calculated to cause respect in the mind of those, who are resolved to judge and examine for themselves? Is it likely that a system, which professes one thing and yet plainly means another, will meet with acceptance at the hands of such men? Will they adopt one code of morality for one sex, and another for the other? If not, the consequences surely are such as it is frightful even to contemplate, unless you will call Catholicism to your aid. But a Catholic does really, practically, and from his heart, believe, that in *either* sex licentiousness is a mortal sin: the Church loudly and consistently proclaims that God's grace is most abundantly sufficient to guard him from all such sin: and while those who minister at the altar are living illustrations of

this truth, she surrounds us also with a circle of devotional practices and usages, which enable each man in such circumstances to experience for himself the truth of her doctrine.*

Nor should we omit an allusion in passing to one frightful attendant on sensuality, the body of *abandoned females*. Here, again, is an evil which the prevalent principles lead men to regard as absolutely *incapable of amelioration*; which they are yet ashamed to look in the face; and do their utmost to ignore and pass over. In our contemporary the "Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review," for last July, there is an article which ventures boldly to confront this question; and which indeed (though dealing with the whole subject from a non-religious point of view,) is deserving of much praise for its honesty and bold benevolence. Our object in alluding to it, is to cite from it two remarkable statements. The one is in page 499, the very strong recognition of the superiority possessed, in respect of this virtue, by the Irish poor over the English poor; no unimportant tribute surely to our holy religion. The other is the following: (page 479.) "If the education of boys were to be conducted with any degree of the same watchful attention to purity, that marks that of girls and that of *young Catholic priests*, in this country at least, *the gain to the whole tone of public morals* would, we are convinced, be something *beyond estimation*."

On which it is only necessary to remark, that the words "in this country at least," are a most gratuitous addition; for the most cursory observation will be sufficient to shew any traveller, that foreign seminaries for priests, (to say the least,) are in no single particular less strict in this matter than are English.

We have now gone through perhaps a sufficient number of instances, to make clear the general line of our argument.

* "I was once acquainted with a man of great capacity, but an infidel," says a French priest to Mr. Allies. "He was thoroughly persuaded that continence could not be observed by the French clergy. He set himself to work, and made for many years the most minute inquiries. The result was, that he discovered many horrors; but he likewise was completely convinced that continence *was maintained by a great number*. Now this could only be, he knew, by a supernatural gift; and it had such an effect on him, that he became a good Catholic."—*Allies's Journal in France*, p. 275.

There is no more universally rising characteristic of the present day, than a jealousy of shams; an intolerance of half-way positions; and a resolute carrying forward of principles to their results both moral and intellectual. Whether we like this tendency or whether we do not, to dream of any successful resistance to it is madness: and we wish the Protestant public to consider, before it commits itself to unremitting war against us, whether Catholicism may not be some help to them, in resisting certain tenets and views, which, even with their present notions, (could they see the two systems in practical operation,) would be incomparably more distasteful to them than Catholicism itself.

To avoid misconception, we may as well mention explicitly in conclusion, that we regard all this merely as a practical argument, for an immediately practical purpose. We have no power of course to conceal our conviction, (even if we had the wish to conceal it, which God forbid!) that Catholicism has far more stringent claims on their allegiance, and can do them a far higher service, than those of which we have been speaking; and that their position is not only intellectually untenable and inconsistent, but is fraught with the most awful peril in regard to their eternal interests. But to enlarge on this, would be to enter into the higher regions of direct dogmatic and controversial discussions, from which we have intended in the present article to abstain.

ART. VII—*Glimmerings in the Dark; or, Lights and Shadows of the Olden Time.* By F. SOMNER MERRYWEATHER. 8vo. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1850.

MR. MERRYWEATHER is a member of that industrious, and, in many respects, very useful, class who serve as a medium of communication between the antiquarian and the student; one of those literary go-betweens to whom the world of every-day readers and writers is indebted for most of its erudition, and whose profession consists in popularizing other men's learning, and presenting its results ready arranged for the use of the public, without the trouble of verifying, selecting, comparing, or methodizing.

Learned at second-hand themselves, it is their officeto make their readers learned without even the shadow of research which their own task involves; and their chief merit lies in supplying their information not alone genuine after its kind, but ready stamped for author's use, and labelled with full details of its origin, or at least of those quarters from which it has last been derived.

Of the usefulness of such a class of writers no one for a moment entertains a doubt. Partly from the peculiar frame of mind which they pre-suppose, partly from the habits of thought which they eventually induce, the pursuits of an antiquarian almost disqualify him from acting as his own expositor. Estimating the value of his information by the labour which it has cost himself, he is too apt to attach undue importance to things entirely without interest to others; and perhaps that very habit of considering subjects in their minute details, which is the essence of his profession, is in itself calculated to indispose him for grouping and methodizing the general results of his enquiry. And hence few men who have devoted themselves to *original antiquarian* (as contra-distinguished from purely *historical*) research, have been remarkable as pleasing and popular writers. Our very best historians have drawn most of their antiquarian knowledge from the learning of other and far inferior men.

Useful as these antiquarian pioneers have always been felt to be, there never has been a period in which their services are, on the one hand, more needed, and, on the other, have found more various and more extensive occupation, than the present time, both in this country and upon the Continent. The number and activity of our historical and archæological societies; the enterprising industry of individual collectors; the increasing liberality of the managers of the great libraries, and keepers of the public records; and the enlightened spirit which, in some instances, even the officials of state have displayed; all have tended to throw into the hands of this generation a mass of historical and antiquarian materials, such as never has, at any one time, been made accessible to the student. These, however, with hardly an exception, are but *materials*. The numberless publications of our learned societies; the masses of unknown correspondence collected by private editors; the chronicles, reports, rolls, registers, and other miscellaneous records, of which the age has been so fertile, even accom-

panied by the notes, introductions, dissertations, and appendixes, (the value of which in many cases it would be difficult to over-estimate) are, for the vast body of students, a dead letter. To cull and digest the really valuable matter which they contain, is a second and indispensable step in the process by which they are to be made available. And we can hardly hesitate to say, that in almost every single department, new materials have been so industriously, so successfully, and, generally speaking, so faithfully, accumulated, as to render the existing text books all but obsolete, and to call for a re-examination and re-construction of the entire subject.

On such labours as those of Mr. Merryweather, therefore, we are disposed to look with a very favourable eye, especially if conducted with due impartiality, and confined within fitting limits. It is pleasant to find ready gathered to one's hand the fruits of years of laborious research; to see condensed into a single light and attractive chapter all that is really valuable in a dozen dull, and, perhaps, unreadable, volumes. Mr. M. proposes to give, in a series of popular sketches, a concise view of the social and literary condition of the mediæval times. He excludes all consideration of its religion. To use the words of his own preface,—“without pretending to the dignity of history, he has thrown together short dissertations on a variety of subjects connected with our early annals; aiming more especially at the illustration of the *literary* and *social* character of our ancestors.” This portion of his task he has executed pleasingly enough. And if he had confined himself to these departments;—to innocent illustrations of “Bibliomania in the Middle Ages;,” to disquisitions on “News and Locomotion;” on “Rewards of Literature;” on “Hearths of Homes;” on “Mirth and Jocularity in Church and Convent;” on “Writers for the People;” on “Law and Lawyers,” and subjects of a similar character; or if, in dealing with others of a more debatable character, he had been content to hold the balance with an even hand, and had given the “lights and shadows” in their fair proportion; had he even attempered by a few bright touches the almost universal darkness of the religious sketches which he has introduced, he should have had our hearty good wishes for his success, and our cordial approval of the object which he proposed to himself. But, notwithstanding his seeming professions

to the contrary, he has devoted fully a fourth of his volume to religious topics; and we do not hesitate to say that there is scarce a single subject connected with the mediæval religion, among the many which he has introduced, upon which he has not violated the commonest principles of justice and impartiality, and on which his sketches are not calculated to produce the most unfair and one-sided impressions.

Some of these are of a class which need excite no surprise, being long familiar in the literature of England. His chapter upon "Relics" is a tissue of the old prejudices and misrepresentations. It has not even the attraction of novelty or originality to recommend it; being a meagre reproduction of the worn-out stories which have formed the stock-in-trade of the anti-Roman controversialists from the days of Jewel downwards. His dissertation on "Miracles and Mesmerism" would be amusing for its silliness, if it did not revolt the moral sense by its levity, its unseemly tone, and the radically, though perhaps unconsciously, unsound and unbelieving principles on which it ultimately rests; and the chapters upon "the Bible," and upon the "Peril of Heresy and Unbelief," are but a tasteless *rifacimento* of the immemorial calumnies with which the Church is assailed by every tyro in polemics, and which, from long unquestioned currency, are sure to find an echo among the English public.

Few, it is true, among his statements, exhibit much pretension, or are likely, by their novelty, or imposing array of erudition, successfully to appeal to the judgment of the higher order of readers. But as Mr. Merryweather is but one of a class; and a tolerably numerous class, it may be well to exhibit a few examples, selected at random, of the untrustworthiness and second-hand character of the learning of these writers, and of the value of their testimony when they travel out of their legitimate path, and especially where the character of the Catholic religion is concerned. An idea may be formed of the fitness of such men as Mr. Merryweather to sit in judgment upon Catholic doctrines or Catholic usages, from the gross and almost unaccountable ignorance of Catholic principles which he everywhere displays. He seems never to have read even the simplest exposition of the principles of our belief. For example, he considers what he calls the "contradictory decrees" of "the infallible Church" contained

in Labbe's Collection of the Councils, an argument of the falsehood of her claims, sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced mind; as though he had never even heard of the common distinction, which every Catholic catechism would supply, between decrees of faith and decrees of discipline; and as if he was entirely unaware that Catholics hold it to be of the very nature of the latter, that they should at times be contradictory—varying with the variation of the circumstances in which they arise, and to which they must necessarily be accommodated. So again, he evidently holds "the Church" responsible for the decrees of all the councils contained in Labbe's collection;—forgetting that the vast majority of them were not only particular councils, and thus devoid of all general authority, but also purely or principally local, and therefore not directly intended, even by those who framed their decrees, to be applied beyond the sphere of their own especial jurisdiction, unless in so far as they might be approved and proposed for general acceptance by the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff.

Again, in his denunciation of the persecuting spirit of the Mediæval Church, he ignores altogether the character of the sects with which she found herself in antagonism, and this to a degree quite unpardonable in one who professes to exhibit the "lights" as well as the "shadows" of that age. It would carry us beyond our prescribed limits to enter here into an analysis of the character of these sects. For a general description of them all, we refer the reader to a paper on the Inquisition, which appeared in a recent number of this journal.* That description is taken from the unwilling admissions of Mosheim, the zealous apologist of every "Forerunner of the Reformation," however obscure; and therefore may be regarded as beyond all suspicion of unfairness. And yet it exhibits these vaunted reformers in the light of offenders, not merely against religion, but also against public order, public morality, public peace, and good government. It demonstrates that some of them were levellers and anarchists who attempted to overthrow all distinctions of rank and gradation of power; some were communists, who set all the laws of property at defiance; some were anti-socialists, who rejected the insti-

* Vol. xxviii., 443—6.

tute of marriage, and all that is called in modern phrase, "the relations of the family;" some made political power to depend on the possession of the state of grace, and (constituting themselves the judges of this indispensable qualification) refused to obey the laws of a sinful legislator; some, in fine, were turbulent fanatics, whose preaching was but an incentive to disorder, and who themselves carried violence and blood wherever they appeared. There was hardly one of them, in truth, which did not offend against the State, even more than against the Church. Is it just in Mr. Merryweather, not to relieve the "shadows" of the dark picture of persecution which he has drawn, by a little admixture of such light as this avowal would not fail to throw upon it? He himself admits that some of these fanatics preached "doctrines as preposterous as the Mormons of Nauvoo," (p. 282.) Yet he keeps these doctrines out of view in his picture; and represents the priests as employing "dungeons, racks, tubs bristling with sharpened spikes, fetters, pincers, hot irons, crushing machines, faggots blazing with brimstone and oil, and other fiendish instruments," with the sole object of "rooting out a heresy, or *suppressing an unpleasant truth in the dark ages!*"—(p. 275.)

And this is more remarkable again when he comes to speak of particulars. He attributes the condemnation and burning of Arnold of Brescia,* to his "exposing the irregularities of monks,"—an offence, he adds, which was "often silenced by the faggot, or rendered dumb by the prison walls," (p. 281.) Now, will it be believed that the crime of Arnold of Brescia was a political far more than a religious one, and that the principles which he taught were as much opposed to public order, as they were at variance with the doctrines of the Church? His whole career in Italy was a series of violences and disorders; and even Mosheim himself avows that he made himself amenable to the vengeance of the law, and that the revolution which he attempted was a "*civil* as well as an *ecclesiastical* one."† It would be just as ingenuous to represent the

* Or, as he calls him, *Arnould de Bresse*; the name in its French form, which he borrows from some French author. This is but one of many evidences of second-hand erudition, which "the Glimmerings in the Dark" display.

† Mosheim, ii., 471.

coercive measures of the French Assembly against the insurgents of June, as intended to "root out heresy, or to suppress an unpleasant truth" in the nineteenth century!

Again, Mr. Merryweather represents Amaury de Chartres (or, as he is more commonly called, Amaury de Bène) as harassed to death "for speaking out, in very plain terms, about his Holiness the Pope, calling him Antichrist, and asserting that the Church of Rome was Babylon," (p. 282.) Now, even Mosheim* admits that this Amaury "undoubtedly belonged to the sect of Brethren of the Free Spirit," whose doctrines he describes as subversive of all law and all morality; their fundamental principle being, that the "emotions and desires of the soul, when united with God, are the acts and operations of God Himself; and, therefore, though *apparently criminal and contrary to the law*, are really *good and holy*, because *God is above all law*."† The authority, civil or ecclesiastical, which would permit the dissemination of such doctrines, especially when accompanied, as they were in those times, with violence and disorder, would be strangely indifferent to the interest committed to its charge. And to represent the suppression of such principles as these as simple persecution of doctrinal error, is a gross perversion of the fundamental principles of historical justice and truth.

The same mischievous inaccuracy, though in a matter of less importance, pervades Mr. Merryweather's strictures on the prohibition of the study and practice of medicine by ecclesiastics. He cites the authority of the councils of Rheims, (1131,) and of Tours, (1163,) and the Great Lateran Council under Innocent III, (1205.) Now, of these councils, (1) what the first prohibits is solely the study and the practice of medicine *for the sake of temporal lucre*; ‡ under the same prohibition is included the study and practice of the civil law, and the profession of an advocate in the civil courts. But the ground of the prohibition is plainly the avarice into which the practice had degenerated. (2) The council of Tours simply prohibits professed monks from *leaving their monasteries* to devote themselves to the

* Mosheim ii., 586.

† Ibid, 585.

‡ "*Temporalis lucri gratia.*" "*Flammis avaritiæ incensi,*" &c. See the canon in Labbe xii., col. 1463.

study of medicines.* (3) But the most extraordinary perversion of all is that which regards the Council of Lateran, which he represents as decreeing “with a strange and equivocal mercy, that monks should be forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to administer remedies for the healing of the body, lest they should peril the salvation of the soul.” (p. 177.) Will it be believed that the canon† thus circumstantially alleged, contains nothing in the remotest degree bearing out this strange misinterpretation? The council merely prohibits to Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, as unsuited to their profession, that part of surgery, *which requires burning or cutting*, [ἐκείνο τὸ τῆς χειρουργίας ὅπερ εἰς καύσιν ἢ τὸμην εἰσφέρει.] To *all physicians, in general*, it orders that their first care shall be to admonish the patient of the necessity of calling in the spiritual physician; and the only clause which seems in any way capable of leading to the strange misconception put forth by Mr. Merryweather, is the concluding one; although this, too, is so plain, that we can hardly conceive its being misunderstood, even by the most cursory reader. It merely prohibits the physician, under pain of excommunication, from prescribing‡ “any remedy to the sick man, whereby he may be turned from contrition for his sins,” a most salutary and necessary prohibition, the justice of which every right-minded man must recognize.

It is scarcely worth while to notice the spirit in which Mr. M. discusses the dealings of the ecclesiastical authorities of the middle ages with the crime of sorcery, and with the luckless victims of their popular notions upon the subject. (pp. 63, 105.) He should not have forgotten that this is a “shadow” which darkens the picture of the modern, as well as of the olden time. The legislation of Elizabeth, and still more of James I., would not be out of place even beside the darkest of the enactments which Mr. Merryweather has heaped together. Their very worst provisions were retained in the code of Geneva, reformed by Calvin. That small state, with its comparatively small, (but exclusively Pro-

* See Labbe xiii., 304.

† Ibid, xix., 956, and 958—9.

‡ Ne quis medicorum, pro corporali salute aliquid ægroto suadeat, per quod a peccatorum contritione convertatur. Ibid, 259.

testant, population,) burned no less than one hundred and fifty witches within sixty years after the Reformation; and in the petty Protestant town of Nördlingen, there were no less than thirty-four executions under this charge in the four years, from 1590 to 1594.*

It would be easy to multiply from Mr. Merryweather's pages examples of this inaccuracy, (for we are reluctant to call it disingenuousness,) as well as of minor and purely literary blunders, which go to shake the authority of the compilation. But we have said enough to show that the statements of this class of writers, in all that regards Catholics, must be received with suspicion, and at all events, can be only taken as *ex-parte* representations. Indeed, the contrast between the present writer's accuracy upon purely indifferent topics, and on those into which religious prejudices enter, is so striking, that it is impossible to overlook it. And we are more disposed to regret the necessity by which we are driven to these strictures, because, as we have already stated, in other respects, the work is not without considerable merit, and in its dealings with the purely social phase of the olden time, and even with some of the relations of the Church to society and social institutions, displays considerable appreciation of all that is best in her institutions. Having acquitted ourselves, therefore, of this far from agreeable duty, we think it but fair to present the work under its less unpleasing aspect.

And, first, we willingly acknowledge the readiness with which the author renders justice to the services rendered to society and to civilization, by the monastic institute—a tribute perhaps not less valuable from the reserve with which it is introduced.

“We can examine no remains of mediæval art, we can admire none of the architectural beauties of England, nor trace the progress of her civilization through the dark ages, without learning how much she has been indebted to the fostering care of the monks for the seeds of her present greatness. But the lapse of monkish probity, and the flagrant instances of impropriety and dissimulation, which darken the annals of monachism in the fifteenth and succeeding centuries, have somewhat prejudiced our minds against a belief in monastic usefulness; we remember the monks as drones, who, under the pretence of unusual piety, led a life of laziness and

* See Hefele's *Leben des Cardinals Ximenes*.—p. 345.

sloth ; we forget them as strict observers of ancient discipline, who combined the severest labour of the hands with the most constant devoutness of the soul, and who alternately employed their faculties in the labour of the fields, and in the perusal of the Bible ; who cultivated waste and barren lands, and who cast the light of the gospel on minds darkened with the remnants of an hereditary paganism ; we forget them in fact as they who rendered a double service to society and civilization, by their encouragement of native industry, and by the preserving care which they bestowed upon literature and art. Much as we may revile his memory now, the ancient monk exerted a powerful influence upon society, and his patient and quiet labour helped, in no small degree, to lay the foundation of our present national glory and wealth.

“By the rules of St. Benedict, the monks were enjoined to work in the fields from six till ten in the morning, from Easter to October ; and from October to Lent the work began in the third hour, and ended in the ninth. After dinner they read ; on the conclusion of which they again proceeded to their rustic labours. He who was unable to read was expected to accomplish a larger task. But this rule which proved so distasteful to the indolence of succeeding times, was framed as much from necessity as from a principle of humility ; for primitive monasteries were erected in the most secluded spots amidst impregnable mountains, on the dreary wastes of unfrequented deserts, or on damp and marshy fens. Experience taught the pilgrim to deviate from the beaten path, and to gaze over such uninviting spots for the curling smoke that betokened the presence of the monks, and reminded him of their Christian hospitality. Often, when least expected, but when most desired, did the sound of the matin bell, wafting across a lonely moor, carry a welcome to his sinking heart, and make him turn aside for a blessing and a meal. Far removed from the habitations of men, and thus shut out from all intercourse with the world, the labour of the monks was as essential to their own comfort, as it was salutary in preventing the growth of idleness among them. We are reminded of Winibald in Germany ; few emigrants in the backwoods of Canada labour with more assiduity than did Winibald in the solitudes of Heidenheim. Fearing lest the luxurious wines of Mayence might exert an influence upon his monks, he longed for some retired spot, remote from the busy haunts of men ; where he could teach rustic heathens the word of God, and seek his own way to heaven in peace. From such motives he chose the secluded valley of Heidenheim, near the shores of the Danube ; ‘Here,’ he exclaimed, ‘shall be the place of my rest.’ This was in the old year, 752. The monk was surrounded with difficulties, but the spirit of God gave him the heart to persevere ; a spot covered with ancient trees and matted brushwood, which had grown at random for a thousand years, was not very cheering to monks who had been used to something like

luxury ; but the saints of old were not discouraged by such obstacles as these. Winibald, though stricken in years, set a noble example of zeal ; he took the axe, and with his own hand set about felling trees, and clearing a space in the wilderness ; animated by the example of their abbot, the monks set to work in earnest, and soon converted a barren waste into a fruitful garden. Years passed on, and few spots in the country looked so peaceful, and so joyous in its abundant fruitfulness, as the lands tilled by the industrious monks of Heidenheim.”—pp. 17—20.

And the general admission here made is afterwards specially extended to England.

“ On the introduction of the monastic orders into our own country, the same necessity for exertion existed ; kindly as they were received by the rude Saxon kings, and by the fierce nobility of that early age, they were not permitted to lead a life of sloth ; the munificent grants of land bestowed by the kings and barons, sound to our ears more valuable than they proved productive to the monks ; for with that predilection inspired by the love of an ascetic life, and by a mistaken notion of the merit of severe deprivation, the followers of St. Benedict and of St. Augustine, chose the most uninviting spots on which to raise their habitations. It was no great loss of wealth, it caused no diminution of revenue, to grant a few hides of unproductive land for the service of these humble monks ; marshy and almost dangerous bogs, such as those amidst which the monastery of Croyland was erected, in the fens of Lincolnshire ; or a jet of land at some seasons unapproachable, or at other times flooded by the swelling waters, as the land upon which the monastery of Ely was raised ; were territories regarded as worthless by the state. Rich men in whom the passion of avarice was strong, and in whom the love of wealth ruled every impulse of their heart, freely signed away such useless possessions, and their cupidity was gratified at purchasing the prayers of Christian monks at so cheap a rate ; for men in those days sometimes bought prayers and pardons as they would have bought a horse ; and the cunning exulted in driving a hard bargain with the monks for such spiritualities. Thus, many a covetous man, many a crafty and worldly sinner, appears through the generous obscurity of so many ages, great in his magnanimous liberality, by having given lands which were worthless to himself, to obtain from the church what he erroneously deemed an effectual pardon for his many sins. But as the effects of a religious settlement became experienced, the barons found other motives than those of piety, to induce them to encourage the monastic orders upon their possessions, crime and licentiousness were decreased ; tumults became less frequent ; lands were found more productive, and a spirit of industry and order seemed to animate the dependants. It was

from these circumstances, perhaps, as much as from the piety of the age, that we may trace the rapid growth and establishment of the Saxon monasteries. Moreover, men whose lives were spent in deeds of chivalry, or in combating the envious encroachments of some neighbouring foe, thought it propitious to have the prayers of holy men offered up for their success in arms. The knight before mounting his war steed sought the blessing of the monks; glittering in his armour he knelt before the altar; doffing his plumed casque, and laying his sword on the ground, he humbly asked the blessing and the prayers of the man of God; if success attended his career of arms, if he returned with the laurels of victory, he offered up lands and wealth to the service of the Church: and thus it was that the monks in early days obtained their riches."—pp. 20—22.

These admissions, however, he cautiously restricts to the social relation of monasticism. He expressly declares, (p. 23.) that he "does not allude to their religious influence, nor to their power over the unruly passions of half-civilized humanity, but to their effects on social life." But as regards these, he speaks with the most perfect unreserve, and particularly of their services to agriculture and the useful arts. Even the minor elegancies of life were not beyond their attention.

"Besides this application to the labors of the field, the monks paid some attention to those luxuries and elegancies which make a country life so fascinating; however much they were disposed to exclude the pleasures of the world from their solitudes, they had no objection to relieve the tedium of their habitations with the beauties of nature. To a mind healthy in its piety, the love of God will lead to a love of nature; and did we want proofs of the influence of the latter, we should find some striking ones in the love of gardening among the monks; the subject may perhaps seem too trivial upon which to bestow much time, but it is pleasant to observe the influence of flowers upon ascetic minds, for it is only gentle hearts that find delight in the beauties of Flora. Brithnold, Abbot of Ely, is celebrated for his skill in gardening; his biographer tells us, that he made the monastery more pleasant and beautiful by surrounding it with flowers and shrubs; he laid out extensive gardens and orchards, and formed a beautiful plantation, so ingeniously, that at a distance it looked like a wood loaded with an abundance of flowers and fruits; all which, continues the monk, added to the loveliness of the spot. The most skilful horticulturists of the middle ages were monks, and the gardens of the convents contained many herbs and vegetables, which were not in common use among the laity."—pp. 25—6.

It is not generally known to what an extent, under the auspices of the good monks, the vine was formerly cultivated in England.

“The monks were not only tillers of the land, sowers and reapers of corn, but they were also cultivators of the vine, from the grapes of which they made a grateful beverage. This was consumed in the monastery, at the abbot’s table, or exchanged in the neighbouring towns for other commodities. The vineyards of Gloucestershire excited the admiration of William of Malmesbury, who says, there were more in that province than in any other in England. Many old writers concur in this opinion; nearly all the churches of Glastonbury are mentioned in Domesday as possessing vineyards. One horse-load of wine was annually paid to the monks of Glastonbury as an acknowledgement for certain lands, called Wine-Land. Vineyards were attached to almost every monastery. Martin, Abbot of Peterborough, planted one in the year 1133. Holtham, elected Bishop of Ely, in 1316 gave a vineyard and a garden in Holborn to his church; and Ralph, an abbot of St Augustine’s monastery, in the year 1320 converted a field at Nordhome into a vineyard. Even Smithfield, now the most filthy spot in London, was, in the middle ages, covered with vineyards: there are but few of us who would not be glad to see Smithfield once more converted into a garden. The produce of these monastic vineyards sometimes proved dangerous to the pious watchfulness of the monks; in some cases a moderate allowance was granted to them; it may be suspected that they did not always rest satisfied with their allotted portion; we have seen how Winibald was compelled to remove his monastery from the banks of the Rhine, in consequence of the indolence which the wines of Mayence diffused over his monks. These vineyards were sometimes sold after having been brought into a proper state of cultivation, and they were often leased out to the laity. The physician of the monastery received a liberal share of the wine for the use of the infirmary, and the cellarer reserved a goodly portion for the entertainment of guests.”—pp. 26—8.

It will hardly be necessary, after these examples of Mr. Merryweather’s opinions, to add his testimony to the hospitality, the charity, and general benevolence, of the monastic establishments. It is but just, however, as we have exhibited so much of the opposite side of his picture, to suffer this also to go forth as a compensation.

“The hospitality of the monks is proverbial; the monasteries which were scattered so thickly over the whole of England, were so many open houses for the traveller, the indigent, and the infirm. The canons of the Church, and the rules of the monastic orders

were very impressive upon this point, and enjoined them to be bountiful in their charity, and to use no spare in their hospitality; the poor would be sure to obtain within the monastery an ample meal, and the sick never failed to find there an assiduous nurse. It was this warm spirit of benevolence that won the affections of the people, and inspired them with a reverence for religion; and it was thus that the purest and loftiest elements of the Christian character were freely exercised. However humble the applicant, the porter answered, *Dei gratias* to all who knocked at the convent gates, and as the traveller entered the spacious hall or *hospitium*, friendly monks made him welcome with an abundant cheer; the abbot took his meals at the same table, and he bestowed upon his guest a blessing from the sacerdotal chair; expounded portions of the Holy Scriptures, and exhorted him to acts of piety and devotion. There was no reproach so distasteful to the monks as that of parsimony, because there was none deemed so incompatible with Christian charity. When Harlewin was made Abbot of Glastonbury, in the year 1101, the monks were fearful that the almsgiving which had distinguished their abbey, would, under his superintendence be greatly diminished, because he was himself exceedingly abstemious. But being convinced, says William of Malmesbury, of the dishonour of such a spirit in a monk, he threw down the gates of the court, so that the monastery being open both day and night, none could be hindered from entering; and to convince all men how much he abhorred the scandal of being thought a miser, he called together all the monks, and begged as a favour that they would assist him in retrieving the reputation of being thought charitable; he threatened the porter, if he dared to shut out any man, not only with the loss of his place, but with the loss of an ear also. 'Thus,' adds the historian, 'it came to pass, that he who before was reputed a miser, was now regarded as a spendthrift.' We have no disposition, however, to impute the charge of extravagance against the benevolent and worthy abbot, but rather rejoice that the Church of Christ was adorned with such men in so dark and barbarous an age. Nor was this boundless charity a mere matter of form, a mere wish to follow implicitly the monastic rule; for it shone brightest when most needed, and in times when only a brotherly love towards the poor could prompt them to its exercise. In times of dearth and famine, in times of pestilence and war, were the monasteries most crowded with the poor and the infirm; many a life was rescued from starvation, and many a drooping heart was cheered by the hospitality and kindness of the monks. The monastic coffers in such times were drained to the last piece of gold; the treasures of the plate chest disappeared; their saintly relics were stripped of their gorgeous shrines, and even their very monasteries were mortgaged to the Jews, rather than the poor should leave the gate unfed, or the naked turn away unclothed. During

the abbacy of Leofric of St. Albans, a great famine prevailed throughout England ; to supply the wants of the poor he sold all the treasures of the monastery, and all the gold and silver plate belonging to his own table. 'It is,' said he, 'an evidence of a pure and undefiled religion, to visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction !' Noble words these when backed by such noble deeds ! Gregory, another abbot of the same monastery, in the year 1140, did not hesitate to strip off the gold, silver, and precious stones which adorned the shrine of St. Alban, to procure provisions for the poor. 'And it happened,' says the historian, 'that God rewarded this charity with an increase.' Such deeds in our eyes cover a multitude of monkish sins. We may form some idea of their liberality, from the fact, that at this abbey every traveller that came to the gate was received, and entertained for three days ; and at the Priory of St. Thomas of Canterbury, there was a hall one hundred and fifty feet long, and forty feet broad, for the accommodation of travellers and poor pilgrims. No wonder that at the Reformation the indigent felt the loss of this hospitable charity, and we can readily believe a contemporary, who says, 'That it was a pitiful thing to hear the lamentations, that the people of the country made, for there was great hospitality kept among them.' Catholics, monks, or friars, we revere the men who would thus relieve the poor in their straits and difficulties, who were struggling with want, or under the pressure of necessity."—pp. 36—39.

The remarkable admission with which this passage closes, is also made by graver authorities than Mr. Merryweather. Blackstone,* in common with every writer upon English law, ascribes the establishment of the poor-law, now so oppressive a tax, to the withdrawal of the unfailing sources of charity, which existed in the monasteries and other religious houses, prior to the enactment of those statutes which confiscated their revenues to the crown, or transferred their estates to the creatures of the monarch's unscrupulous will, or the instruments of his insatiable avarice.

Perhaps the most interesting chapters in Mr. Merryweather's book, although they are far from being profound, are those upon the everyday life of the olden time. We can only afford room for a few specimens.

On the difficulty and tediousness of communication, it would have been easy, we think, to select many details, more curious than those which he has collected. There is not much novelty in the following.

* Blackstone, iv. 9, and 6.

“As may readily be imagined, with roads so precarious, it is rare to read of an expeditious journey, in the dark ages. Twenty to thirty miles was a good day's progress, even along the best and most frequented roads; the messenger to Rome, starting from London, divided the distance into forty journeys, which he seldom accomplished in as many days; he would reach Rochester on the first, Canterbury at the close of the second, and meet the keel on the coast of Dover at noon, on the third day after his departure from the metropolis. Even this tardy progress was rapidity in comparison with the tedious pace at which he ambled along the less familiar roads of the continent. Beaumont-sur-Oise to Paris, a matter of some twenty miles, was too long a journey to be accomplished in a day, and is divided in an ancient table of a journey from London to the Alps, to which we refer, into two. Forty days were allowed, by letter of safe conduct dated April 8, 1381, to Lion, herald to the king of Scotland, to go from London to the borders, with five servants and six horses. The most remarkable journey on record was accomplished by the mother of Richard the Second, who, Froissart tells us, at the time of Wat Tyler's insurrection in 1380, ‘came in one day from Canterbury to London; for she never durst tarry on the way;’ a surprising achievement for the age, even when assisted by the facilities which royalty could command, and performed along a road more frequented, and better kept, than any other in England; we must not forget, however, that an illness was the consequence of this unusual fatigue.”—pp. 44—5.

On the modes of conveyance, too, he is meagre enough.

“During the middle ages journeys of any length were always performed on horseback, it is true that a kind of rude chariot or whirlicote was used by the Anglo-Saxons, but it was only employed by ladies, by the nobility on state occasions, or for carrying the sick; they were rude and clumsy vehicles, and must have been worse than useless on roads scarcely passable by foot-travellers and horsemen; the horse-litter, too, is very ancient, and we find it mentioned by William of Malmesbury and by Matthew Paris. Bede tells us, that when Abbot Ceolfrid became so weak, as to be incapable of travelling on horseback, he was carried about in a litter. Eddius, in his life of St. Wilfrid, speaks of the Queen of Northumberland, as travelling in her carriage. But even at a later period of the middle ages, carriages were deemed so great a luxury, that the rich endeavoured to monopolize their use; the pride and arrogance of wealth is curiously apparent, by an ordinance extant, which was issued in France in the year 1294, during the reign of William the Fair, prohibiting the wives of citizens from using carriages. We often find the chariot mentioned, but the chariot seldom meant anything superior to a waggon; we read that the ‘household stuff’ of the Earl of Northumberland was conveyed in

my Lord's chariot ; it was a large waggon drawn by a team of six or eight horses, the chariotmen or waggoners who accompanied it, had a nag to ride by its side. These cumbrous machines would have served to retard, rather than to accelerate a journey. Messengers and merchants, therefore, travelled on horseback, the poor pilgrim resorted to his staff for assistance, the perambulating monk was usually furnished with an ass, to carry his burden, and to assist him over the impediments of the rude highway, and more boggy districts. They who were able to afford the luxury hired a guide ; thus Aldwin, Prior of Winchelscombe, with two monks, set out from Evesham to Newcastle, they had an ass to carry their books and baggage, and on arriving at York they entreated Viscount Hugo to procure them a guide to Newcastle. We learn from the Itinerary of Giraldus de Barri, that Archbishop Baldwin when travelling in Wales, was continually obliged to obtain guides ; and we have a curious account of the difficulties and dangers of the Cambrian roads at that time. On one occasion they had to ford the river Avon, and afterwards to proceed along the shore to the river Neth ; it was exceedingly dangerous from the quicksands, and a horse, carrying the books of Giraldus, sank down into an abyss, and was with great difficulty extracted ; many of the books sustained considerable injury ; yet they had a distinguished guide, no less a personage than Morgan, prince of that country. They met, says Giraldus, with many perils and severe falls on their way. Some of the passages and roads in England were no better. In the year 1289 the thoroughfares about Wantling were so bad that the Bishop of Hereford was obliged to procure the assistance of a resident to conduct his retinue. The expenses of a journey in the twelfth century must have been enormous, and we can readily believe that Peter of Blois was not exaggerating when he wrote to the Chapter of Salisbury, complaining that the proceeds of his stall in the cathedral were insufficient to defray the expense of a journey from London to Salisbury ; yet he derived from this source an income of five marks per annum, a sum which at the beginning of the thirteenth century was equal to the incomes of many of the clergy. In the time of Richard the Second we observe some progress, and a considerable diminution of expense. Hackneymen were licensed to let out horses to travellers, and their fares were regulated by authority, as in the present day ; the charge of a hackney from Southwark to Rochester was twelvepence, from Rochester to Canterbury the same, and from Canterbury to Dover sixpence ; they were not allowed to charge more ; trifling as they sound now, these were large sums in the days of the second Richard."—pp. 45—8.

It will easily be understood that in circumstances like these the transmission of news was slow and precarious. The news of the massacre of the Jews in London, at the coronation of Richard I., did not reach York for several

months after the event; and even no later than the time of James II., the account of his abdication was not known in the Orkneys for three months after it occurred.

Mr. Merryweather's notes upon the letter-writing of the middle ages are more interesting.

"Epistolary correspondence supplied, to a certain extent, the means of obtaining information; abbots corresponded with brother abbots, in the most remote parts of Christendom; the arrival of a letter was an affair of great moment, proportionate to the rarity of the event, and the trouble and difficulties of its transmission; the abbot sometimes read it aloud to the assembled convent, with becoming pomp and dignity; if it came from a great man, or from one loved and respected amongst the brethren, the scribes were instructed to copy it, and the original was preserved with the most scrupulous care, in the archives of the monastery; a vast body of these monkish letters are still in existence, and they afford valuable aids in illustrating the manners and customs of the olden time. If a letter was received with such manifestations of joy, we may be sure that a pilgrim from afar was doubly welcome for the news he brought, for news of events which had happened years before, not having yet reached their peaceful solitude, was fresh to them; and monks, shut out from the busy world, would listen with interest and pleasure to an account of the triumphs of the cross in heathen lands; to the progress of the crusade, to the defeat of the Saracen arms, and to recitals which reminded them of youthful days, or brought back the remembrance of those whom they had left behind them in the world; a tear would fall at the news of a brother's death, and a sigh escape the chastened heart, at the intimation of a kindred's wedding; these were matters with which strict duty forbade the monk to sympathize; but he could not always be so callous to the pleasures and misfortunes of relatives and friends. But if monasteries of eminence and wealth found the opportunities of social communication difficult, what must have been the position of the great body of the people; generally ignorant of the first rudiments of learning, incapable of writing themselves, and having no means of transmitting an epistle, there was little intercourse between distant friends."—pp. 54-55.

* In these days of penny post and electric telegraph, the following will hardly be read without a groan:—

"The ancient rolls of household expenses frequently contain entries of money paid to messengers for the transmission of a letter. On the 18th of February, 1298, fifty shillings were paid to Lorekin, for bringing news to the Countess of Holland, of her husband's safe arrival in his own country. In the reign of Edward the Second, William Galayn was rewarded with twenty shillings, for conveying

a letter to the king, and the same amount was paid for bringing a letter from Florence: this sum, be it remembered, was equivalent to near forty pounds, at present. An entry occurs in the household roll of the Countess Eleanor, wife of Simon de Montfort, for the year 1268, of the payment of a messenger to convey a letter from the young 'Lady Eleanora' to prince Edward. The countess constantly corresponded with her sons, and several items occur of sums paid to the messengers; two shillings were paid to convey a letter from Odiham to York. The letters of the Lady Eleanor are still preserved in the Tower, but although addressed to familiar friends, they are not the outpourings of the heart. We can detect no household simplicity in the pedantic diction of the secular epistles of the middle ages; there was no such thing as letter writing among the people; no domestic, well to do in London, wrote tidings to her country cousin; such luxuries were peculiar to the rich; not that even the wealthy wrote with their own hand, or indicted in their own language: probably the majority of the proud nobility of England could only use their pen to sign the cross, and were totally ignorant of the first rudiments of calligraphic art. It was at one period deemed derogatory in a nobleman to use his pen; this was probably a convenient excuse; men are apt to condemn that to which they cannot aspire. To supply this want of education, the baron kept his chaplain, who officiated as his clerk, and his epistles, whether they related to an amour, or to a law-suit, were alike carefully transcribed on parchment by this pious member of his household. Custom had decreed that all letters should be written in latin, and it was the duty of the clerk to transpose into the language of Virgil, the homely communication of the Norman baron; they never indicted an epistle in the vernacular tongue, so that 'If,' observes Sir Francis Palgrave, 'a Northumbrian baron wished to inform his spouse in Yorkshire of his joys or his sorrows, his weal or his wo, the message noted down from Romance into Latin, by the chaplain of the knight, was read from the Latin into Romance, by the chaplain of the lady, both the principals being ignorant of the language in which their anxieties and sentiments were clothed and concealed.'—pp. 57-59.

There is a curious chapter, too, upon fools and jesters. But though interesting enough as far as it extends, it is far from exhausting the wide interest of this subject, especially as regards this country. There is a very curious volume, by an industrious German antiquarian, which he might have consulted with great advantage, and from which he would have learned the whole history of the English court jesters from the earliest times.* Still his notice is not without its interest:

* *Geschichte der Hof-Narren.* Leipzig, 1817,

“ From the earliest period, the fool seems to have been regarded as an indispensable personage in the royal household. We read in Robert Wace, of Golet, the fool who saved by timely warning the life of William, Duke of Normandy, afterwards King of England ; and Gregory of Tours speaks of the ‘mimus’ or jester, of Miro, a king of Galacia, who by his jokes and fooleries amused the king. Henry the First, on the day of his coronation, gave the Abbey of Ely to Richard, the son of Earl Gilbert. The abbot, however, soon fell into disgrace at court. The principal reason of the king’s displeasure was, that my Lord Abbot had turned out of the court, ‘in a scornful manner,’ a buffoon of the king’s, who, with the usual license of his office, had ventured to reprove his grace upon the pomp and state with which he came to court. The punishment of the fool was never forgiven by the angry monarch, who demanded of the abbot his crosier, and it was only by the apostolical authority of the pope that Henry was induced to restore to him the Church of Ely. We find mention of the court fool in many of the succeeding reigns. Peter of Blois tells us in one of his epistles, that the court of Henry the Second was always attended by buffoons. William Picolf was appointed fool to King John, and his majesty held his jokes and pleasantries in such estimation, as to grant him an estate, in the year 1200. The document is still in existence, addressed by the king to William Picolf, and Geoffry his son : ‘Know ye,’ it continues, ‘that we have given, and by the present charter have confirmed, to William Picolf, our fool, Fonteossance, with all its appurtenances, to have, and to hold it, for himself and his heirs, on condition of doing henceforth annually for ourself the service of fool, as long as he shall live, and after his decease his heirs shall hold the same land from us, by the service of one pair of gilded spurs to be rendered annually. It is seldom, perhaps, that jokes have been so liberally rewarded. The fool of the Count of Artois added much to the entertainment of the guests at the nuptials of Margaret, the fifth daughter of Eleanor, queen of Edward the First ; on that occasion, fools, harlequins, minstrels, and harpers, were invited from all parts of England and the Continent ; four hundred and twenty-six minstrels were present, and the fool of the Count of Artois received a present of forty shillings from the king. In the wardrobe accounts of Edward the Second, there is an entry of ten shillings having been paid to Dulcia Whitestaf, ‘mother of Robert, the king’s fool.’ Buffoons, minstrels, and readers of gestes, were not only thus retained at court, but also in the households of the nobility. Even the monastic orders followed a similar custom ; reading during meals was almost universally practised, and in most convents an hour after dinner was devoted to conversation.”—pp. 265-268.

This practice, however, even according to Mr. Merryweather, was soon recognized as an abuse, and prohibited

by repeated and severe enactments. If traces of it occasionally present themselves, it is in despite of the prohibition of the Church, frequently and solemnly registered in the decrees of councils and other prohibiting laws.

We cannot close without a word upon the domestic architecture (if it can be dignified with the name), and other domestic arrangements of the olden times.

“Of all the changes which the progress of science and civilization has produced, that in domestic architecture has perhaps been the most striking. In former times, the houses in the towns and cities of Old England were, with very few exceptions, built of wood, and their roofs were thatched with straw; the larger class were built with each story projecting over the former story, and in the more populous parts of the cities, where the streets were narrow, the people out of their attic windows could talk, and even shake hands with their opposite neighbours; they were generally provided with porches before the principal entrance, sufficiently capacious to seat the whole family, the parlours were large, and their halls ample; but in every other respect they were sadly deficient of those auxiliaries to comfort and convenience which we look for in our modern habitations. The dwellings of the lower classes were of the most miserable description; and in Scotland, the habitations of the poor were more wretched, if possible, than the dismal huts inhabited by the peasantry of England. ‘They were narrow, covered with straw and reed, wherein the people and beasts lie together.’ Glass was a luxury too expensive for the generality of houses; lattice work, or an open frame finely chequered, and pannelled with horn, were the usual substitutes. Glass was not introduced into domestic architecture until the latter part of the fourteenth century, and then it was considered so valuable, that, when the lord left his mansion for any length of time, the windows were taken out, rapt up, and carefully laid by. We must not forget the fireside, the pride and comfort of all Englishmen; no part of the household arrangements of the olden time has been so much admired as the capacious chimney corners of the Elizabethan age; such comforts were unknown, however, a few generations before; a hole at the top of the roof, or an unglazed window, imperfectly supplied the place of a chimney. If they closed the window against the inclemency of the weather, they extinguished the fire, or they were in danger of being smothered in the smoke which vainly sought an escape through the creeks and apertures of the building. Chimneys were rare previous to the fourteenth century; they then probably came into more general use; Piers Plowman speaks of a “chambre with a chimney in which rich men dined.” Holinshed says, ‘the old men in his day noted how marvellously things were altered in England within their sound remem-

brance, and especially in the multitude of chimneys which had been lately erected ; whereas, in their young days, there were only two or three, if so many, to be found in the cities and towns of England.' The usual custom was to have a large hearth in the middle of the room, on which the fire was kindled, and the smoke was allowed to ascend through a hole in the top of the building.' Such were the homes of the people in monastic England. How different from our homes and hearths of the present day ! We can scarcely imagine, as we draw the chair to our fireside, with the embers glowing cheerily within its polished grating ; a warm rug for our feet ; some hundreds of volumes strewed around us, ready at our hand, and willing to entertain us ; the windows tightly glazed, guarding us from the howling wind, and a lamp shedding its light on the social tea-tray ; as we partake of these comforts, and a thousand others, of which it would not be seemly to talk of here, we can hardly imagine how our ancestors of old could have extolled the comforts of *their* hearths, did we not know how sweet is home, however homely ; did we not know how immeasurably more attractive is the meanest chamber with that dear name, than the 'marbled halls' of strangers, and did we not know that the most miserable cot of the Irish peasant becomes a paradise of bliss, when sanctified by the name of home."—pp. 307—310.

The furniture was equally rude and comfortless.

"The bedchamber of the mechanic of the nineteenth century, possess luxuries which the nobles of feudal days would have envied. Feather beds are scarcely ever mentioned in the annals of the olden time, and even kings, as well as nobles, slumbered blissfully on wooden planks strewed with litter. One William of Aylesbury held certain lands of William the Conqueror, by tenure of finding litter for the king's bed chamber ; and a yeoman named Peter Spileman, at a subsequent period, had to find straw for the king's bed.

"Fitz Stephen relates, in his life of St. Thomas à Becket, that the Archbishop commanded his servants to cover the floor of his dining room every morning in the winter with clean straw ; and in the summer with green rushes, and sprigs of trees, so that the nobles who dined with him might sit on the floor, without injuring their clothes, if there should not happen to be room enough on the benches. The household roll of Edward the Second contains an entry of money paid to John de Cauleford, for going from York to Newcastle, to procure straw for the king's chamber ; and the household book of Edward the Fourth mentions the allowance of lights and fire for the king's room, and the quantity of litter and rushes for his beds and pallets. In the time of old Holinshed, great improvements had been made in lodging 'our fathers ; and we ourselves,' says he, 'have lain full oft upon straw pallets covered

onlie with a sheet or rough mats, and a good round log under our head instead of a bolster.' The middle classes were then, however, beginning to taste the luxuries of feather beds. The rest of the household furniture was not much superior; chairs, couches, looking-glasses, and such elegancies of modern life, seldom adorned the homes of any but the most wealthy; benches and a large oaken table was often the sole furniture found in the festive hall; domestic utensils were of the rudest form; the possession of a few silver spoons, and a drinking cup with a silver rim, were indications of unusual wealth.

"The chronicler before referred to, speaks of the improvement in household furniture in his day, by the exchange of treene or wooden platters, for those made of pewter, and of wooden spoons for those made of silver or tin. 'So common,' says he, 'were all sorts of treene vessels in the old time, that a man could hardly find four pieces of pewter in a good farmer's house.' Clocks and watches were of course unknown in domestic use; a sun-dial on some public building indicated the hours. The first clock we read of in England was placed in a tower opposite to Westminster Hall, in the year 1288; two years later a second was placed in the cathedral at Canterbury; it was purchased at a price equivalent to £400 of our money. Edward the Third encouraged the clock-makers, and invited some of them from foreign parts. In the fourteenth century, clocks became common in cathedrals and churches; but they formed no part of the household furniture of the English during the middle ages."—pp. 313—316.

It would be unpardonable to omit Mr. Merryweather's sketch of the dietary of those days. We fear it will hardly realize the popular dreams of the plum-pudding and roast-beef of "old England."

"The food of the rich was varied if not luxurious; from the household roll of the Countess of Leicester, we may gain a knowledge of the quality of the dishes which adorned the tables of the wealthy; neither the flesh of the whale, the grampus, nor the sea-wolf, proved offensive to the delicate taste of the countess. When Richard, Earl of Gloucester, paid a visit to Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln, he was received with great honour, and entertained with choice 'sea-wolves.' Herrings were a favourite article of food among all classes; one thousand are entered as having been bought in one day for the Countess of Leicester. The festive board was well supplied with the substantial beef of old England; with fat capons, fowls, and geese; cyder and beer were in abundance; and we find it entered as having been purchased at a half-penny a gallon. The food of the poorer classes was in the other extreme, mean and scanty; we observe a deplorable contrast between the sustenance of those who laboured to produce the

luxuries of life, and those who enjoyed them. Vegetables, rye-bread, crayfish, and herrings, were the principal food of the labouring classes: 'Why should the villains' (the peasantry) 'eat beef, or any dainty food?' asks a Norman trouvère, 'nettles, reeds, briars, or peashells are good enough for them.' It was often that they could procure no better fare; even rye-bread was a luxury; wheaten-bread was reserved for the baron's table.

"Previous to the twelfth century, not only the people, but even the rich, were destitute of the common necessities, as we should term them, of the table; the snow-white damask seldom hid the oaken board, to invest humble fare with an appearance of delicacy. Knives were sometimes used, but forks were regarded as an indication of luxurious foppery. The fair dames of the royal household, as well as the barons, eat their food without these essential aids to cleanliness; they held the leg of a capon in their hand, and tore the flesh from the bone with their teeth. What would Byron have thought, had he seen the lovely demoiselles of Normandy thus engaged? It is true, the more polished of the higher circles might, perhaps, in the absence of forks, recollect the caution of Ovid, whose *Art of Love* was a favourite poem in the middle ages.

" 'Your meat genteelly, with your fingers raise,
And, as in eating there's a certain grace,
Beware, with greasy hands, lest you besmear your face.'

"Peter Damian, who lived in the eleventh century, mentions, in one of his letters, a two pronged fork used at the dinner-table, and relates an amusing little story about the wife of the Doge of Venice, who, he says, was so fastidious, that she would not eat her food with her fingers, like other people; but carried it to her mouth with a fork! A pair of knives in a sheath, with a fork of crystal, is mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I.; but forks for table use were not introduced into England until the reign of James I."—pp. 310—312.

Mr. Merryweather's volume contains many similar odds and ends of curious information;—not, it is true, of the most profound character, but yet sufficiently accurate for general purposes, and well calculated to amuse the hours of leisure. But we have already devoted to it more space than is consistent with other and weightier claims. If any one should imagine that we have discussed it in a tone of greater seriousness than it deserves, and attached an importance to it more than commensurate with its intrinsic merit, we can only repeat that we have dealt with it less for its own sake, than as the type of a class, the importance

of which it is impossible to exaggerate, and the vices of which are stereotyped, however various their degrees of merit may be.

ART VIII.—1. *The Local Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe*, shewing the results of the Primary Schools, and of the Division of Landed Property in Foreign Countries, By JOSEPH KAY, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister-at-Law, and late Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. London: Longman & Co. 1850.

2.—*Sophisms of Free Trade and Popular Political Economy examined*. By a BARRISTER. Seventh Edition. London: Seeleys. 1850.

THE tide of political economy is turned in our favour. For upwards of half a century every outrage that could be inflicted upon us, every cruelty, every clearance, every extermination, has been justified by a certain class of political economists as a necessary expedient for getting rid of the "surplus." Even during these four years past, when our sufferings ought to have softened the most obdurate—when thousands of us were dying of actual famine—when the story of our afflictions was melting the hearts of the most distant nations, and even the Turk was moved to active sympathy—many, hardened by the teachings of merciless theorists, have looked calmly on, hearing the minutest details of our sufferings—examining the returns of the numbers who had died of starvation, of the numbers who were likely to die if not relieved—of the probable cost of relief—of the numbers of women in childbirth, who were removed in their agonies and laid by the road side, and of men in the fever, who were removed in their crises and laid in the snow, while their houses were levelled—calculating the probable loss and gain to the State from the extinction of the victims, and "weighing as it were in scales, hung in a shop of horrors, so much actual crime against so much contingent advantage, and after putting in and out the weights declaring that the balance was on the side of the advantages."* How long ought they to have hesitated ere they came to so cruel a conclusion? How long ere they obeyed the cold calculations of a new

* Burke.

experimental philosophy before the natural dictates of the human heart, the precepts of all ages, and the direct and positive commands of God? A few years are already sufficient to expose the brittleness of the reed on which they leant, and to warn all men, no matter what may be their pride of intellect, that they ought to be cautious ere they incur the wrath that is threatened against those who “take away the right of the poor,” and “draw iniquity with the cords of vanity,” ere they harden their own or others’ hearts against the claims of the needy, disobey the injunction to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and relieve the oppressed, and reject the blessed consolation of the wise and merciful Job in his afflictions:—“The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I made the widow’s heart to rejoice:” (ch. xxix, v. 13.) Already this boasted philosophy is proved to be as inconsistent with the laws of political science as it was always admitted to be with the impulses of the human heart and the dictates of divine charity. Already the ignorance or misapprehension of facts on which it was based, the fallaciousness of its theoretical assumptions, and the folly of its practical conclusions are exposed to public ridicule, and so apparent has its entire absurdity become, that people now begin to wonder how men could ever have been found sufficiently heartless and audacious to maintain it, and soon hope to see the day when the economy of Malthus will be remembered only as the appropriate basis of the landlord legislation of the first half of this century; and how soon would both the basis and superstructure disappear, if we Catholics and Protestants were to begin, for once in the history of this miserable island, to practise towards each other the divine precept, “love your neighbour as yourself,” as expounded in the blessed parable of the good Samaritan, who was not of the same race or the same religion with him whom he comforted. The performance of this the first duty that man owes his fellows would form our strongest bond of union—the strongest that human wit could devise; and were we so united, no philosopher would again recommend, and no ruler would repeat, the experiments of the “surplus” theory upon us.

Having been for years urging the establishment of a peasant proprietary as the means of saving the country from ruin, we confess that the events of the present year fill us with hope. The establishment of the Tenant Right League

fixes the attention of the people upon their only remedy—the secure possession of the soil at a fair rent. If they cannot get that, they must be, if they remain here, for ever rack-rented tenants at will, and it becomes the duty of every man of them to leave the country and go to America, where he can buy a piece of ground on which he and his can rest securely for ever. The only safe independence man can have here below is a plot of ground held in his own right for ever, and that it is his duty to endeavour by all honest means to acquire, and the interest of every other member of the community to allow him to acquire. This latter proposition is becoming every day more familiar to the public mind of England; a new race of political economists has sprung up, whose chief remedy for checking the rapid progress of poverty and crime is such a reformation of the laws relating to real property, as would cause a greater distribution of the soil among the mass of the community, and tend to keep it so distributed for ever.

The two works at the head of this paper tend in this direction, and advocate this as the remedy for our deplorable afflictions. The “Sophisms of Free Trade” is known to be written by one of the first men at the Common Law Bar of England, and is regarded as the manifesto of the Protectionist party. It has won many converts to that cause, and has, since October, 1849, run through seven editions. Far from treating us as our landlords, as our Repeal members, or as our affectionate Whig rulers would treat us—that is to say, leaving us to the mercy of our most merciful landlords—the author would interfere, by positive law, at once to stop the clearances, and give us perpetuity of tenure at a moderate fixed rent. When we first read these propositions we could scarcely believe our own eyes; and lest our readers might share in a similar scepticism, we lay before him the following extracts, from a chapter headed with one of the Whig fallacies which he so admirably refutes.

“ ‘The evils of Ireland will effect their own cure.’

“ Never—

“ ‘Rusticus expectat dum defluat omnis; at ille,
‘ Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.’

“ A better state of things in Ireland will never *grow*, will never come of itself. A better state of things may be *made*, may be

created there, *might* be created immediately, and permanently *will* be created, when the *let alone* policy is finally abandoned in despair, and the hollowness of existing notions of political economy is demonstrated by experience, and generally recognized.

“According to received theories, Ireland ought to be very prosperous. She is a very large, and an eminently fertile island, in a temperate latitude. She has safe and capacious harbours, noble rivers, immense water-power; she possesses great mineral wealth of every description. In spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary, her poor, *when employed and fed*, are the most laborious of mankind. Our wise men assure us that it is a vulgar error to suppose that Absenteeism has been injurious. Above all, *Ireland has had perfectly Free Trade, for many, many years, with the richest nation on earth, and the let-alone system has had free course.*

“What is her condition? No description can describe it; no parallel exists, or ever has existed, to illustrate it. No province of the Roman Empire ever presented half the wretchedness of Ireland. At this day the mutilated Fellah of Egypt, the savage Hottentot, and New Hollander, the Negro slave, the live chattel of Carolina, or Cuba, enjoy a paradise in comparison with the condition of the Irish peasant, that is to say, of the bulk of the IRISH NATION.

“Who is responsible? Common sense says, and all Europe and America repeat it, those who have governed Ireland are responsible.

“Yet it would be unjust to charge Great Britain with a want of kindly feeling or generosity to Ireland. The truth is, that partly from the pressure of other business, but partly and chiefly from the influence of empty and pernicious theories, Ireland, except in the imperfect way in which the peace has been kept, has not been governed at all. On principle every social and economical abuse has been allowed to run riot.

“Proprietors have, on principle, been allowed to lock up their lands with charges constituting a *mortmain*; worse than the mortmain of the middle ages—preventing, not only alienation, but cultivation. To interfere with contracts between landlord and tenant, so as to give the tenant (what the public welfare requires he should have) an interest in the improvement of the land, has been, and is denounced, as contrary to principle! To interfere with the mode of cultivation shocked the political economists. *To put a stop to those clearances which inflict more misery than an invasion, was to interfere with the rights of property.* To attempt a provision for the helpless poor, was to add to Ireland’s existing wretchedness, the abuses of the English Poor Law. To encourage, artificially, any Irish industry, and so to compensate, in some degree, for the artificial and direct discouragements to which it had been subject for so many years, till it was effectually overlaid and smothered by the manufacturing industry of England, would still be deemed monstrously absurd. But the injustice of inflicting intolerable burthens on the owners and occupiers of Irish land, and then expos-

ing them to competition with those who are subject to no such burthens, is not perceived.

“Our first measure really directed to the social condition of Ireland, was the Irish Poor Law. But what a Poor Law! and with what other measures accompanied!”

After making some very judicious observations on the defects of our Poor Law system, and proposing some excellent remedies, chiefly a law of settlement, so as to limit the responsibility of those who would discharge their duty to the poor, he proceeds to consider the question,

“HOW PLANT IRELAND AFRESH? or rather the disorganized rural districts of the South and West of Ireland?”

“A gigantic scheme, it must be confessed, and not to be expected from any statesman professing the *let-alone* doctrines, now so fashionable. But quite practicable, and practicable at far less expense than Ireland has entailed on England in a single year.

“Every family, every woman, and child must, in the first instance be SETTLED by Act of Parliament, in some district of moderate size, with suitable provisions for gaining other settlements, so that, on the one hand, a proprietor may not, by a clearance, be able to rid his estate of its fair proportion of the poor. A change of *residence* alone must be a change of settlement. The law would then thus address the proprietor of every district: ‘Here are your poor, maintain them you must; and therefore you had better employ them, as you will soon discover. THEY ARE THE FIRST CHARGE ON THE LAND. But you now know the worst. Continue to maintain and employ *these*; the land is ample, and will leave you a large surplus, and you shall have no other poor to maintain.’

“We should thus find Labour and the Land artificially brought together by law, and married at once. A fruitful union, which the natural course of things might, or might not have effected, after the lapse of several generations.

“But the proprietor, or occupier, might say, and with justice, ‘I have no money. How can I pay either rents or wages?’ The law again replies, ‘I don’t ask it. It may be impossible. It may be that large farms and paid labourers are not suited for Ireland, as they are for England; but still the principle must be followed out. These poor are the first charge on the land. A portion of the land itself must be allotted to every family whom you, or your new district, will not, or cannot employ. And *there must be no more letting of land in small patches, with uncertain tenures, at high rents.* The poor must live, and if they are not to live on the land, the INTEREST OF THE STATE requires that they should have every encouragement and spur to improvement. If, instead of the old precarious holdings, *there be an allotment in fee, or for a long term, with a nominal, or even moderate, but fixed rent, what has happened on the sandy wastes of*

the Low Countries, will happen in Ireland—the desert will soon rejoice. The public interest, and your own requires the sacrifice, if sacrifice it be....

“Government should be prompted to some such great effort, not merely by the cry of the landholders, that they are losing their estates, but much more by the cry of the masses, that they are losing their lives. Humanity is, it cannot be too often repeated, the profoundest policy. But in all questions of duty, deliberation itself is disgraceful where the duty is clear.

“An outcry against what would be called an agrarian law, might be raised. But what more destructive agrarian law can be conceived than the present Irish Poor Law? How are proprietors and encumbrancers most effectually despoiled? By a sacrifice (perhaps a temporary sacrifice) of a part of their estate, or security, not only for the preservation, but for the incalculable augmentation of the value of the residue, or by proceedings for the forced sales of encumbered Estates.”

After exposing the sophism of a “surplus” population, and shewing that, on the contrary, we have not hands enough for the work to be done on the *surface* of the land alone, he thus meets the objection that capital would be wanting to employ the poor:—

“Here we are deluded by our English notions. We assume that Ireland is necessarily to be everywhere parcelled out in large farms, and cultivated by day labourers, in receipt of wages after the English system. But it is still a matter of controversy, not only in England and Ireland, but on the Continent, and particularly in France, which, on the whole, is after all, the best—large farms or small farms—*la grande, ou la petite culture*. It is certain that in Belgium, mere occupation of the most arid and sandy deserts in Europe, by peasant squatters, without capital, has gradually transformed those deserts into the most fertile land. It is the opinion of many practical persons, well qualified to decide, that small pieces of land, occupied by the labourer and his family, not as heretofore, at a high rent, with an uncertain tenure, but in fee, or for a long term, with security for the reimbursement of improvements, is the sort of cultivation which is best for a large part of Ireland.

“But the great merit of a scheme which should properly distribute the destitute poor over Ireland is this: that no general theoretical and premature choice of any one of these modes of cultivation need be made. The one which circumstances should render necessary or preferable in every district, would be adopted. The option would be with the owners or occupiers there. If they could severally or jointly employ the poor as day-labourers, and preferred

it, they would be at liberty to do so ; but if they could not, or would not, then an equitable proportion of each estate should be allotted to the direct support of the poor, under such general rules as the government might approve. A thousand experiments at once in progress, under different circumstances—a thousand districts, with their several energies no longer dissipated over the area of Ireland at large, but concentrated within their own limits—the efforts of every locality converging to one point, and their lights collected into one focus, would soon fuse and evaporate every difficulty throughout the land.”

To the objection that “ in many cases advances of seed and implements would be required,” he answers, “ It is true. But advances only. Give the new occupier a proper tenure ; and his success and your repayment are not doubtful.”—(pp. 129-144.)

Mr. Kay’s work extends over two thick 8vo. volumes. The author is a brother of the well-known Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, and dedicates his labours to the Premier. He tells us, that in 1844 “ the Senate of the University of Cambridge honoured me by appointing me travelling bachelor of the university, and by commissioning me to travel through Western Europe, in order to examine the social condition of the poorer classes of the different countries. During the last eight years, I have travelled through Prussia, Saxony, the Austrian Empire, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the Duchy of Baden, Hanover, Oldenburg, Lombardy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Holland, as well as through England, Wales, and parts of Scotland and Ireland. I undertook the greater part of these journeys in order to examine the comparative conditions of the peasants and operatives in these several countries ; the different modes of legislating for them ; and the effects of these different modes of legislation upon their character, habits, and social condition.”

The result of his observations he places in these volumes before the public ; and the conclusion at which he arrives is, that the middle and lower classes on the continent are incomparably happier than the same classes here ; and that this is attributable to two causes ;—the admirable system of education given to all children of all classes, and the division of the land among the peasants.

He conceives that our institutions in this island may account for the state of misery in which we are, and that

the condition of every people is the result of their institutions.

"There is," he says, "no better or more remarkable illustration of the truth of this remark, nor any which is more frequently quoted in foreign countries, than the difference between the character and habits of Irishmen in their own land, and their character and habits in the United States, in the British colonies, and in the British army.

"In his own country, exposed to wretchedness under the lessee system, and under-agent system of Ireland; to the discontented spirit of a priesthood, which we have treated as if we desired to render it inimical to our government; to the galling sense of foreign rule, suggested by the presence of English soldiers; and to the irritating thought, that his rent goes to aggrandize the splendour of a distant capital, and that the hall of his landlord is deserted, the Irishman becomes idle, rebellious, and criminal. Send him to Australia, to the States, or to any English colony, where he can make himself, by industry, a proprietor of land, and where he is not shackled by middle-age legislation, and he becomes immediately the most energetic and conservative of colonists. He there acquires faster than any one else; he effects more in a day than any one else; he is more untiring in his perseverance than any one else; and he forces his rulers to write home to England—as the government of South Australia did but a few years ago—that the Irish are the most enterprising, successful, and orderly of all the colonists of those distant lands. Put the Irishman in the English army, or in the manufacturing districts of England, and similar results invariably follow. In the army he makes a first-rate soldier; while in Lancashire, where he is sure to earn as much as his day's labour is worth, where the galling misgovernment of his own country does not affect him, where he enjoys his property securely, and where he is put on a level with the English labourer, he at once becomes a formidable rival of the Englishman under every aspect, and one of the most successful of the operatives. On the railway works of England the same result is visible, all showing that, as far as the Irish are concerned, they might be made, and would certainly become, the best of citizens, if they only had the best of institutions under which to live."—(p. 9.)

He gives many other instances of the like effect of institutions on the character of nations, as derived from his own personal observation on the continent. Of the system of education pursued there he speaks highly, and thinks the adoption of something of the like kind necessary for these kingdoms. To a detail of the various systems of

education pursued abroad, the greater part of the second volume is devoted. On this he writes as a Protestant, and we have not thought it necessary to study his views on it, our attention being fixed exclusively on the first volume, which is devoted to the subject of peasant proprietors, and of which we cannot speak too highly.

We should earnestly recommend the author to republish this in a condensed form, in one of the shilling series, in order that it might secure an extensive circulation. It deserves to be known universally, and it cannot be so till its price brings it within the reach of the humble. Thousands would buy a shilling volume on Peasant Proprietors, who would never think of paying 24s. for a two volume work, half of which was devoted to the vexed question of education. The large edition might answer for the various enquirers after truth, who had money to spare, and might sell all the better from having a pilot balloon, in the shape of a shilling edition, attracting attention unto it.

The author advocates the repeal of the laws that prevent the cheap and easy transfer of land. A public registry he considers of great utility in simplifying the transfer of real property, but then it is such a registry as exists abroad, where the law allows no validity to any writing affecting land which is not properly registered in the books of the province in which the land is situated. The great extent to which land is subdivided abroad, appears from the fact that "in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, the Tyrol, France, North Italy, Denmark, in Norway, the majority of the estates vary from 300 acres to one acre in size: that the average size of the holdings of the 3,900,000 poorest proprietors of France is estimated at $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and that in October 1849, in Prussia, there were only 474 persons who had clear annual incomes of more than £1,200. (p. 56—7.)

In England, on the contrary, the system of accumulation has been progressing at a very rapid rate. In 1770, there were there 250,000 freehold estates in the hands of 250,000 different families; but in 1815, all these lands were concentrated in the hands of 32,000 proprietors. (p. 370.)

We find no notice of the progress of the accumulation since that date. There certainly has been no tendency to distribution. Owing, he says, to the impossibility of tying up land abroad by settlements, wills, &c., and the simplicity and cheapness of the transfer, a great many estates of

all sizes, and situated in all parts of the country, are being constantly offered for sale ; and, hence, people of all classes are able to become proprietors.

“ Shopkeepers and labourers of the towns purchase gardens outside the towns where they and their families work on fine evenings, in raising vegetables and fruit for the use of their households. Shopkeepers who have laid by a little competence, purchase farms, to which they and their families retire from the toil and disquiet of a town life ; farmers purchase the farms they used formerly to rent of great landowners ; while most of the peasants of these countries have purchased, and live upon farms of their own, or are now economising and laying by all they can possibly spare from their earnings, in order therewith, as soon as possible, to purchase a farm or a garden. It is this fact which, more than any other, distinguishes the social state of these countries from that of Great Britain and Ireland. The position of the peasant in the first mentioned countries, admits of hope, of enthusiasm, and of progress ; for he knows that if he is economical and prudent, he may make himself a proprietor, and climb the social ladder. The position of the peasant in the last mentioned countries is one of hopelessness, discontent, and stagnation ; for what motive has he to endure self-denial, energy, and prudence, and what chance has he of improving his position in the world ? It is possible for the poorest young man in Germany, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Belgium, Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, to purchase a garden, or a farm, if he is intelligent, prudent, and self-denying. It is a safer and more agreeable investment than that of a little shop, which is the only one open to a poor peasant in England. . . . Few men will defer their marriage, or deny themselves the excitement of the tavern or the gaming table for the sake of becoming a shopman : but millions of peasants are at this moment, on the continent of Europe, putting off their marriages, abstaining from the use of spirits, and from immoral gratifications, working double hours, striving with double diligence to please their employers, and availing themselves of every opportunity of saving money, in the hope of purchasing a garden or a farm. Let it be remembered that the subdivision of the old feudal estates, and the creation of the peasant proprietary class, and of systems of public registration of titles of landed property, have been effected since the outbreak of the French revolution. The old feudal laws, which enabled the landed proprietors of France to prevent their estates being sold for several generations after their deaths, were entirely repealed in 1789 ; those of Prussia in 1811 ; and those of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Saxony, Nassau, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, and Switzerland, at different times since the commencement of the present century. Before this great change was effected in those countries, the condition of the peasants in several

of them was at least as bad as that of the Irish peasantry at the present day.”—pp. 58-60.

After quoting some authorities to shew the wretchedness which formerly prevailed in France and Germany, he then proceeds to state, from his own observation, and from many excellent authorities, what the state of the peasantry of these countries is at the present day. This description is most flattering to the young peasantry of the Continent, and stands out in strong relief with his account of the peasantry of Great Britain. We have so often pointed out the advantages of the subdivision of the soil amongst a numerous proprietary, that we shall not follow him through his proofs in detail of the superior condition of the continental peasantry—but merely give a bird’s eye view of them, by copying a few of the head-notes of his chapter on this subject. “The intelligence of the poorer classes in foreign countries”—“The prudential habits of the Peasant Proprietors”—“Small estates check the increase of population”—“The moral effects of the division of land”—“The education of the poor, and the division of the land, encourage virtuous and temperate habits among the people”—“Small estates foster respect for property”—“Difference between tenants at will and Peasant Proprietors”—“Gross products of small estates greater than those of large estates”—“Net products of small estates greater than those of large”—“Small estates tend to improve agriculture”—“To improve the peasants’ dwellings”—“The education of the poor, and their improved social condition tend to give them habits of neatness and cleanliness”—“The excellent amusements of the educated Peasant Proprietors improve their health and social comfort”—“The division of land tends to improve the health of the labourers”—“The improvement in the food of the people since the division of the land”—“The division of the land renders the peasants conservative”—“Fosters a spirit of prudence in the peasants”—“Stimulates the independence of the peasants”—“Enables small shopkeepers to purchase land”—“reduces the competition of the middle classes” and “renders them better able than the middle classes of England, to make use of the innocent and healthy enjoyments which Providence has placed within the reach of all.”

To the book itself we must refer the reader for the proofs

of all the former propositions, but cannot refrain from quoting a few extracts from the section devoted to the last. After pointing out how the maintenance by legislative contrivances of one superlatively wealthy model class, tends to create a desire in all the lower classes, except the lowest, which is too degraded to be so stimulated, to ape an appearance of wealth, he says:

“In no country in the world is so much time spent in the mere acquisition of wealth, and so little time in the enjoyment of life, and of all the means of happiness which God has given to man, as in England.

“In no country in the world do the middle classes labour so intensely as here. One would think, to view the present state of English society, that man was created for no other purpose than to collect wealth, and that he was forbidden to gratify the beautiful tastes with which he has been gifted for the sake of his own happiness. To be rich with us is the great virtue, the pass into all society, the excuse for many frailties, and the mask of numerous deformities.

“People in England do not ask themselves, how great a variety of pleasure they can obtain by their present incomes; but how good an appearance they can keep up with it, how nearly they can imitate the manners and habits of the great above them, and how soon they can hope to imitate those manners and habits still more closely.

“I have been making these remarks, in order the better to describe the difference of German and Swiss society. In these countries there is no *class*, and but few individuals, who are as wealthy as the class of our landed aristocracy. Their richest class is not nearly so wealthy as the wealthiest class of our manufacturers. The reason of this is, that the whole of the fortune accumulated by a man in his lifetime, seldom goes on increasing in the hands of his children, and seldom, indeed, remains undivided in the hands of a successor. It is generally divided at his death among several persons, so that a great fortune or estate does not remain any length of time entire. But a fortune like that of one of our nobles can very rarely be built up by one person. To amass such a fortune generally requires the exertions of several generations, to each of whom the former collector has left his gains undivided and indivisible. Where, therefore, the law does not assist the collector to keep his property together after his own death, very few such immense fortunes can ever be amassed.

“As the law does not in foreign countries allow such facilities for keeping accumulated what has been once collected together, the class of really wealthy men there is consequently very much smaller and very much poorer than in England, and the general

style of living is much less costly and luxurious. A man may live respectably and happily in countries where the law does not keep up a great model class, for one-fourth of the income, which is necessary in England. The French, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Swiss, look with wonder at the enormous fortunes, and at the enormous mass of pauperism which accumulate in England side by side. They have little of either extreme. The petty sovereigns, and a few nobles and merchants are wealthy ; but they form too small a minority to exercise anything like so powerful an influence upon the society of those countries, as the enormous body of the English landlords do upon English society.

“The consequence is, that the middle classes of those countries are not generally brought into contact with a class very much richer than themselves, and are not therefore so strongly urged into excessive expenditure by a desire to emulate a wealthy class, as is the case in England.

“All classes in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Holland, are therefore satisfied with less income than the corresponding classes in England. They, therefore, devote less time to labour, and more time to healthy and improving recreation. The style of living among the mercantile classes of these countries is much simpler than in England, but their enjoyment of life is much greater. They live not so much as we do to die rich, but to live happy. They do not strive after appearances nearly so much as we do. They do not spend so much upon their tables, their equipages, their dress, or the ornaments of their houses ; but they spend more time in the enjoyment of life. They go out oftener into the country ; they frequent musical concerts much oftener, they attend the public assemblies much oftener, they associate with one another much more, they keep up more of the olden pastimes and exercises, and they work during fewer hours of the year than we do. The strain of life, and the competition for gain are not nearly so intense with them as with us.

“A German, or a Swiss merchant, or a German or Swiss shopkeeper, trades until he has made enough wherewith to purchase a small estate ; and he then often retires from business to enjoy the remainder of his days in the country upon his own land, and in his own house, and to bring up his family amid the improving influences of a rural life. The hope of obtaining a small estate of his own, forms a very strong inducement to exertion and economy, and is a much more agreeable and enticing prospect than the hope of merely leasing a country house, at some future day, ever offers to a shopkeeper in our own country.

“A man whose wealth alone would not entitle him to a third-rate place in English society, might, as far as his wealth is concerned, move in the highest ranks of German society. People who feel that the richest class of a country are not far removed above them, care less to devote their whole lives to destroy the remaining dis-

parity, than those whom a long and insurmountable distance separates from the wealth and influence of the richer class.

“This intense competition of our merchants and manufacturers, and of the middle classes of our country, to emulate the wealth of the superior class, who are upheld by the laws in the continual enjoyment of undiminished and accumulating riches, reacts upon the poor in a very injurious manner. The stronger the desire of the middle classes to amass wealth and to live luxuriously, the more will they endeavour to deduct from the wages which they are obliged to pay out to those below them: the more will they deal hardly with the poor; and the more difficult will it be for the poor to earn their subsistence.

“In a country, too, where, as in England, the social arrangements are such as to deprive one class of the poor,—viz., the peasants, of any means of improving their condition in life, excepting by leaving their homes; this competition among the middle classes of society, will press and does press upon the labourers with peculiar hardship. The man who fancies he is obliged to keep up a certain style, in order not to be much less respectable in appearances than his wealthier neighbour, will necessarily be obliged to reduce his payments to those around him as much as possible. His servants and labourers cannot expect to receive from him more than the lowest hire, at which, by hard bargaining, he can procure their services.

“And even if the rate of money wages in a country is high, yet a middle class so circumstanced, will get more work out of their labourers, in comparison with the wages given them, than any middle class not similarly circumstanced can do. Thus, in our manufacturing districts, although the rate of wages has been on the average high, yet the labours of the operatives, as well as the masters themselves, have been intense in the extreme. So that if we consider the work, which one of our operatives does for his week's hire, and compare it with what a foreign operative does for his week's hire, although the amount in value may be greater in one case than in the other, yet I believe it will be found, that the Englishman did not get nearly so much in proportion to his labour as the foreigner.

“The objects which strike foreigners with the greatest astonishment on visiting our country, and of which they see nothing at all similar in their own countries, are:—

“1. The enormous wealth of the highest classes of English society.

“2. The intense and continued labour and toil of the middle and lowest classes. And,—

“3. The frightful amount of absolute pauperism among the lowest classes.

“The first of these singularities of English society, produces the second, and contributes greatly to the production of the third, whilst it is itself occasioned almost entirely by the effect of the old feudal

laws, which restrain the subdivision and circulation of the great properties, after they have once been accumulated.

“This system is admirably adapted for heaping up enormous masses of wealth in a state. I believe that no such masses as now exist in England, in the hands of some of the higher classes, could be heaped up under any other system than that now pursued ; but it should be remembered how, side by side with these heaps, pauperism goes on increasing.

“Could we regard the poor as only machines, by which we were to create our wealth, even then I should doubt, whether we should be economically prudent to be so careless as we now are, about the condition of the machines ; but when we regard them as immortal beings of the same origin, and created for the same destiny as the richer and more intelligent classes of society, then such a system as the one we now maintain, appears to be, not only open to economical objections, but reprehensible and obnoxious on higher and more serious grounds.

“Look at Ireland, where this system of great estates and great ignorance, has been so long in force ; what is the result in that unhappy country ?

“The whole of the land is in the hands of a small body of proprietors. The estates of the proprietors are so affected by the real property laws, that very few of them are able to sell any part of their lands.

“The richer proprietors live in England and upon the Continent, and spend all the produce of their estates—except the small quantity which is paid to the cultivators of the land,—among foreign people. The trade of the provincial towns of Ireland is consequently nearly extinguished. All the people, whom that trade would employ, and all the people, who would be employed as servants, grooms, gardeners, and ministers to the wants of a resident class of landed gentry, and who would be fed and clothed with what feeds and clothes similar classes in foreign lands, find no employment in such channels and are obliged to compete for work with the already poorly-remunerated agricultural labourers. There are consequently more labourers than there is labour or food for. English grooms, English tailors, English shopkeepers, English servants, English workmen of all kinds, are ministering in an English town to the wants of the Irish landlords, and are dividing among them the produce of the Irish estates—which produce ought to be divided among the Irish labourers and Irish shopkeepers.”

After giving an outline of the condition of our landlords and farmers, and of the preventives to improvement presented by the state of the laws relating to real property, precisely in accordance with the views with which our

readers are already familiar, he says the consequence is that all classes long for a change :—

“They feel, that they cannot be worse off than they are at present. They see no sign in the English horizon of a change. They would all sooner try an Irish tempest, than stagnate and suffer as at present. And I confess I think them right. If it had not been that our manufactures and our commerce have afforded an outlet for the peasants of our villages, and have continually diminished the strain upon the labour-markets of the rural districts, the condition of the English peasants at the present day would have been just as bad as the present state of the Irish peasantry. But in England, the peasant can always find an opening in our commercial towns and in our manufacturing districts. There is constant immigration going on in England, from the villages to the towns ; and the competition for labour in the villages is therefore far less than in Ireland, where it is so much more difficult than in England for a peasant to immigrate to a place where labour is wanted. The towns in Ireland are too poor, and in too lifeless and stationary a condition to afford many openings ; while England is a long way off, and her towns are already too full of the surplus of her own rural districts, to take off all the surplus hands of Ireland.”

After alluding to the physical advantages which we possess in our soil, climate, &c., and to our energy and industry, which make us “*successful everywhere but in Ireland*,” and describing our present prostrate condition, “the appalling results of our own long government of Ireland,” which has “made it the most degraded and most miserable country in the world,” and shewing that nothing has been yet done to effect a change, he proceeds to point out the remedy :—

“Ireland requires a class of yeomanry who would be naturally interested in the preservation of order, in the improvement of the cultivation of the soil, and in reclaiming the millions of acres of rich land which now lie waste and uncultivated. Ireland requires a law which would enable the peasants, by industry, prudence, and economy, to acquire land ; which would thus interest the peasantry in the support of the government, and in the preservation of social tranquillity ; which would dissipate that hopelessness and despair which now drive the fine peasantry of that noble island into disaffection and rebellion : which would make the Irish peasant as active and successful in Ireland, as he is throughout our colonies and the United States ; which would induce him to settle on the waste lands at home in order to cultivate them, instead of escaping to distant wilds to effect there what is so much wanted at home ; and which

would afford him the same inducement to exert himself, and to practise sobriety, economy, self-denial, and industry, as present themselves to him as soon as he lands in North America. And we want a law which would bring capital to the land, and land to the capitalist.

“This can only be effected in the same way, as the same result was effected in Prussia, and throughout Germany, and Switzerland, viz.,—by freeing the land of Ireland from the action of the entail laws; by forbidding all settlements, entails, and devises, which would withdraw land from the market beyond the life of the person making such settlement, entail, or devise, or which would prevent any proprietor of land having a life-interest therein to sell the land; and by creating a system of registration of all conveyances, deeds, leases, mortgages, and writings, affecting any piece of land which would render the investigation of the titles of estates perfectly simple, and which, combined with the diminished power of entailing, settling, or otherwise affecting land, would render the transfer of land as cheap and secure, as the sale of a piece of furniture, cloth, or other article. This would soon lead to the following results:—

“1. Proprietors of heavily mortgaged estates, would sell at least part of their lands.

“2. Careless and extravagant owners would sell part of their estates to supply means for the gratification of their tastes, or for the payment of their debts.

“3. Many landowners, who prefer to live in England, would sell their estates.

“4. All landowners, who possess waste lands capable of cultivation, would sell, at least, part of their waste lands.

“5. Merchants, farmers, and peasants, would purchase farms or gardens: and in this way, lands would get into the hands of persons, willing and able to spend capital or labour upon its improvement, and a large class of small proprietors would immediately spring up throughout every county, all interested in social order, in the improvement of the land, and in the prosperity of the country: and in this way, the face of Ireland, and the character of the Irish, would, in the course of a few years, be entirely changed.

“Until we can find an Irish Stein, or an Irish Hardenburg, who will grant the people free trade in land, by preventing its being tied up by settlements, and who will interest the peasants and farmers of Ireland in preserving public tranquillity, and in improving the agriculture of the country, by enabling them to purchase land, we shall have done *nothing*, positively *nothing*, for Ireland.

“Now there are three facts of which there can be no doubt: the *first* is, that the peasants of France and Germany were, fifty years ago, subjected to a social system, precisely similar to that now in force in Ireland; the *second* is, that at the same time, the condition of the peasants of France and Germany was, according to the testimony of Arthur Young, and many other eye-witnesses, at least as

bad, as the condition of the Irish people in the present day ; and the *third* fact is, that since the old system of great estates and great ignorance has been changed, and since the system, which I have described, has been put in force, the condition of the peasants of these countries has changed most undeniably, and, according to the unanimous testimony of all writers, immensely for the better.

“There can be no doubt, that in Germany, the Tyrol, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Holland, where a system diametrically contrary to our own, has been now for forty years maintained ; where all the peasants and labourers are well educated : where good schools and thoroughly efficient and well trained teachers are to be found in every village and town ; where no laws prevent the natural subdivision and sale of land, or promote its unnatural and extremely unhealthy accumulation in a few hands ; and where every peasant and small shopkeeper knows, that, if he is prudent and economical, he may purchase a farm ; I say there can be no doubt that in these countries the peasants are less pauperised, more intelligent, more hopeful, prudent, prosperous, and happy, more conservative, and more virtuous, than they are in our own country.

“I have always felt convinced, and I repeat my conviction here again, that if we wish to make an Irish labourer as prosperous, prudent, independent, conservative, and virtuous, as a German, Swiss, or Dutch peasant-proprietor is, we must legislate for the one, as the German, Swiss, and Dutch governments have long since legislated for the other.”—pp. 299—323.

This points to the true remedy ; and we should have hoped that the noble Lord to whom the work is dedicated would prove to be the Steine or Hardenburg, were it not that his recent conduct leads us to fear that he and his party will resort again to the old whig policy of creating and fostering religious dissensions, under pretence of devotion to “the Protestant Interest,” and thereby, diverting attention from all other social questions.

On looking into that portion of Mr. Kay’s work relative to the condition of the people of England, we were struck with the similarity of the symptoms now beginning to be perceptible there with those which have been so long afflicting us. The system of swallowing up small estates and small farms in large estates and large farms, is making most fearful progress. We had known, from personal enquiries, that this was the case in many counties, but were not aware that it was so universal. The fact before mentioned of the 250,000 independent freehold estates of 1770 being accumulated into 32,000 in 1815 speaks volumes.

The old English yeomanry are gone, and the class of

small yeomanry farmers—men who had small farms of their own—who were the survivors of the yeomanry class, and were formerly very numerous—are also going. In the time of Henry VI., according to Fortescue, there was not a village in the country that had not a knight, an esquire, a Franklain, and also freeholders and yeomen living on their own patrimonies; but now they are become quite rare. Mr. Kay says all the class of yeomanry farmers have disappeared. The small tenant farmers are likewise rapidly disappearing; the smaller farms are gradually being united so as to form larger ones, and the chasm between the peasant and the next step in the social scale is every day becoming wider. It appears that formerly, “all over the north and centre of Wales, there were great numbers of freehold farmers who owned their own farms, and cultivated them themselves;” but now none of this class remains, their lands being all bought up by the large proprietors. Would not the following sketch answer for Mayo?

“All the farmers (in Wales) at the present day hold their farms at the will of their landlords, or rather at the will of the agents of their landlords, for it is very seldom that a farmer is allowed to treat directly with his landlord. There are often as many as three or four sub-agents, with one of the latter of whom the farmer is often obliged to treat, and on whose will the farmer depends for the continuance of his possession. The agents are almost absolute, for they know that nothing is easier than to let a farm when it falls vacant. There are always plenty of applicants who will bid against one another, until one wonders how the last bidder can expect to make a profit from his bargain. Indeed the agents are often obliged to choose a lower bidder rather than one of the higher, because they know that the highest bidder could not make it pay, and would be soon in the workhouse, after having most probably defrauded his landlord of part of his rental.—You may imagine what the powers of an agent in this country are, and what the extortion they sometimes practise is, and how helpless the farmers are, when I assure you that I know that a gentleman who owns a great estate near Aberystwith, and who has always been an excellent landlord, and has managed his estates himself, was only a short time since offered for the agency and direction of his estates, £2,000 a-year, and guarantees in addition, for the receipt of as great a rental as his present one.—The farmers are the creatures of the agents, are at their mercy absolutely, seldom transact directly with the landlords, and have very seldom any security of tenure.”

It appears from another passage, that when a farm is to be let, the peasants will bid any money in order to get possession. So the little freehold estates which had been in Cumberland and Westmoreland from the earliest times, and were, before the union with Scotland, absolutely necessary as prizes to induce men to risk the perils of the Border warfare, are rapidly disappearing. They varied in size from 5 to 40 acres, and the owners were remarkable for their intelligence, sobriety, activity, contentment, good cultivation, and general prosperity. All these virtues could not save them. They are fast passing away under the following process and with the following results :

“ Whenever one of the small estates is put up for sale, the great proprietors outbid the peasants, and purchase it at all costs. The consequence is that for some time past, the number of the small estates held by the peasants has been rapidly diminishing in all parts of the country. In a short time none will remain, but all will be merged in the great estates. While this has been going on, the great landowners have also been increasing very considerably the size of the farms. The smaller farms have been united, in order to form great farms out of them. So that, not only is it becoming more and more difficult every day for a peasant to *buy* land in this part of the country, but it is also gradually becoming impossible for him to obtain even a leasehold farm. The consequence is, that the peasant's position, instead of being what it once was, one of hope, is gradually becoming one of despair. Unless a peasant emigrate, there is now no chance for him. It is impossible for him to rise above the peasant class.”—p. 369.

The result of all this is, that misery and crime are extending, and that the poor-rates are returning to a point at which it was said in 1834 they would swallow up all the property of the country, and that crime is progressing with a rapidity which is quite alarming. In 1833, before the enactment of the New Poor Law, the poor rates amounted to £6,790,000, and in 1834 to £6,317,255. Notwithstanding all the merciless cheese-pairings, refusal of out-door relief, &c. of the new system, they amounted in 1845 to £6,791,006 ; in 1846 to £6,800,000 ; in 1847 to £6,964,825 ; and in 1848 to 7,817,430 (See D. R., No. 56, p. 340.) To this should be added the sums paid from the Treasury for the cost of administration, in salaries to officials, &c. The precise amount we know not, but we hope a return of it will be required and granted. We

should further consider that the annual charge to the country for establishments for the suppression of crime, is computed to amount to £2,079,204. (See *supra*.) The number of paupers relieved by Poor Law officers in the above four years was respectively—1,470,970 ; 1,332,089 ; 1,721,350 ; and 1,876,541. So rapid is the progress of crime, that the number of persons committed to prison for crime had gradually and steadily risen from 20,984 in 1836, to 30,349 in 1848. When such is the result produced in England, can any one wonder at the frightful state to which the system has reduced Ireland? or doubt that the uprooting of it is one of the first duties of every Christian who wishes to check the progress of poverty, misery, sin, and crime? Can any Christian consider himself justified in merely fulfilling in detail his own personal routine of works of charity and mercy, while he apathetically tolerates the spread of a system which creates want, and vice, and sin, and crime by wholesale?

“Is it such a fast that I have chosen, that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and bow down his head as a bulrush, and lie down in sackcloth and ashes? Wilt thou call this a fasting, or an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of the wicked, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor, that are cast out, to thy house? When thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh.”—(*Isa. lviii. 5, 6, 7.*)

“Bring no more vain oblations—incense is an abomination unto me. Learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.”—(*Isa. i. 13—17.*)

ART. IX.—*A System of Theology*, by GODFREY WILLIAM VON LEIBNITZ; translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by CHARLES WILLIAM RUSSELL, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Burns and Lambert, 1850.

DR. RUSSELL has done good service to the cause of Catholic truth, by publishing, at the present moment, a translation of the above very curious and interesting work of Leibnitz. There are circumstances which

make it especially well-timed. Never, within the memory of living men, has there been such a stir in England concerning Catholic doctrines as within the last few months. Now, perhaps for the first time, it may be said that the Anglican establishment has been shaken to its centre. First the Gorham controversy, and then the decision of the Privy Council, have unhinged a multitude of minds, forcing them back into themselves, and compelling them to summon their conscience to sit in unwilling judgment on the deepest and most solemn of questions. Next, a number of remarkable conversions, happening from time to time, evidently without combination of the parties—against all human interests and affections—in all cases dissolving the ties of friendship; in some taking away, besides, the means of subsistence—the result, plainly, of souls urged to a desperate struggle—to a choice between their well-being here and their eternal salvation hereafter, had worked the English mind into a state of very feverish susceptibility. These conversions, we say, not coming in a mass, so that those who remained might say, “Well, at last it is over—it is sad, but we have lost those we are to lose, and now we can go on afresh: a little sore it may be, but surely now we are all true men, without doubt or faltering;”—rather, on the contrary, starting up where men least expected it, and stinging them to the very soul by the strength of their testimony to the truth—forcing even upon irreligious minds the fact that there was such a thing still as the kingdom of God on earth, for which venture was to be made and pain suffered, and thrilling religious and sensitive minds with the deepest agony, at the thought that the communion in which they had been born and bred, and with which their dearest affections and most heavenly sympathies were entwined, might perchance prove to be a delusion and a sin;—those conversions had raised through the length and breadth of the country an anger, a suspicion, a fear—all the more intense, because it seemed difficult to give them reasonable expression. How were the sworn disciples of toleration, those whose cry had been for ‘civil and religious liberty,’ to hint at the desirableness of persecuting those who exhibited this liberty in a way they did not approve? How were those whose religion begins and ends with private judgment, to censure men for exercising, at great worldly loss, the dearest prerogative of conscience?

Such was the fever of the public mind, when that great and decisive act of the Holy Father, which has bestowed on his English children the blessing of a regular diocesan episcopate, gave it the long-desired vent for its indignation. It was not that the Sovereign Pontiff had exercised powers which before had slumbered; for the division of England into vicariates was as complete an act of spiritual supremacy as the appointment of dioceses; and the doubling the number of these vicariates, which took place in 1840, certainly shewed growth and "*aggression*" as much as the present increase. But the Pope's act was the strongest and most unmistakeable expression of the judgment which the Sovereign Pontiff and the Catholic Church have ever held of the Anglican communion from the time of the schism. That frail support, which the apparent existence of the ancient sees had given to many more minds than were consciously aware of it, was henceforth swept away. A radical print observed, with much satisfaction, that the Pope had "*snuffed out*" the Elizabethan quasi-episcopate. It never had possessed authority to do a single spiritual act, and now this was declared, and embodied in the most unexceptionable form,—a form, we repeat, in the highest degree unexceptionable and legal, because the act of 1829, which allowed to Catholics the free exercise of their religion, guaranteed to them the enjoyment of a regular and ordinary episcopate. This could only be granted by the Sovereign Pontiff, and his grant at once brought out the intense antagonism which must ever subsist between a merely national establishment and the Catholic Church.

Hence a rage of the public journals hardly ever before witnessed—hence a continuance of studied misrepresentations, abuse, and calumny, which make an Englishman blush for his country—hence county meetings throughout the land, at which country gentlemen, essaying to speak on matters of spiritual jurisdiction, betrayed the sad uncomfortable fact that the Divine constitution of the Church of Christ was a thing simply unknown to them. They had never risen to any other notion of the Church than that it was a function of the civil government, for which the Sovereign appointed Bishops, who were Lords-Lieutenant in spiritualities. No wonder the appointment of a regular Catholic episcopate was considered a papal aggression on the crown. Hence clerical meetings, in

which so-called Anglo-Catholics were content to sit cheek by jowl with dissenters whom they had till then persecuted as heretics and schismatics, and to join with them on the basis of a general Protestantism in furious denunciations of Popery. Hence—a deeper and darker disgrace—an assembly of the diocese of Oxford, on the very spot whence the Anglo-Catholic movement went forth—an assembly embracing, it would seem, almost every clergyman in the diocese, and a vast number of laymen, presided over by a Bishop so kind and amiable in the ordinary intercourse of life, as Dr. Wilberforce, at which only fourteen voices were raised against the word *idolatrous*, applied to Catholic rites—of which fourteen the Bishop's was *not* one.

In fact, the circumstances of the times, the decision of the Sovereign, as head of the Church, that the utter denial of sacramental grace is compatible with the tenure of Anglican preferments—the conversions which, for five years past more especially, have had upon minds, attracting some and violently repelling others; and finally, the grant of the Catholic hierarchy, have brought out, in an unexpected way, the deep and entire Protestantism of the Anglican Church. Those heroes of controversy, bold enough to head the most forlorn hope, who ventured to maintain that the Roman and the Anglican Church were really *one*; that the differences were but external, while the unity was essential; if they ventured to whisper such a theory at present, would be met by an overpowering burst of derision. Protestant instincts are now awake, and instincts never go wrong. Instinct, eight years ago, saw a cope in the pulpit surplice, and smelt already the eucharistic incense when Dr. Blomfield, in conciliating mood, recommended that prayers which had been said *westward*, to the people, should not indeed be said *eastward*, to the altar, but might be said *southward*, where were neither people, nor altar. This shuffling between heaven and earth is now quite at a discount. A man must now be a Protestant or Catholic—he is not allowed to lurk, a doubtful friend, or a more dangerous foe, between both. The Catholic element, which still survives in Anglican services, is now sought out for proscription and ridicule. Those who venture to light candles at an Anglican Eucharist, do so with a guard of police at the door, and policemen in plain clothes among the congregation: and a hapless Bishop, in thanking the clergy of a whole county, for a violent anti-popery address,

feels it necessary to remind them that there is such a thing as the apostolical succession, and that "our pure and reformed Church" is not to be lowered to the level of an unordaining sect; and for this he is scouted as a Papist in disguise.

These, then, are the circumstances which render the translation of the *Systema Theologicum* of Leibnitz well-timed. Anglicanism comes forth before all men, proclaimed by the almost unanimous voice of its ministers to be a mere species of Protestantism,—and Protestantism and Catholicism stand once more, in a special manner, ranged in direct contrast and battle array. It is good, we say, at such a time to be able to produce the testimony of the most learned, most able, most philosophic minds which Protestantism has ever numbered, in behalf of the truth of those very doctrines which Protestantism is now denying, misrepresenting, and calumniating. Amid all this Babel of confused cries—this mob of voices shouting without intelligence, and with blind rage, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians,' the measured, earnest, sober judgment of the mighty dead rises in solemn distinctness. Yes, of the dead!—for they of whom we speak not only lived, but alas! died in Protestantism. But lately an eminent writer, who some twelve years ago set forth the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration as unquestionably held by the ancient Church and the Fathers, and as an essential part of the Christian Faith, attempted to reassure his fainting followers by the declaration that he would die in the bosom of his present communion, though the denial of that doctrine has been rendered legal therein by a most solemn decision. We trust that the grace of God may yet frustrate that declaration. But those whom we shall quote, as eminent as the above-mentioned writer for learning, and knowledge, and Christian antiquity, actually fulfilled that fearful pledge. They died out of that Church the truth of whose doctrines they had set forth. Alas, for their own souls! But we may cite them as the more unbiassed witnesses of the truth.

The seventeenth century seems to have exhibited in France, in Germany, and to some extent in England, a spectacle in many respects similar to what we see at present. Protestantism had lost its spring and force, though it had not yet subsided into that almost universal unbelief which has been the end of its course on the Continent. Its more learned and sober members were looking anxi-

ously about to see how they could combine with the system of that Church which its first professors, in their violent zeal, had denounced as antichristian. In England this shewed itself in the attempt of the Caroline divines to recover many Church doctrines which had been surrendered at the first establishment of the Reformation. The attempt never was popular, for it was learning and the study of antiquity which had moved scruples in the minds of these divines, and shewn them the inconsistent shapelessness of the Elizabethan settlement of religion; but learning and the study of antiquity are always rare, and the popular temper, the real character of their establishment, was then, as now, vehemently Protestant, and was too strong for all their efforts. But abroad, where Protestantism was more disengaged from the Catholic element, where there was no shadow of an episcopate, no presumed priesthood, to lull tender and affectionate minds into the persuasion that they belonged yet to the Church of Christ, the result of enquiry, thoughtfulness, and prayer, was, in a great number of illustrious instances, conversion to the Catholic Faith. These instances we will for the moment pass by, and rest our attention upon two men who never were converted, but who were conspicuous above all their fellows for their great ability, their love and knowledge of theology, their blameless and honourable life, and the philosophic character of their minds,—Grotius and Leibnitz.

The first of these, Hugo Grotius, was born at Delft, in Holland, in the year 1583. Of marvellous precocity from his youth, his manhood did not belie the rich and varied promise of his early years. At eleven he was sent to study at Leyden, where he soon became conspicuous above all his companions. Visiting Paris at the age of fifteen, he was distinguished by Henri Quatre, who put a chain of gold upon his neck, and presented him to his Court, with the words, "Behold the miracle of Holland!" Not much later he was appointed historiographer of his native country. He did not confine his studies to one class of subjects, but was alike eminent for his knowledge of the Greek and Latin authors, and for his own Latin writings in prose and verse, while he was no mean proficient in mathematics and astronomy; he opened a new era in the science of national jurisprudence, and his theological works fill four folio volumes. Yet his was a busy life among courts and statesmen; and it is a wonder how he found time for so

prodigious an accumulation of mental treasures. By birth and education a Dutch Calvinist, it could only have been by the force of his own character and his private studies that he drew near to the Catholic Faith. Yet he has left us the following sentiments on those two cardinal doctrines, the affirmation or denial of which must decide the controversy between Catholic and Protestant, we mean, the being and constitution of the Church Catholic, and the Primacy of S. Peter. In his "*votum pro pace Ecclesiastica*," (opera, Tom. iv., p. 653,) he thus sums up the result of all that he had read and thought respecting the Holy Catholic Church.

"Nurtured from my youth in sacred literature, and taught by masters not holding the same opinions on divine things, it was easy for me to see the will of Christ, that all who desired to bear His name, and through Him to attain blessedness, should be one among themselves, as He is one with the Father, John 17. And that, not one in spirit merely, but likewise in a communion which can be seen, and is specially seen in the bond of government and the participation of sacraments. For the Church is, or ought to be, a certain Body, Rom. xii; Ephes. i. 4, 5; Colos. i.; which Body, Christ, the Head given to it by God, has willed to be jointed together by the ligaments of various offices, Ephes. iv., 11; and individuals to be baptized in it, that they may become one Body, 1 Cor. xii. And they are to feed on one consecrated Bread, that they may grow more and more unto each other, and shew themselves to be one Body, 1 Cor. x., 17. I was strangely captivated by the beauty of that ancient Church, on whose Catholicity there is no controversy, when all Christians, save fragments torn off, and therefore easy to be recognised, were knit together by the intercourse of ecclesiastical letters from the Rhine to Africa and Egypt, from the British ocean to the Euphrates, or beyond. I saw that it was for this very reason that schisms and separations in that conspicuous Body were severally interdicted, Rom. xvi., 17; 1 Cor. i., 10, 11; iii., 3: xi., 18; xii., 25: Gal. v. 20; and that this was the special subject in the letters of Paul, and Clement of Rome, to the Corinthians, and in many writings of Optatus of Milan, and Augustine against the Donatists. Moreover I began to reflect that not only my own ancestors, but those of many others, had been pious men, hating superstition and wickedness; men who brought up their family well in the worship of God and the love of their neighbour, whom I had ever deemed to have departed from this life in a state of salvation; nor had Francis Junius taught me otherwise, a man of such fair and mild opinions, that the more heated Protestants disliked and abused him. I was also aware, from the report of my elders, and the histories I had read, that

men afterwards arose who were altogether for deserting the Church in which our ancestors had been ; and who not only themselves deserted it, some even before they were excommunicated, but made new assemblies too, which they were for calling Churches, made new presbyteries in them, taught, and administered sacraments, and that in many places against the edicts of kings and bishops, and alleged, in defence of this, that they must obey God rather than man, just as if they had had such a charge from heaven as the Apostles had. Nor had they halted in their daring at this point ; but traducing kings as idolaters and slaves of the Pope, had stirred up the mob to armed meetings, seditions against the magistrate, breaking of the images of saints, of holy tables and shrines, and finally to civil war and open rebellion. I saw that much Christian blood had thus been everywhere shed, that morals, looking generally, especially where they had prospered, had so far from improved, that long wars had made men savage, and the contact of foreign vices infected them. My sorrow at these things increasing with my years, I began to reflect myself, and consider with others on the causes of calamities so great. *The seceders, to cover their own deed, stoutly maintained that the doctrine of the Church united with the chief See had been corrupted by many heresies, and by idolatry.* This was the occasion of my inquiring into the dogmas of that Church, of reading the books written on both sides, reading also what has been written of the present state and doctrine of the Church in Greece, and of those joined to it in Asia and Egypt.

“I found that the East held the same dogmas which had been defined in the West by universal councils ; and that their judgments agreed on the government of the Church, (save the controversies with the Pope,) and on the rites of the Sacraments unbrokenly handed down. I went further, and chose to read the chief writers of ancient times, as well Greek as Latin, among whom are Gauls and Africans : and those of the three next centuries I read both all and often ; but the later ones, as much as my occupations and circumstances allowed, especially Chrysostome and Jerome, because I saw that they were considered happier than the rest in the exposition of Holy Scripture. Applying to these writings the rules of Vincentius of Lerins, which I saw to be approved by the most learned, I deduced what were the points which had been everywhere, always, and perseveringly handed down, by the testimony of the ancients, and by the traces of them remaining to the present day. *I saw that these remained in that Church which is bound to the Roman.*”

What is wanting to the force of this testimony ? Here is a man of the highest mental powers, who was born and bred, who lived and who died a Protestant, and who declares that the result of long studies in the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers, and in writers on the Catholic and

the Protestant side, undertaken for the very purpose of forming an accurate judgment, was, that the doctrines of the Roman Church agree with those held always, everywhere, and by all, in Christian antiquity.

Let us see what he says further on the capital point of the Primacy. We shall see that he unites the testimony of history with the necessity of things—fact with principle.

“Paul has taught us (Ephes. iv, 11,) that there should be various degrees of rulers in the Church, and that by means of these degrees the Church forms one compact structure. Now order, whether in its parts or in the whole, is maintained by a certain headship, or the unity of the chief. And this is what Christ has taught us in the person of Peter. This Cyprian learnt from Christ; and Jerome says against Jovinian the same thing as Cyprian: ‘The Church is founded upon Peter, although this very thing, in another place, takes effect upon all the Apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the Church is established equally upon them all.’ Nevertheless one out of the twelve is chosen for the very purpose that by the appointment of a head the occasion of schism may be removed. Such a head among Presbyters is the Bishop, among Bishops the Metropolitan, or some one elected in another manner to preside over the rest. *Such, among all, is the Roman Bishop. This order ought always to remain in the Church, because the cause always remains, that is, the danger of schism.* Diotrephes in evil mode claimed that for himself which belonged to others, as afterwards did Novatus and Novatian. It is true that each Bishop enjoys a part of one single episcopate, that a portion of the flock is assigned to each pastor, that the care even of the Universal Church is, in a certain sense, entrusted to all; for the Church is ruled by the Common Counsel of the Bishops. But the agglomeration both of many parts to each other, and of the whole Body, require one chief. Thus subsist both a purity of power, and a certain power of higher range, as Jerome says, among those otherwise equal; for they are equal in that they are colleagues, not in that there is a headship over them.” (Opera, Tom. iv., 658.)

Again, (Tom. iv. 641.)

“As an army or a ship cannot be ruled save by officers of different grade, which grades are to terminate in one, so neither can the Church. Even if all who are in the Church were endued with the highest charity, yet would there be need of such an order. God is not wont to be always doing miracles: but for the best result He likewise points out the best means, as a certain order is to the Unity of the Church. And what this order should be, Christ has pointed out in the person of Peter: for to him He gave the keys

of the kingdom of heaven, for the whole college, as the head of the college. Now the headship in every college consists in directing the consultations and executing the decrees. A passage of Cyprian plainly expresses what we mean. 'The Lord says to Peter, &c. The Primacy is given to Peter, that the Church of Christ may be shewn to be one, and the episcopal chair one.' Here you see the Primacy, which name in every college carries with it a certain power. That most beautiful union which holds the Church together, emanated not from the Roman Empire, but was indicated by Christ and followed out by the Apostles. Thus the Apostles set up presidents in the churches, whom the Apocalypse, after the manner of Malachy, calls angels, as being chief priests in their own assembly. Such was Polycarp at Smyrna.—So Titus was Metropolitan in Crete.—And long before the name of Patriarch came into use, the Bishops of Rome, of Antioch, and of Alexandria, ruled the body of the Church by common counsel. But amongst these three most eminent churches, the headship of the Roman Church was the more powerful, with which it was necessary that every church should agree, because the tradition of the Apostles has been ever preserved in that Roman Church by those on all sides of it, as Irenæus teaches us, (iii. 3.) who indeed himself, in admonishing Victor as to the right exercise of this power, admits by that very fact his inspection even over the churches of Asia. The Bishop of Rome is the head of the Christian aristocracy. That primacy can be exercised under Christ, and without the terror which a tyranny inflicts, and so as to preserve to the bishops their right over the churches committed to their charge. No one who has given any attention to ecclesiastical history, can deny that the most serious schisms which arose of old in Greece and Asia, were healed by the authority of the Roman see. If any schisms have arisen from the Roman See itself, these have been from contested elections. In such a case, the Emperor and Kings should provide for the meeting of a General Council, and allow it either to decide the election, or appoint a new one. But why is it that those who differ in their opinions among Catholics, remain in the same body without breaking communion? while Protestants who differ cannot do the same, however much they talk about brotherly love. Whoever gives its due weight to this reflection will discover the great force of the Primacy, the right use of which, such as Melancthon would not have disapproved, he who lists may find, without further trouble, in the letters of Gregory the Great."

From Grotius let us pass to one still more eminent, perhaps the most distinguished person, for his vast and varied learning, and his philosophic acuteness, whom Protestantism in the course of three centuries has produced.

In the year 1819, Germany was startled by the apparition of a new work bearing the honoured name of Leib-

nitz, and that no less a work than a *System of Theology*. Although Leibnitz was known to have had many Catholic tendencies, and although his correspondence with Bossuet on the mode of restoring unity between the two communions was notorious, yet the newly-discovered system of Theology was so markedly Catholic, that the first resource of German Protestants was to deny its authenticity. When this was proved beyond possibility of doubt, the next thing was to maintain that it was "written in the assumed character of a Catholic, and with a view of explaining the Catholic belief to Protestants in the most favourable sense of which it is susceptible, and of thus promoting the project of Church union." (Dr. Russell's Introduction, p. xvi.) But this hypothesis seems likewise set at rest by a letter from the author himself to an unknown correspondent, believed by the German editor, Guhrauer, to be the reigning Duke of Hanover, Ernest Augustus, but by Dr. Russell, to be the Landgrave Ernest of Hesse Rheinfels.

These, it would appear, were the circumstances which led to this remarkable treatise being written. During the latter half of the seventeenth century there were continual projects entertained by certain German Princes for the reunion of the Protestants with the Catholic Church. Among these Princes figure some illustrious ancestors of her Majesty, John Frederic, Duke of Hanover, who himself became a Catholic, and his brother, Ernest Augustus, 1679—1698, father of George I. It was in reference to one of these projects that Leibnitz, then librarian at the Court of Hanover, wrote in the year 1684 in "reply to a communication from this unknown correspondent, the chief of which would appear to have been to urge on the negotiations, and especially to cut short the discussion of theological details, on the ground that the only really essential subject of discussion was the fundamental question of authority, and that this point being once determined, all the rest followed as a necessary consequence." (Intro. p. xcii.) Leibnitz, in answer, gives the purpose for which he composed the treatise translated by Dr. Russell. There is no reason to doubt that he executed himself what in this letter he proposed to his correspondent.

"Hence I think that, in order to proceed securely in these matters, (the project of uniting the Protestants to the Church,) it

would be necessary to adopt the following plan. It would be necessary that a man of meditative mind, and one whose views are not far removed from the reunion, should draw up an Exposition of Faith, a little more detailed than that of Monseigneur the Bishop of Condom, (Bossuet) in which he should endeavour to explain himself *with the utmost exactness and sincerity on the disputed articles, avoiding all equivocal phrases*, and all the terms of scholastic chicanery, and employing only natural forms of expression. This exposition he should submit to the judgment of some learned bishops (of the Roman Church) distinguished for moderation: dissembling, however, his own name and party. And, in order to enable them to judge more favourably, the question proposed should be, not whether they themselves agree with the writer in his opinions, but simply whether they hold his opinions to be tolerable in their Church."—p. xcv.

The Exposition of Faith thus described is found among the manuscripts of Leibnitz, in an unfinished state, the first rough draft of the author, and ending with a comma. For some yet unexplained reason it never seems to have been submitted, as he here proposes, to any Catholic bishops. After his death in 1716, it remained unpublished, but not wholly unknown, in the Royal Library of Hanover, until it was taken thence during the French occupation, and was finally published in 1819: one hundred and thirty-five years after the probable date of its composition in 1684.

The above-cited letter supplies a guarantee for the author's perfect sincerity. Moreover the treatise itself commences thus,

"After a long and mature examination of the controversies on the subject of religion, in which I have invoked the Divine assistance, and divested myself, as far, perhaps, as is possible for man, of party-feeling, as though I came from a new world, a neophyte unattached to any party, I have at length fixed in my own mind, and, after full consideration, resolved to adopt the following principles, which, to an unprejudiced mind, will appear to carry with them the recommendation of sacred Scripture, of pious antiquity, and even of right reason, and the authority of history."

We will now proceed to quote the judgment of Leibnitz on the chief points disputed between Catholics and Protestants.

I. On the unity of the one body the Church, and, as involved therein, the Sacrament of Orders, the Ecclesias-

tical Hierarchy, and the Authority of the Supreme Pontiff, he thus speaks :

“ The Sacrament of Orders, or of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, is that by which the ecclesiastical or spiritual office or power, distinguished into its several grades, is conferred on certain individuals, whose ministry God uses for the purpose of dispensing the grace of His Sacraments, and of instructing, ruling, and retaining others in the unity of the faith, and the obedience of charity, superadding thereto a certain power of jurisdiction, which is comprehended chiefly in the use of the keys. To the Hierarchy of Pastors of the Church belong not only Priesthood and its preparatory grades, but also Episcopacy, and even the Primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff ; *all of which we must believe to be of divine right.* As Priests are ordained by a Bishop, the Bishop, *and especially that Bishop to whom the care of the entire Church is committed,* has power to moderate and limit the office of the Priest, so that in certain cases he is restrained from exercising the power of the keys, not only lawfully, but even validly. Moreover the Bishop, *and especially the Bishop who is called Œcumenical, and who represents the entire Church,* has the power of excommunicating and depriving of the grace of the Sacraments, of binding and retaining sins, and of loosing and restoring again. For it is not merely that voluntary jurisdiction which belongs to a Priest in the confessional, that is contained under the power of the keys ; but the Church, moreover, has power to proceed against even the unwilling ; and he ‘ *who does not hear the Church,*’ and does not, so far as is consistent with the salvation of his soul, keep her commandments, ‘ *should be held as the heathen and the publican ;*’ and as the sentence on earth is regularly confirmed by that of heaven, such a man draws on himself, at the peril of his own soul, the weight of ecclesiastical authority, to which God himself lends that which is last and highest in all jurisdiction—execution.

“ In order, however, that the power of the Hierarchy may be better understood, we must recollect that every state and commonwealth, and therefore the commonwealth of the Church, should be considered as a civil body, or one moral person. For there is this difference between an assembly of many and one body, that an assembly, of itself, does not form a single person out of many individuals ; whereas a body constitutes a person, to which person may belong various properties and rights, distinct from the rights of the individuals ; whence it is that the right of a body, or College, is vested in one individual, while that of an assembly is necessarily in the hands of many. Now it is of the nature of a person, whether natural or moral, to have a will, in order that its wishes may be known. Hence, if the form of government is a monarchy, the will of the monarch is the will of the state ; but if it be a polycracy, we regard as the will of the state the will of some College or Council,—whether this consist of a certain number of the citizens, or of

them all,—ascertained either by the number of votes, or by certain other conditions.

“Since, therefore, our merciful and sovereign God has established His Church on earth, as a sacred *‘city placed upon a mountain’*—His immaculate spouse, and the interpreter of His will—and has so earnestly commended the universal maintenance of her unity in the bond of love, and has commanded that she should be heard by all who would not be esteemed *‘as the heathens and the publicans;’* it follows that He must have appointed some mode by which the will of the Church, the interpreter of the Divine will, could be known. What this mode is was pointed out by the Apostles, who, in the beginning, represented the body of the Church. For at the council which was held in Jerusalem, in explaining their opinion, they use the words, *‘It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.’* Nor did this privilege of the assistance of the Holy Ghost cease in the Church with the death of the Apostles; it is to endure *‘to the consummation of the world,’* and has been propagated throughout the whole body of the Church by the Bishops, as successors of the Apostles.

“Now as, from the impossibility of the Bishops frequently leaving the people over whom they are placed, it is not possible to hold a council continually, or even frequently, while at the same time the person of the Church must always live and subsist, in order that its will may be ascertained, it was a necessary consequence, by the divine law itself, insinuated in Christ’s most memorable words to Peter, (when He committed to him specially the keys of the kingdom of heaven, as well as when He thrice emphatically commanded him to *‘feed His sheep,’* and uniformly believed in the Church, that one among the Apostles, and the successor of this one among the Bishops, was invested with preeminent power; in order that by him, as the visible centre of unity, the body of the Church might be bound together; the common necessities be provided for; a council, if necessary, be convoked, and when convoked, directed; and that, in the interval between councils, provision might be made lest the commonwealth of the faithful sustain any injury. And as the ancients unanimously attest that the Apostle Peter governed the Church, suffered martyrdom, and appointed his successor, in the city of Rome, the capital of the world; and as no other Bishop has ever been recognised under this relation, we justly acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to be chief of all the rest. This, at least, therefore, must be held as certain, that in all things which do not admit the delay necessary for the convocation of a general council, or which are not important enough to deserve a general council, the power of the chief of the Bishops, or Sovereign Pontiff, is, during the interval, the same as that of the whole Church; that he can excommunicate any individual, or restore him to communion; and that all the faithful owe him true obedience; and this obedience extends so far that, in the same way as an oath is to be kept

in all things in which it can be done consistently with the salvation of the soul, so also we are to obey the Sovereign Pontiff as the only visible Vicar of God upon earth, in all things which, after due self-examination, we think can be done without sin, and with a safe conscience; insomuch that, in doubt, when all the other circumstances are the same, we must regard obedience as the more safe course; and this we are bound to do for the love of the unity of the Church, and with the intention of obeying God in the person of those whom He has sent. For we should submit to suffer anything whatsoever, even with grievous personal sacrifice, rather than be separated from the communion of the Church, and give occasion to schism."—(p. 140-5.)

Elsewhere, in his works, Leibnitz says concerning the Sovereign Pontiff:—

"In every republic, and therefore in the Church, it is provided by the law itself, that there should be a supreme magistracy, whether it be in the hands of one, or of more persons. And, nevertheless, if the College consist of more than one, it is necessary that the right of director, or supreme magistrate, (restrained, however, by its own limits,) should be in the hands of one individual." Opera, Tom. v., p. 229-30.

And again,

"As God is a God of order, and as it is of *Divine right* that the body of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church should be bound together by one government and one universal hierarchy, it follows that, *by the same right*, there should be within it a supreme spiritual office, confined within due limits, (these words I now add,) armed with a directorial authority, and provided with power of doing all that is necessary for the fulfilment of this office for the safety of the Church; though it may have been through human motives that Rome, the metropolis of the Christian world, has been chosen as the place and seat of this power."—Opera, Tom. v., p. 228-9.

II. Infallibility of the Church.

In a letter to the Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels, Jan. 1, 1684, quoted by Dr. Russell, p. 141, he says:—

"But in order that your Highness may see more clearly that I am not far removed from your views, quemadmodum non privatis, sed contemptus sacramenti damnat, I hold that any one who wishes to be a member of the Church through this interior communion, must make every possible exertion to be also in the external communion of the visible Catholic Church, which is discoverable by the continual succession of her hierarchy; and this Church, which is called the Roman Church, appears to me to be such. I

say, furthermore, that the hierarchy which is seen in that Church, i. e., the distinction of the Sovereign Pontiff, *appertains to the general divine law*, inasmuch as there must necessarily be a director of the Bishops and the Priests. I will further add, that the visible Catholic Church, through the special and promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, is infallible in all articles of faith which are necessary to salvation."—Biographie, i., 344-5.

III. The nature and number of the Sacraments.

"Though it is idle to dispute much about names, yet, as the appellation 'Sacrament' has been received in the Church, its meaning should be estimated 'not from private caprice, but from public usage. By the name of Sacrament, therefore, is now-a-days understood in the Church a rite to which a special promise of grace is annexed by God. Some require, in addition, that the rite should be expressly contained and sufficiently described in sacred Scripture; but it is certain that what is wanted in the written, can, and should be supplied by the traditionary word of God. Some require, also, that there should be a corporeal and visible element, but this also equally seems to be unnecessary. And some restrict the grace which is conferred to justification and the remission of sins; however, this condition also is arbitrary.

"The sacred rites, such as we here define, are seven in number: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, Matrimony. In Baptism the rite is ablution with water 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' the grace is the purification of the soul, the bestowing of faith and penance, and consequently the remission of sins and renovation. In Confirmation the rite is unction; the effect of the grace conferred is indicated by the word Confirmation itself. In the Eucharist the rite is the ministering of the symbols, according to the prescribed form; the grace is the nourishment of the soul, or the increase of charity. In Penance the rite is confession and absolution; the grace the remission of sins. In the Unction of the Sick the rite is indicated by the name; the grace is the support of the vital powers in sickness, chiefly in order that, while life is in peril, the soul may be strengthened against temptations. In Orders the rite is imposition of hands, and whatever else appertains thereto; the grace is the spiritual power conferred on the ordained, which consists in celebrating the perpetual Sacrifice, and in remitting and retaining sins. Lastly, in Matrimony the rite is the legitimate declaration of consent; the grace is the divine benediction, to which, as a kind of spiritual effect, is annexed the bond of Matrimony.

"No rite has hitherto been discovered, which could, even with any show of reason, be added to these seven, except the 'Washing of Feet,' which has been by some referred to the number. But,

although the words of Scripture seem to favour it somewhat, this rite has not received the testimony of the Church ; for if this condition had been added, it also should have been admitted as a Sacrament."—pp. 90—1.

IV. The Holy Eucharist. And here we will distinguish several different points :

1. That it is a mystery.

"I come now to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, upon which the greater weight of the controversy has turned. For there are some persons who, reasoning too freely in judgments of the divine mysteries, and perverting certain words of Chrysostome, Augustine, and others among the ancients, maintain that the Body and Blood of Christ are not really present in the Lord's Supper, but are only represented or signified ; because they are as far removed from us as heaven is from earth, and a thing which possesses the true nature of a body cannot be in more than one place simultaneously. Some, with greater liberality, appear to admit, (though not without ambiguity,) that we really receive the Body of Christ, but receive it through the medium of the mind, which is raised up to heaven by faith ; and that, consequently, as faith alone is the instrument of receiving, the Sacrament is not received by the unworthy,—*a doctrine which seems entirely opposed to the words of the Apostle*. However, this opinion, when its supporters are driven to an explanation, seems, in the end, simply to amount to this, that the mind flies up to heaven, to receive the Body of Christ, only in the same way as we are said to be, in thought, at Rome or Constantinople ; for, if they adopt any other explanation, they will be compelled to ascribe to our mind a power which they deny to Christ's Body, viz., that of being in heaven and on earth at the same time. We shall be more secure, however, in adhering closely to the words of our Saviour, who, 'when He had taken bread and wine, said, THIS IS MY BODY.' Pious antiquity always recognized in this Sacrament a great mystery, which was beyond the comprehension of the human mind ; now, if it be a sign that is given instead of the reality, there is no mystery in it whatsoever. And indeed that every existing Church in the whole world, with the exception of the Reformed Churches, and those which have sunk lower than the Reformers in innovation, admit the Real Presence of Christ's Body, certain recent writers of eminence, (the authors of the *Perpétuité de la Foi*,) have demonstrated with such overwhelming evidence, that we must either admit this to be proved, or abandon all hope that anything shall ever be proved regarding the opinions of distant nations."—pp. 98—9.

2. That the Real Presence and Transubstantiation are true, and are identical.

“There are some who, while they admit the Real Presence, maintain, so to speak, a sort of impanation. They say that the Body of Christ is given in, with, and under the bread. Hence, when Christ said, ‘This is my Body,’ they understand it in the same sense as if a person were to exhibit a purse, and to say, ‘This is money.’ The records of pious antiquity, however, plainly enough demonstrate that the bread is changed into the Body, and the wine into the Blood of Christ: the ancients, too, universally acknowledged therein a change of substance, (*μετασχηματισμόν, μεταουσιασμόν*) which the Latins have aptly rendered ‘Transubstantiation;’ and it has been defined that the whole substance of the bread and wine is changed into the whole substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. And therefore here, as elsewhere, the Scripture is to be explained from the tradition, which the Church, its keeper, has transmitted to us.”—p. 100.

In another part of his works, quoted by Dr. Russell, he asserts, what any one who accurately follows out the whole subject will perceive for himself, the identity of the Real Presence and Transubstantiation.

“This, too, shall be demonstrated, (what no one has ever imagined,) that Transubstantiation and the Real Presence in many places simultaneously do not differ from each other in their ultimate analysis; and that it is impossible to conceive a body present in several separate places at the same time, in any other way than by conceiving its substance to exist under different species. For the substance alone is not subject to its extension, and therefore, (as will be distinctly shewn when the nature of the substance of a body, as far as regards this point, shall be explained,) neither is it subject to the conditions of place. Hence Transubstantiation, as it is called in well-considered phrase by the Council of Trent, and as I have illustrated it from St. Thomas, is not opposed to the Confession of Augsburg, but, on the contrary, follows from it.”—*Briefwechsel Zwischen Leibnitz, &c.*, pp. 145-6.

3. The communion in one kind.

“Nor, indeed, can it be denied that by virtue of concomitance, as divines say, Christ is received entire under either kind, since His Body is not separated from His Blood. The only question is whether we may, without sin, depart from the form which appears to be prescribed in Sacred Scripture. And I confess that if this had been done by private individuals, it would be impossible to acquit them of the charge of grievous temerity; but the usage of the Church, continued for so many ages, proves that, even from

the earliest times, it was believed to be allowable to dispense with the use of the chalice, for approved reasons. And there are some Protestants who admit that, if a person have a natural abhorrence of wine, he may be content with the communion of the bread alone. Now I ask, what more pressing cause can there be than the desire of avoiding schism, and of preserving the unity of the Church and public charity? I hold it to be certain, therefore, that the withdrawal of the chalice cannot supply any one with a just cause of seceding from the Church."—p. 121.

And he adds,

"Now I have no doubt that those who are in authority have power to make laws in such matters as these; and that the faithful are bound rather to obey them, than to give rise to a schism, which St. Augustine shews to be almost the greatest of all evils. Indeed the Church's power of defining is very extensive, even (though this is only in a certain way) in things which belong to positive divine law; as appears from the transfer of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day, the permission of '*blood and things strangled*,' the canon of the sacred books, the abrogation of immersion in Baptism, and the impediments of matrimony; some of which Protestants themselves securely follow, solely on the authority of the Church, which they despise in other things."—p. 124.

4. The adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

"The practice of adoring the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, though it was not equally in use in every age, has with laudable piety been established in the Church. In everything appertaining to the external display of worship, the early Christians observed the utmost simplicity; nor indeed is it possible to censure them in this, for they burned within with true piety of soul. But by degrees, as they began to grow cool, it became necessary to employ external signs, and to institute solemn rites, which might serve to remind men of their duty, and to revive the ardour of devotion, especially where there was any great reason or occasion. Now it is difficult to supply to a Christian a greater occasion than is presented in this divine Sacrament, wherein God Himself renders present to us the Body which He has assumed. For although He is equally present at all times, and in all places, as well by His substance as by His aid, yet, as it is impossible for us, at all times, and in all places, to direct our mind expressly to Him, and to render to Him perpetual signs of honour, prudence will point out the propriety, in ordering the details of divine worship, of making off certain times, places, causes, and occasions. And God Himself, in assuming a human body into the unity of His Person, has given us a peculiar and most signal occasion of adoring Him; for no one will doubt the justice and congruity of adoring God while He appears in the visible form of Christ; and the same must be admitted wherever it is certain that Christ is corporally present,

(for the Divinity is present in all places and times,) even though it be after an invisible manner; *now it is perfectly certain that this condition is fulfilled in the most holy Sacrament.* Hence, if there be any case in which the practice of adoring may congruously be introduced, it is the case of this Sacrament. And thus it has been justly ordained that the highest solemnity of external Christian worship should be devoted to the Sacrament of the Eucharist; because the object proposed by our Saviour in its institution, was to enkindle the love of God, which is the highest act of external Christian worship, and to testify and nourish charity. For when our Lord, at the Last Supper, delivered the supreme commands of His last will, He wished that we should remember Him, (like all who love and are beloved in turn,) and that we should love one another as members of His one Body, whereof He has made us all partakers. And hence the Church has always employed the Eucharist as the test of unity, and has been careful not to admit to its mysteries, which may be regarded as the inmost recesses of Christianity, any except the proven and purified. To no others, indeed, was it permitted even to be present at the mysteries. It is certain, moreover, that the ancients also adored the Eucharist; and indeed Ambrose and Augustine expressly apply to the adoration of Christ's Body in the mysteries the words of the Psalm, '*Adore ye His footstool.*'

"And in the end, since the necessity has ceased for deferring to Pagan prejudices, either by concealing the mysteries, or by abstaining from certain external signs, which might offend the weak, or wear the semblance of Paganism, it has gradually come to pass, that the most exquisite rites of our external worship have been devoted to this venerable Sacrament; especially in the West, where there has not been any necessity to consult for the prejudices of the Saracens. Hence it has been ordained, not only that the people prostrate themselves at the elevation of the Sacrament after consecration; but also, that when borne to the sick, or otherwise carried in procession, it shall be attended with every demonstration of honour; that from time to time, whether on occasions of a public necessity, or from some other cause, it shall be exposed for adoration; and that, as the pledge of God's presence upon earth, it shall be celebrated yearly by a special festival, with the utmost joy, and, as it were, triumph of the Church. And, indeed, the wisdom of these usages is so manifest, that even the Lutherans adore in the moment of receiving the Eucharist, although they go no further, not believing the Body of Christ to be present sacramentally, except in the actual eating thereof; but this we have already shown to be a novel and incongruous invention."—p. 124-7.

5. The sacrifice of the Mass.

"It remains for us to explain the Sacrifice of the Mass, which the Church has always taught to be contained in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In every sacrifice there may be distinguished the

person offering, the thing offered, and the cause of offering. In this Sacrament of the Altar the person offering is the Priest. The Chief Priest is Christ Himself, who not only offered Himself once on the cross, when He suffered thereon for us, but also perpetually exercises His priestly office, even to the consummation of time, and even now offers Himself for us to God the Father, through the ministry of the Priest or presbyter. Hence it is that He is called in Scripture, '*a Priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedec*;' for nothing appears to be clearer than that in Him, when, according to the prophetic allegory of the Scripture, He is said to have offered bread and wine, the Eucharistic Sacrifice is prefigured. The thing offered, or the Victim or Host, is Christ Himself, whose Body and Blood undergo immolation and oblation, under the appearance of the symbols. Nor do I see what there is wanting here to the true character of a sacrifice. For what is there to prevent that which is present under the symbols from being offered to God, seeing that the species of bread and wine are fit matter for oblation; that the oblation of Melchisedec consisted therein; and that what is contained under them in the Eucharist is the most precious of all things, and the most worthy offering which can be presented to God? Coming to the aid of our poverty, therefore, by this admirable service of mercy, the Divine Goodness has enabled us to present to God an offering which He cannot despise. And as He is infinite in Himself, and as nothing else can emanate from us which would bear any proportion to His infinite perfection, no offering could be found capable of appeasing God but one which should itself be of infinite perfection. And in this wondrous manner it comes to pass, that Christ, ever giving Himself back to us anew in this Sacrament, as often as the consecration is repeated, can always be offered anew to God, and thus represent and confirm the perpetual efficacy of his first oblation on the cross. Not that by this propitiatory sacrifice, repeated for the remission of sins, any new efficacy is superadded to the efficacy of the passion; its value consists in the representation and application of that first bloody Sacrifice, which '*perfected all things once*;' and its fruit is the Divine Grace which accrues to those who assist at this tremendous Sacrifice, and who worthily celebrate the oblation in unison with the Priest. And thence, as besides the remission of eternal punishment, and the gift of Christ's merit unto the hope of eternal life, there are many other saving gifts which we may ask of God, both for ourselves and for others, whether they be living or dead—especially the mitigation of that paternal chastisement which remains due to every sin, even though the penitent has been received back into favour—it evidently follows that, in the entire range of our worship, there is nothing more precious or more efficacious in obtaining what we ask, than the Sacrifice of this Divine Sacrament, in which the Body of the Lord itself is present. For, provided we come with clean heart to this altar, there is nothing which we can

immolate more grateful to God, or of sweeter odour in His sight. And St. Bernard well says : ' All that I can give is this wretched body ; and if that is too little, I add His own Body also. '

Having thus wonderfully set forth the doctrine itself, he alludes to the Scriptural and Patristic authority for it.

" Now the sacred Scripture itself, as we have already observed, clearly alludes to this sacrifice in the comparison of Christ with Melchisedec, in the 110th Psalm, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews ; not to speak of the '*perpetual Sacrifice*,' mentioned in Daniel, (viii. 11, 13 ; xi. 31 ; xii. 11.,) and other places. And indeed it was meet that the Christian religion should not be without a Sacrifice ; and that as our oblation, which was only prefigured by the Sacrifices of the Old Testament, is the most perfect and most worthy of all sacrifices, it should also be permanent and perpetual, as it is insinuated in the Psalm cited above, that the priestly office of our High Priest is perpetual. Indeed, this is the common interpretation of the ancients ; and even the early fathers, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, to say nothing of Augustine and the later ones, applied to the Eucharist the ' clean oblation ' of which Malachy speaks. Lastly, there are numberless passages of the holy fathers in which it is declared, that Christ is daily immolated in the Sacrament for the people."—pp. 129—32.

6. The practice of private masses.

" Moreover, as the dignity and utility of the perpetual Sacrifice are so great, the usage of offering it very frequently to God for the necessities of the faithful, even though it was not always accompanied by public communion, at last became universal. Of old, indeed, it was the usage that all who were present at the Sacrifice should also partake of the communion ; but, by degrees, the number of communicants was reduced to a few, when the fervour of early piety declined, and well-grounded fears began to be entertained, that too frequent communion, and a promiscuous admission of communicants might lead to a diminution of reverence, and be an occasion of sin to many. For if the faithful in our own days were all to approach the table of the Lord after the celebration of the mysteries, who can doubt that numbers of them would eat unworthily ? On the contrary, by allowing intervals between the occasions of communion, time is given to those who come to the feast to prepare, so that they may not be found without the nuptial garment. It would have been wrong, nevertheless, that, because communicants were not always found, the divine honour should therefore suffer any diminution. Hence, when the laudable and pious practice of daily celebrating the most holy Sacrifice in every church was established, it followed, as a consequence, that the communion of the priest who offered was regarded as sufficient. This is the origin of what they call private masses ; and it is not right

that the Church should be deprived of their fruit, which undoubtedly is very great, and that the honour of God should be curtailed by their suppression. For it is not a sufficient reason for requiring the abolition, (which would cause the greatest offence to the faithful,) of institutions which in themselves are excellent, to allege that the Church existed for a long time without them; neither are we to return entirely to the ancient simplicity in externals; save perhaps those among us who may prudently trust that they are able to offer within their hearts the pious fervour which distinguished the first Christians. And would that there were many who could entertain this confidence!"—pp. 133—4.

V. The Sacrament of Penance.

"Assuredly it is a great mercy, on the part of God, that He has given to His Church that power of remitting and retaining sins, which she exercises through her priests, whose ministry cannot be despised without grievous sin. In this manner God at once confirms and strengthens the jurisdiction of the Church, and arms it against the refractory, by promising to give effect to her judgments; and hence, unhappily for schismatics, while they despise the authority of the Church, they are compelled also to forfeit her advantages.

"Both kinds of remission, that which takes place in Baptism, and that which is received in Confession, are equally gratuitous, equally rest on faith in Christ, equally require penance in adults; but there is this difference between them;—that in the former nothing is specially prescribed by God beyond the rite of ablution; but in the latter it is commanded that he who would be cleansed shall show himself to the priest, confess his sins, and afterwards, at the judgment of the priest undergo a certain chastisement, which may serve as an admonition for the future. And as God has appointed priests to be the physicians of souls, He has ordained that the ills of the patient shall be exposed, and his conscience laid bare before them:—whence the wise declaration which the penitent Theodosius is recorded to have made to Ambrose: 'Tis thine to prescribe and compound the medicines, mine to receive them.' Now the 'medicines' are the laws which the priest imposes on the penitent, as well to render him sensible to past sin, as to make him avoid it for the future; and they are called by the name of satisfaction, because, on the part of the penitent, this obedience and self-chastisement are grateful to God, and mitigate or remove the temporal punishment, which should otherwise be expected at His hands. Nor can it be denied that this is an ordinance in every respect worthy of the divine wisdom; and if there be, in the Christian religion, anything admirable and deserving of praise, assuredly it is this institution, which won the admiration even of the people of China and Japan; for, by the necessity of confessing, many, especially those who are not yet

hardened, are deterred from sin, and to those who have actually fallen it affords great consolation ; insomuch, that I regard a pious, grave, and prudent confessor, as a great instrument of God for the salvation of souls ; for his counsel assists us in governing our passions, in discovering our vices, in avoiding occasions of sin, in making restitution, in repairing injuries, in dissipating doubts, in overcoming despondency, and, in fine, in removing or mitigating all the ills of the soul. And if in the ordinary concerns of life there is scarce anything more precious than a faithful friend, what must it be to have a friend who is bound even by the inviolable obligation of a divine sacrament, to hold faith with us, and assist us in our need ?”

VI. Purgatory.

“ Let us dismiss these enquiries, however, and come to the much agitated question of Purgatory, or temporal punishment after this life. Protestants hold that the souls of the departed are consigned at once either to eternal happiness or eternal misery. Hence they reject the prayers for the dead as superfluous, or reduce them to the condition of idle wishes, such as, rather through human custom than any idea of their utility, we conceive regarding things already past and decided. On the contrary, it is a most ancient belief of the Church, that prayers are to be offered for the dead ; that the dead are assisted thereby ; and that, although those who have departed from this life may, through the merits of Christ, have been received into favour by God, and by the remission of the eternal punishment have been made heirs of eternal life, they continue, notwithstanding, to suffer a certain paternal chastisement, or purgation, especially if they have not sufficiently washed out the stain during life. And to this purgatorial punishment some have applied Christ’s words about ‘ paying the last farthing,’ and that ‘ all flesh shall be salted with fire ;’ others the passage of Paul’s, regarding those who have built upon the foundation, wood, hay, stubble,’ and ‘ shall be saved, yet so as by fire ;’ others, the passage on ‘ baptism for the dead.’ It is true that the holy Fathers differ as to the mode of purgation. For some were of opinion that the souls are detained for a determinate time, (which some extended to the day of judgment, and some even further,) in a certain place where they undergo a temporary purification. Some held that the mode of chastisement consisted in corporeal fire ; some in the fire of tribulation,—an opinion to which St. Augustine at one time leaned, and which some Greeks hold even at this day. Some thought the purifying fire was the same, others that it was distinct from the fire of hell. And there were even some who restricted purgatory peculiarly to the time of the resurrection, wherein all, even the saints, shall have to pass through fire ; but those only shall be burnt, or shall suffer loss, whose work is so ill-executed as to be liable to injury by fire. However this may be,

almost all agreed to the existence—whatever might be its nature—of a paternal chastisement or purgation after this life, to which the soul, enlightened at its parting from the body, and touched with extreme sorrow for the imperfection of its past life, and for the hideousness of sin, of which it then for the first time becomes fully sensible, voluntarily subjects itself, insomuch that it would not desire to attain to supreme happiness on any other condition.”—pp. 165—8.

VII. On Image worship he observes :—

“The use of images in worship appears clearly to be founded on principles of utility and reason. What object have we in reading or listening to histories, but in order that the images which they represent may be painted on our memory? Now as these images are of themselves very fleeting, and are not always sufficiently distinct and clear, we should gratefully acknowledge, as a great gift of God, the arts of painting and sculpture, through whose aid we obtain enduring images, representing the objects with the utmost accuracy, vividness, and beauty; by the sight of which, (in the impossibility of referring to the originals,) the external images may be renewed, and, like the impression of a seal on wax, more deeply imprinted upon the mind. And as the use of images possesses such advantages, in what circumstances, I ask, can it be more fitly introduced, than in those in which it is of the greatest moment that the images impressed upon our memory should be especially lasting and vivid, that is, in the concerns of piety and of the Divine honour? And this is especially true, because, as I have observed above, the worship of God is pre-eminently the most fitting field for the display of all the arts and sciences, and therefore also of painting.

“To one who considers these things it must be clear beyond all doubt, that if the law of God and certain holy men chose to prohibit, at certain times and in certain places, a thing which in itself is harmless, and indeed which, if religiously practised, is eminently useful, it was solely because it might give occasion to grievous abuses, against which it was difficult to guard in those times. We must see, then, in what these abuses chiefly consist.”

After pointing out the very different state of the world before the establishment of Christianity, and the overthrow of the ancient polytheism, he continues,

“Hence, when all the reasons are carefully balanced, we must come to the conclusion, that the law of God, if any such law existed against the use of images, and even against such a worship of them as does not trench in any way on the divine honour, was merely a ceremonial precept; that it was but temporary in its nature, and perhaps was retained for a while by the first Christians on account of grave reasons; in the same way as the law of the

Sabbath day, and that concerning the use of '*blood and things strangled*,' which, though enforced by a much more express passage of the New Testament, nevertheless fell into disuse among the majority of Christians, as soon as the season for observing them was at an end."

Further on he has an acute remark:—

"It is not a whit more censurable to adore before an external image than it is to adore in presence of the internal image which is painted on our imagination; for the only use of the external image is to render the internal one more vivid."

And he sums up the whole subject thus:

"All things considered, therefore, seeing that in the practice of venerating images, as it is approved by the Fathers of Trent, there is nothing opposed to the divine honour; that there does not appear to be, in these times, when all are sufficiently aware that the Omnipotent Deity alone is worshipped with divine honour, any fear of idolatry which might pervert the honour due to God; that, moreover, there exists in the Church a usage of so many centuries, which cannot be abolished without the greatest revolutions; that, in fine, if the abuses be removed, it is productive of signal advantage to piety; I conclude that the retention of the practice of venerating the original in the presence of the image, (in which alone image-worship consists,) is a judicious and pious measure, provided it is confined strictly within its own limits, and the utmost caution is observed in its use."—pp. 53, 57, 64, 68.

VIII. The Invocation of Saints he thus defends:

"It is certain that angel-guardians are assigned to us by God. Now the Scripture compares the saints to angels, and calls them 'equal to angels.' (*ἰσαγγέλους*.) That the saints have some concern in human affairs appears to be conveyed by the 'talking of Moses and Elias with Christ; and that even particular events come to the knowledge of the saints and angels, (whether it be in the mirror of the divine vision, or by the natural clearness and wide-ranging powers of vision possessed by the glorified mind,) is insinuated in Christ's declaration, that there is 'joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance.' Further, that God, in consideration of the saints, even after their death, grants favours to men, (although it is only through Christ that the saints, whether of the old or of the new Testament, possess their dignity,) is indicated by the prayers found in the Scripture: 'Remember, O Lord, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, thy servants:' a form not very different from that which the Church commonly employs: 'Grant, O Lord, that we may be assisted by the merits and intercession of Thy saints;' that is, 'Regard their labours, which by Thy gift they have borne for Thy

name ; hear their prayers, to which Thine only-begotten Son hath given efficacy and value ! ”

And he concludes a dissertation on this point thus :—

“ Seeing, therefore, that the blessed souls, in their present state, are much more intimately present in all our affairs, and see all things much more nearly than while they lived on earth, (for men are acquainted only with the few things which occur in their sight, or are reported to them by others,) seeing that their charity, or desire of aiding us is far more ardent ; seeing, in fine, that their prayers are far more efficacious than those which they offered formerly in this life, that it is certain that God has granted many favours even to the intercessions of the living, and that we look for great advantages from the union of the prayers of our brethren with our own ; I do not perceive how it can be made a crime to invoke a blessed soul, or a holy angel, and to beg his intercession or his assistance, according as the life and history of the martyr, or other circumstances appear to suggest ; especially if this worship is considered but as a slender accessory of that supreme worship which is immediately directed to God alone ; and if, whatever may be its character, it is offered for the sake of testifying our reverence and humility towards God, and our affection for God’s servants, and springs from that pious solicitude which prompts us in proportion to the lowly sense we entertain of our own unworthiness to desire to unite the prayers of other pious persons, and, above all, those of the Blessed, with our own. And thus when it is analysed, this very accessory of worship terminates in God Himself ; to whose gift alone the saints are indebted for all that they are or can do, and to whom is due a sovereign honour and love incomparably transcending all other love. For if the veneration and invocation of saints be circumscribed within these limits, it is, though not of necessity, not only tolerable, but praiseworthy. At all events it cannot be regarded as idolatrous or damnable, unless we be willing to affirm, at the imminent hazard of the faith, that the promises of Christ have been frustrated, and that the true Church fell from her very origin into a horrible apostacy.”—pp. 71—87.

When we add to the above that on the grand doctrinal point of Justification Leibnitz sets forth the Catholic view, though at too great length to be here quoted, we shall have gone over the whole range of doctrine attacked by the Reformers of the sixteenth century. What we see, then, is this : A man of great powers of mind, renowned for his intellectual subtlety, and for his vast knowledge, one who shews an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers, and of the schoolmen, born and bred a Protestant, and dying one, draws up, for the purpose of favouring a project of union between Catholics and Protes-

tants, a "System of Theology," in which, after solemnly attesting his perfect sincerity, he states his belief in one Church, the Body of Christ, governed by a divinely-constituted hierarchy, at the head of which, both by the express institution of Christ, and by the nature of things, is one chief bishop: that this Bishop is the Roman bishop, to whom obedience is due from all Christians: that this Church, of which the Roman bishop is the organ and representative, is infallible in decisions of faith, and by the express promise of Christ can never fail: that it possesses a perpetual sacrifice, the most divine and exalted, the only one which man could possibly offer to God not unworthy of His infinity, viz., the sacrifice of that Body which God has assumed into the unity of His Person: that for offering this sacrifice a priesthood is appointed by a sacrament which confers on them grace for this end, and for bestowing remission of sins, on certain conditions, upon those who approach the sacrifice: that the practice of sacramental confession and absolution is "an ordinance in every respect worthy of the divine wisdom; and, if there be in the Christian religion anything admirable and deserving of praise, assuredly it is this institution, which won the admiration even of the people of China and Japan:" (p. 136) that souls, dying in a state of grace, have in the next world that purgation completed which was left imperfect in this: that "venerating the original in the presence of the image, (in which alone image-worship consists,) is a judicious and pious measure, provided it is confined strictly within its own limits, and the utmost caution is observed in its use:" (p. 68.) and that the prayers of the Blessed are of great advantage, and to be asked for with humility: and, once more, that "as the evidence of reason and of Scripture assures us that true and perfect charity is not only prescribed by God, but is moreover the highest service which man can render to his God, and that without it 'faith is dead,' therefore it has been justly and congruously ordained that *through it our justification, reconciliation, and renovation are completed*; although the actual grace of charity is obtained for us, and granted to us, solely through Christ, while we are still separated from God; and although its power of effacing sin springs solely from Christ's merit, imputed to us through a lively faith." (p. 31.)

It is evident that in making these statements Leibnitz sweeps away every particle of justification which the Reformers claimed for their acts, since he lays down that those very doctrines are in the highest degree Christian, which they assaulted as anti-christian, and that the antiquity to which they appealed is wholly against them; and in doing this he removed, likewise, all excuse for remaining in a state of separation from that Church which he here recognises as divine and infallible, and that supreme Pontiff, to whom, as he says, all Christians owe obedience.

In the present moment of excitement, then, we can turn with confidence to the testimony of these two great Protestants. Let us try to discover, among the Anglican clergy, among the declaimers at public meetings, among the Episcopate itself, who are the equals of Grotius and Leibnitz in learning and knowledge of antiquity. Leibnitz saw "the only sacrifice not unworthy of God's infinity," where they see "idolatry." Grotius saw "the points which had everywhere, always, and perseveringly been handed down, remaining in that Church which is bound to the Roman;" to them these same points are "corruptions." Both Grotius and Leibnitz saw in the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, the necessary bond of unity; the Anglican episcopate, clergy, and laity, see in him the rival of Queen Victoria, and one who has committed an act of aggression on her crown by appointing a diocesan episcopate.

But it may fairly be asked, how is it that men who so plainly give up the only ground on which Protestantism can stand, after all, however near they might come, never became Catholics—never gave that complete testimony to the truth, which thorough self-sacrifice and submission, if need be, alone can render? With regard to Leibnitz, we think Dr. Russell has suggested the true answer in a theory which that eminent man maintained, "a distinction between the internal and external communion of the Church." In one of the preliminary communications to Madame de Brinon, by which, several years afterwards, the way was opened to the celebrated correspondence with Bossuet, he maintains not only that he is a "Catholic in heart," as M. de Brinon had ventured to affirm, but that he may be said to be such "even outwardly;" inasmuch as, according to his view, nothing but obstinacy, (of which, he says, his conscience acquits him,) can constitute a here-

tic; and "the essence of Catholicity does not consist in external communion with Rome, (else those who are unjustly excommunicated would cease to be Catholics,) but in charity." Hence he infers that the real schismatics are those who throw obstacles in the way of unity; and the true Catholics are they who do all in their power to enjoy even external communion."—Introduct., p. 62-3.

Are there not many others now who suffer such an unsound sentiment to keep them back from firm and high action, from grasping the reality of that unity, on the dream of which they are wasting life, and perilling eternity?

Before concluding, we must notice a curious coincidence in point of time. When the English nation was frightened out of its propriety by Titus Oates' Plot, and was near shedding the purest blood of its nobles like water, when it was imposing, by Act of Parliament, an oath, to be taken by all members, and, as such, by the Bishops of the Established Church, which declared the most holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist to be idolatrous, the then head of her Majesty's family, John Frederic, Duke of Hanover, had become a Catholic from conviction. And a few years later, when the furious rage of party was endeavouring to exclude the brother of the King from succession to the crown as a Catholic, her Majesty's lineal ancestor, the father of our George I., then Duke of Hanover, was encouraging his librarian, Leibnitz, to entertain projects of union between Catholics and Protestants. A few years later, in 1700, the Duke of Gloucester dies, and the succession to the British crown, on the condition of Protestantism, is settled upon the son of this same Ernest Augustus of Hanover. Then we behold Leibnitz no longer the advocate of peace and reconciliation, but intimating to his friend, Fabricius, who had to recant for having sanctioned the marriage of a Brunswick princess with a king of Spain, and her consequent change of religion, "the necessity of embodying in his proposed disavowal an expression of *abhorrence of Popery*;" the man who writes above that all Christians owe obedience to the Pope, declares formally, that as "the sole ground of the succession of the Hanoverian family is England's detestation and exclusion of the Roman religion;" the declaration which poor Fabricius was compelled to make must, at all events, "avoid everything which savours of lukewarmness on the subject of Popery."—Introduct., p. cxxxii.

Of course no more was heard of the zeal of the Court of Hanover, to effect an union between Catholics and Protestants. And the interests of this world rendered abortive many similar plans. The unity of Christ's Body is not to be built upon compromise of that truth which is in very deed its secret bond. Statesmen decry the inefficacy of the Church's counsels, but when did any plan of theirs, which has had truth for its subject matter, succeed or cohere? For eighteen hundred years they have repeated Pilate's question, or his sneer, What is truth? But the truth lives on—it is crucified, and it rises again, and in the end it reigns for ever.

Let us conclude with some remarks of Dr. Russell's, which are not without their present application. (Introd. p. cxxxiii.)

“Such was the end of the numberless plans of Church Union set on foot by the sovereigns of Germany during the course of the seventeenth century. For the immediate object for which they were designed by their originators, they proved utterly ineffective. Their general result, it is true, was favourable to the cause of the Catholic religion, and the movement occasioned many most important defections from the ranks of Protestantism. To the spirit of enlightened enquiry which it invoked, the Church was indebted for some of the most brilliant triumphs which she had enjoyed in Germany since the Reformation; for the accession of many royal and illustrious converts, like Christina of Sweden, Frederic Augustus of Poland, Wolfgang William of the Palatinate, Christian William of Brandenburg, Ernest Augustus of Hesse-Rheinfels, John Frederic of Hanover, and his nephew Maximilian; Antony Ulric of Brunswick, Christian Augustus and Maurice Adolphus of Saxe-Weitz; of distinguished statesmen, like Boineburg and Rauzore; of divines, like Nigrinus, Blum, Prætorius, Bertino, Fromm, and Nihusius; of jurists, like Besold, Hunnius, and the two Nessels; of men of science, like Steno and Hellwig; and of eminent scholars, like Lambeck, Pfeiffer, and Lucas Holstein. But beyond individual conversions, such as these, history does not point to any single memorable result of all these ostentatious preparations; not one of the magnificent hopes so confidently cherished was realised; no union, even of a preliminary or provisional character, was effected; not a single community, however unimportant, was re-attached to the Church; not a single controversy was adjusted; not a division was healed; nor, except in the case of a few eminent disputants, was the asperity of general controversy in the smallest degree diminished. Since the signal failure of the once promising union actually consummated at Florence, the history of the Church furnishes no lesson so significant of the hopelessness of all such gene-

ral movements, and of the folly of an individual member of any Church, when once convinced of the necessity of communion with the great Catholic body, perilling his private and personal happiness on the more than problematical expectation of an approximation of the Churches themselves, and bartering his own yearning desire of peace and rest within the bosom of the common mother, for the brilliant but illusive prospect of enjoying that happiness in the restoration of his Church to the privileges of Catholic Unity."

- ART. X.—1. *An Appeal to the reason and good feeling of the English People, on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy.* By CARDINAL WISEMAN. London: Richardson and Son.
2. *Three Lectures on the Catholic Hierarchy*, delivered in St. George's, Southwark, on Sundays, December the 8th, 15th, and 22nd. 1850. By CARDINAL WISEMAN. By Authority. London: Richardson and Son.
3. *The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the New Hierarchy.* By GEORGE BOWYER Esq., D. C. L., Barrister at Law, author of "Commentaries on the Constitutional Law of England," and "Commentaries on the Modern Civil Law, &c., Reader at the Middle Temple. By Authority. Fourth Edition, with additions. London, Ridgeway.
4. *Reasons for not signing an Address to Her Majesty*, on the subject of the recent so-called Papal Aggression. By the EARL of ST. GERMAINS.
5. *A Protestant Plea in support of Cardinal Wiseman's "Appeal."* By Anglo-Catholicus. London: Dolman.
6. *The Roman Catholic Question.* Fourteen Pamphlets: price 1d, each. James Gilbert, Paternoster Row.
7. *The Archbishop of Westminster.* A Remonstrance with the clergy of Westminster, from a Westminster Magistrate. London: Pickering.
8. *What shall be done with Cardinal Wiseman?* An Enquiry by an English Journalist. London: Dolman.
9. *Political Opinions on the Roman Catholic Question*, expressed in Parliament and in Public. By the RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P., compiled from the most authentic sources. By a Barrister. London: Richardson and Son.
10. *Papal Aggression considered.* By a Barrister. London: Dolman.
11. *Four Lectures on the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church*, and the effects arising from the late substitution of Bishops in Ordinary for

Vicars Apostolic. Delivered at St. John the Evangelist's, Salford. By the REV. G. ERRINGTON, D. D. London: Richardson and Son.

12. *A Speech delivered in the Town Hall, Newark*, Dec. 2nd, 1850. By the REV. J. WATERWORTH. on the occasion of the proposed Address to the Queen against the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishops by the Pope.

13. *Christ upon the Waters*. A Sermon preached in substance at St. Chad's, Birmingham, on Sunday, Oct. 27th 1850, on occasion of the Establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in this country. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D. D., Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Fourth Edition. Birmingham: Maher. London: Burns and Lambert.

IT really seems a hopeless task to say anything new on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy. The pamphlets before us have exhausted the subject, at least of all that is sensible and worth recording. Plenty more has been written and spoken that is neither, and which perhaps had better be forgotten. But how close our volumes for 1850, without an article on its greatest event, on the one which will give prominence to the year, and form its distinctive feature in Church History? The year promised from its dawn to be an extraordinary one for English Catholics. It opened with several striking conversions; its progress developed the most vital controversy which has ever affected the Establishment; one which rent it, stained it, and has left both wound and blot upon it for ever, or rather for so long as it shall last. Many were shaken loose from it. But it was like the early autumnal storm; the ripest only fell; the rest stuck on, till rougher blasts should come. One *has* come, and come most strangely. The Gorham controversy served to show earnest minds how thoroughly the Anglican Church had been left void of faith; something else was needed to satisfy tender hearts that all bowels of charity and mercy had been taken from her. The close of the year has brought this awful proof. We say it deliberately; during the terrible commotion which has agitated the nation, of the many bishops, dignitaries, rectors, and clergy, of every rank, who have spoken on the question of our Hierarchy, we do not recollect one sentence uttered by any one of them, which breathed a particle of the balmy air of charity. A kind, a gentle, even a forgiving word, has not escaped the lips of any Church authority: even where an attempt has been made to cool the ardour of the over-fervent, or turn aside the

current of assault, we have never seen it done in terms of kindness, or even of forbearance towards us.

But we are plunging, perhaps prematurely, *in medias res*: when some more preliminaries may be naturally expected. We leave our readers, therefore, for the present, to conjecture or anticipate what conclusions we draw from this strong complication in the evils of the Establishment; while we will suggest two. First, that many more earnest-minded, devoutly inclined souls will feel themselves no longer able to rest their feet upon it, and will fly for shelter to the Ark, that floats, though tossed upon the billows. Secondly, that an additional sin is piled upon "the head of that Establishment's offending," that of mercilessness, and of inflaming passion and hatred. The first is for us to rejoice at, the second, as far as individuals are concerned, is for us to pray for mercy and forgiveness on.

To return, however, we must remark, that not only are the events of the past year most important, but in many respects they have been beyond the prævision of the most acute sagacity. And yet, they appear to us most extraordinarily designed for further purposes than they may at first seem to carry. The Gorham decision, and the Catholic Hierarchy coming within the same year, form certainly a combination of no usual character. Each was calculated to try, and probe searchingly, the position of the English Establishment by different processes. The one was internal, the other exterior; yet both were the results of causes most remote from the final effects. Neither proposed, as an object, the testing of that ecclesiastical system; yet both have done it powerfully. In the first, a vital question was raised, affecting the doctrine of a sacrament. It was the opinion of many, who had a right to hold one, that if the question was decided one way, an essential dogma was lost. It *was* decided that very way. It was the opinion also of many, that if the decision was allowed to be made by a certain tribunal, it would be a complete surrender of ecclesiastical liberty, and fix a stain of Erastianism on the body permitting it. It *was* decided by that very tribunal. Two most important points were thus involved in that surprising controversy—a sacramental dogma, and the Church's right to decide points of faith. And yet, with one exception, that of a bishop withdrawing himself from the communion of his metropolitan, nothing could be more quiet and calm.

than the conduct of churchmen ; and the dignitaries, who rule and enlighten them, never once forfeited that character for gentlemanly demeanour, which forms one of the special notes of Anglicanism. The fortitude of the patient while a dogma was cut out of the system, and an arm amputated, was quite miraculous. But while the torpor of inward vitality was thus fully proved, the vivacity of external contentiousness was soon attested. We have heard of a British ship, where all was sullenness and discontent ; with mutiny among the crew, and disunion on the quarter-deck ; but no sooner did a rival sail appear in sight, than all internal discontent was suspended, and a sharp and concentrated fire soon showed how unanimity could be excited, where unity could not be preserved. Many, we believe, look upon the present attitude and energy in the English Establishment, much in the same light as that transaction. When, however, the smoke of the engagement has cleared away, when the majestic vessel, against whose sides it rolled, shall be descried calmly sailing on her course, without a shot returned, or a sail dropped, or the 'helm put about, it will perhaps be seen, that there was more powder than shot expended, or that the brawling on board prevented the guns being effectively pointed. Still, noise enough there has been, and willingness enough to hurt ; and this makes our contrast.

For, while the interior danger—a danger of canker, and decay, and dissolution of all church-life—was not only menacing, but assailing the Establishment, there was no commotion, no excitement, no attempt to rouse the people, scarcely to interest them ; there were no public meetings, no platform speeches, no calls on the nation to rally round the faith, and repel the aggression on divine truths. And why ? Because the question of dogma touched no chord of national or educational prejudices, stimulated no active nerve of the religious body, and only struck a paralysed sensorium. The doctrinal sense was dead in the Establishment. Hence, some sermons within the limits of Anglican decorum, a few circulars, meetings, and protests ; and after these the whole system settled down again, a few feet nearer the gulf of unbelief than it was before ; but that was all. It was only one more sacrament gone after five others ; a sitting of the ecclesiastical commissioners has often caused more anxiety, and more regret.

But when interior peace had been thus restored, the Hierarchy came to disturb it from without. Now this measure in no way touched the constitution of the English establishment. It did not meddle with its sees, its bishops, its laws, its doctrines, its worship, its divisions, or any thing else that constituted its existence. But this, it would seem, formed its chief offence. Had the Pope been called upon to weigh, before issuing his brief, the sentiments concerning it of the Anglican bench, he might be imagined as deliberating between two opposite courses.

“In giving my Catholics their Hierarchy, shall I allude to the existence of a body of bishops and clergy recognised by the state, or shall I omit all mention of them?” Now let us weigh the first alternative. If his Holiness had made up his mind to speak of the Anglican episcopate, in what manner could he have done it? Could he have acknowledged it? To have done so would have been to deny his own supremacy. Could he have complimented it? That would have been to play the hypocrite: those so addressed would have been the first to say it. Ought he then to deny its catholicity, or its apostolicity, or its orders, or its jurisdiction? Then indeed we should never have heard the end of complaints about the insolence, and insults, and gratuitous provocation of the papal letter. Surely, then, the most civil, as well as the most decorous, mode of proceeding for the Pontiff was, not to allude to the Anglican Hierarchy at all, but leaving it aside, to confine himself to the provision for English Catholics.

Yet this obviously more becoming, and more moderate course, has roused the deep indignation of churchmen. “The Pope ignores us,” is the cry raised on all sides, “He legislates in ecclesiastical matters for England, as if there were not already there a church, and bishops, and a supreme ruler over them. It is an act of schism, &c.” Only imagine what the outcry would have been had the Pope not ignored the Anglican Establishment, but had spoken of it as the principles of the Catholic Church, whereof he is Head, must have compelled him. However it would have mattered but little. For had His Holiness, in order to escape the censure of ignoring, gone to any opposite extreme; had he spoken of the Anglican Bishops as teaching “blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits,” had he called their system not only schismatical but heretical, those so addressed, could not possibly have raised a

greater storm, nor have acted with more bitterness, than they have done, for simply being ignored.

There must be something, then, much more severe in this courteous silence, than was intended; what was meant to be merely negative has been clearly construed into a negation. We own that this did not strike us, till episcopal answers to clerical addresses began to open our eyes; and the elaborate argument of Dr. Wilberforce, at Oxford, and the united Address of the twenty-eight Bishops to the Queen, explained to us more fully the manner in which the new measure told upon the feelings of the Anglican clergy. Perhaps Baron Alderson delicately touched the sore, in a speech the other day at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, when—it seemed to us, very much *à propos de bottes*, as the French say—he declared that the Pope “seemed to think himself Gregory the Great, when in reality he was only Pius the Ninth.” We certainly were not prepared for another postprandial judicial sally upon this great question, especially from such a quarter. But there was a certain *in-vino-veritas* pregnancy in the remark, a convivial letting of the cat out of the bag, which forcibly seized upon our imagination. It matured our previous suspicions, and we began to reason thus.

Is it possible that some among the learned of the Anglican school, who have theorised upon the origin of episcopacy and jurisdiction in this country, have been studying the differences between Pope and Pope, and proving, to the satisfaction of the learned Baron, that what one could validly and lawfully do, the other cannot? What else could bring about the juxtaposition of those two Pontiffs, in a head too legal, not to see resemblances or differences in things compared?

Then let us see. St. Gregory the Great, a Bishop of Rome, many ages ago, considered himself entitled, as successor of St. Peter, to pass over the heads of the Bishops of all Gaul and half Italy, to provide for the spiritual welfare of the Anglo-Saxons in England. He sent over monks to convert the people; and one of them he created, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, Archbishop of Canterbury. He went on to provide for the rest of the Hierarchy throughout England, even where as yet there was not a Christian. He translated the archiepiscopal see from Canterbury to London; and by the same pontifical authority it was taken back to its original seat. — But this

was not all. There existed already, in part of the island, a Hierarchy long established; and Pope Gregory so far ignored it, that he gave territorial jurisdiction to his new Archbishop where it existed; and so far recognised it, that he made it subject to the new arrangements, and gave his orders to it to cooperate with his Primate. And Venerable Bede, who had as thorough a Saxon mind as any of us, saw nothing "insolent" or "insidious" in all this, nor considered it any usurpation.* Now two important facts strike us here.

The first is, that in virtue only of Pope Gregory's decision and appointment was the hierarchal system of England settled. By that *only* was Canterbury admitted and continued to be the primatial see; by it *only* did the occupant of that see rule, as metropolitan, over the older dioceses of Wales. If the jurisdiction which defined all this was vicious and insufficient, the act was null in its root, and no length of time could heal it.

Secondly, that jurisdiction was entirely that of the Supremacy; St. Gregory did not assume to act on any other ground. It was *Pope* Gregory that gave England its Hierarchy, while the British Hierarchy yet existed.

The present Anglican Hierarchy holds itself to be the lineal descendant and ecclesiastical representative of that foundation. It holds by *its* titles, and inherits by unbroken pedigree. This now looks awkward, since Papal Hierarchies are so much out of favour.

If, five or six hundred years after Christ, a Pope could do all this in England, without any (at least inconvenient) stretch of his power, a natural question arises why a Pope a thousand or twelve hundred years later may not do the same. He, too, thinks that a Hierarchy is wanted in England, in communion with the Church over which he rules; and holding exactly the same place and power as St. Gregory, and inheriting the same duties, he acts in the same manner, names an archbishop and bishops, gives the pallium, provides for future bishoprics, and plants a Catholic Hierarchy.

But all this is set aside by the provoking circumstance, that he is not Pope Gregory the Great, but only Pius the Ninth. We wonder if the British Bishops made use of

* See the fourth of Dr. Errington's excellent Lectures on the Hierarchy. (Richardson and Son, Derby.)

the same argument, and said: "You fancy you are Pope Eleutherius, but you are only Pope Gregory." Or we may wonder what a learned judge upon the bench would say, if a losing defendant were to except against his sentence, because the judge was not the Baron who sat in the Exchequer or Common Pleas three hundred years ago. Gregory was Pope in his day, and Pius is in ours; the jurisdiction lies in the office, not in the date.

Such, we fancy, might be the unpleasant reasoning of a church-divine, in England, which would make him look with jealousy on the "ignoring," as it is called, of the Establishment, in the Papal Brief. The consolation, however, of a difference between Pope and Pope, would deserve his more minute study. Thus, he might say to himself: "when Pope Gregory sent over St. Augustine, the country was not christian, Wales, perhaps, excepted; now this is a very different case from appointing bishops in a country already christian, and possessed of a Hierarchy." An answer, however, might be easily suggested. The question is not about sending missionaries, but about establishing a Hierarchy. No one would have been surprised to have read, that the bishops of Gaul had sent preachers over into Britain to convert the Saxons; but we should have found one of the strangest anomalies in ecclesiastical history, one of the hardest knots to solve, had the Archbishop of Lyons or Arles, of his own authority, established the Anglo-Saxon Hierarchy. And let us not forget, that St. Gregory did not merely send the missionaries, and commission them to lay the foundation of a new *autarchic* church; he did not say: "when you have reached England, and have converted the natives, so as to make a church, my right ceases, and you must, in concert with the civil government, arrange your plan of Hierarchy, and so form a national branch-church; but he actually designed the whole for the island, *after* it should be converted; he prescribed the two archbishoprics as they are now, and the number of suffragans for each. It was not, therefore, over a pagan country, nor over the mere rudiments of an embryo church, that the holy Pontiff claimed ecclesiastical right of appointing a Hierarchy, but over a *Catholic* church wherever it might be, whether prospective, nascent, or full-grown. If this right was inherent in Gregory, by virtue of his apostolic authority, that is, as successor of

St. Peter, no length of interval can invalidate the transmission of that right to a later successor.

But we may put this right to a severer test. When Anglicans, or their bishops, claim exclusiveness for themselves, in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of England, they do not hesitate to grant a similar privilege to the branch churches of other countries. For instance, they speak of the catholic bishops of France as the sole bishops of the country, into whose sees it would be schism to intrude another. Yet, how is the French episcopate, or Hierarchy, founded? Within the memory of many yet alive, Pope Pius VII., by an act of his supremacy, removed, or deprived, every actual and legitimate bishop of the country, "annihilated the Gallican church, with all its prerogatives and usages"—such are the expressions of *his* decree—re-constructed the Hierarchy—circumscribed anew the dioceses, and founded *de novo* the present French church. This goes far beyond St. Gregory's proceeding, and quite eclipses Pius the Ninth's. Yet the whole church acknowledged the Pope's power to do this; all acquiesced in it; even the English branch did not protest, in defence of a neighbouring branch; nor offer communion to the *petite eglise* (the only dissentients) and such bishops as resisted. But the great point is this: If the Pope had not authority to do what he did, the present episcopate of France is vitiated in its origin; France must be considered by the Anglican establishment as a country without lawful bishops; as no branch of the church catholic.

One only escape from the dilemma remains, that as Napoleon was then emperor by the same holding as William III. was king, he was, on the Anglican theory, "supreme governor, under God, of the French church," perhaps its "earthly Head." As such he possessed the power claimed in England by Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, and exercised in the colonies by our present sovereign, of displacing and appointing bishops at will; so that the celebrated resettlement of the French Hierarchy must be considered as the work of the crown, or of the imperial supremacy, not of the papal. With any one who should take this exquisitely constitutional view, so suited to the present aspect of affairs here, we should not like to quarrel; only we must claim originality of invention for it, should it ever be adopted. Napoleon himself never thought of claiming

such "prerogative;" and was foolish enough to allow it to the church, and to a "foreign potentate."

In this manner does the speech at Cambridge appear to furnish a key to the extreme soreness felt and expressed, at the Pope's overlooking a Hierarchy which he could not acknowledge. But why this sensibility about his tacitly, and, it strikes us, becomingly avoiding any notice of it? If his recognition gives no weight, authority, or countenance to a clergy in another country besides his own, why should that clergy feel annoyed at his silence about it? If his actual appointment of a Hierarchy belonging to his own church, for those who do believe in his power to give jurisdiction, does not, in the minds of that other clergy bestow any thing, but is merely a dead letter, why so much bitterness and outcry on the subject? It will be said, because one bishop has violated the rights of the Anglican episcopate, which is a grievous insult and a canonical offence. Then we may not unnaturally ask, where is the remedy? The English bishops consider it to lie in going to the throne and the parliament, and invoking the civil power. For what? Not to restrain the authority of that bishop within its bounds; but to punish civilly those who obey it, by fines or penalties.

Is this a canonical remedy, for usurpation of undue episcopal jurisdiction? It strikes us as putting the establishment into a very uncanonical position. If the bishop of Rome be no more than any other bishop, there must be an appeal against him somewhere or other, if he exceeds his powers, and usurps authority, to the detriment of other fellow-bishops. The English bishops ought to seek out that authority, and invoke it. Why has no protest been drawn up, and sent to the universal church, or to all branch churches, stating that the Roman branch has violated the rights of the English branch, and calling on them all to join in such protestation? Send it to the American episcopal protestant body, and call on them to vindicate the royal supremacy over churches, here violated, and the exclusiveness of a protestant episcopate, wherever established. Send it to the Russian and Greek churches, which deny both Anglican orders, and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. Send it to the Nestorians and Euty-chians of the East, who enter into the component elements of branch-church theories. And if these different heresies can be got to understand the nature of such a protest and

to join in it ; then canvass the great churches of the west, and collect the united suffrages of christendom upon the papal act. Now we have no hesitation in so far anticipating the result, as to say ; that, if, in Anglican theory, the appeal between church and church must lie, to the universal church, that is to the congeries of branch-churches, spread over the world, and the votes of the majority would be decisive, giving to the Anglican system the advantage of polling the churches which it must consider heretical in teaching, still a vast majority would confirm the papal enactment. We believe, that it would not find sympathy in those other bodies : if sympathy, not unanimity. Allowing the latter, not 300 bishops would be got together, of discordant creeds otherwise : while we would answer for the unanimous, and hearty vote of the 900 catholic prelates. There would not be one exception.

Then we may conclude, in one of the following ways, Either there is no remedy against the usurpations of one bishop over another in the church ; or if there be, recourse to it would confirm the alleged usurpation. If the first proposition be true, it proves the absurdity of a church theory that rejects a spiritual supremacy : if the latter the papal supremacy is proved true.

But Anglicanism has no heart, either to appeal to the judgment of the church, or to argue the question theologically. It preferred a very different tribunal, and very different law. It took shelter under the throne, and tried to arouse the multitude. How far it has succeeded in the first, still remains to be seen ; in the second it has been to some degree successful. It does, indeed, seem somewhat strange, that not one churchman, to our knowledge, certainly not one bishop, or theologian of acknowledged influence, should have calmly argued the case, upon principles of ecclesiastical law. But the judgment of the Anglican episcopal bench will have to be gathered, by posterity, from a series of answers to addresses, the main drift of which is, that the legislature must be petitioned to support the church against encroachment, and restrain the advances of a rival power. But the document, of all others, which will, in this respect, most interest posterity (should it look back upon the late commotion with more than simple disgust) will be that memorable Address to the Queen, in which the views of a very large majority of Anglican bishops are embodied. In this they distinctly petition Her

Majesty, "to discountenance, by all constitutional means, the claims and usurpations of the Church of Rome, by which *religious divisions are fostered, and the labour of our clergy impeded*, in their endeavours to diffuse the light of true (in the earlier draught it was '*pure*') religion among the people committed to their charge."

The modesty of this petition is quite charming. One would suppose, that its framers really and conscientiously believed, that perfect unity of doctrine prevailed throughout England, in the Establishment, and out of it, except for the existence of papal claims and usurpations. Nor can these expressions be limited to the establishment of the Hierarchy. The labours of the clergy cannot be more impeded by this than they have been already. It is by the active zeal of priests and religious, that the working clergy of the Establishment feel, or can feel themselves thwarted. But mark the real state of the case. Here is a powerful state-institution, furnished with every appliance for religious influence: beginning with exclusive schools, and exclusive universities, for the training of ministers, with well-founded chairs, fellowships, and endowments; then going on through every grade of ecclesiastical provision, from the curate to the bishop, having in every part of the country, churches, parsonages, and glebes, so as to be everywhere present, and ready to work with combined energy. Moreover, it had at its disposal for several centuries, a code of villainous severity, barbarously executed, which ought to have ground to dust all other religious systems, and have ensured the unity of monopoly, if no other, to the only recognized religious body. At any rate, the exclusive command of the pulpit, the press, the school, and the ear of the nation, ought, according to all calculation, to have insured uniformity of profession, in dogmatic teaching. Now the very reverse has been the case. The religion of the country has become, under its management, positively a Babel of contradictory sounds and meanings. Even families are divided. Every street presents dissenting chapels; not even are villages kept in unity, though not a catholic priest visits them, nor a catholic resides there. Nor is this all. Within the compass of the Establishment itself, how fares it with unity of doctrine? Let the Gorham case, and the Hampden controversy, and the addresses to the bishops and to the Crown, speak as to whether or no Anglicanism be a divided house? Nay,

let us look at what is going on now. Are Dr. Blomfield and Mr. Bennett of one mind? Are the bishop of Ripon and the clergy of Leeds? Are Exeter and Torquay? In worship is there not every shade prevailing in the Anglican communion, from high Romanizing down to low Puritanism? In doctrine is there not every variety from *quasi* catholicism to *quasi* unitarianism?

But as if further to manifest the beautiful unity of this earthly Jerusalem, this city compact within itself, one of its rulers sought to give a more ecclesiastical character to his proceedings. He did not like desultory answers to loose addresses, so he summoned the clergy of Oxford to the episcopal palace to meet him. With careful assiduity he had polished his lance and sword, and they came forth on that day, with their burnished radiance, their keen edge, and their orthodox temper, to transfix and to hew the monster of the hour, "Papal aggression." By an elaborate and studied pastoral address, the whole system of popish usurpation and progress was to be cut in pieces; from the enthroned in the Vatican, to the scullery-maid in the kitchen, no one was spared: and the hearers must have been amazed if not edified, by hearing one, who had wound through every intermediate stage of opinion, from prominent tractarianism, to the accommodating orthodoxy of courtly or ministerial expediency, coolly speak of persons having their minds steeped in deceit, who have never varied, nor disguised a religious belief, from infusion of faith by baptism, to solemn profession of it at consecration. Then after the episcopal onslaught, and destruction of the whole new Hierarchy, it was to be daintily presented, like a traitor's head, to our good Queen, speared on an Address, and to the nation, or the Church, on a Protest. Now here surely one might have expected unanimity, or accord. The ground was neutral, the cause common, the quarrel as pretty a quarrel as ever was. The Pope, the old enemy, had to be assailed, and surely here was a point, if any, on which all good churchmen might agree. No; not even here. To us catholics the spectacle was novel and strange. The bishop is presiding over his clergy: he has himself composed an ecclesiastical document; he himself proposes it; and actually an amendment is carried against him, and he is compelled to admit the amendment. This is the most curious commentary we have ever seen on "Feed my sheep." For here are the sheep

actually cramming *their* food down the shepherd's throat. The bishop is obliged to swallow the amendment of his clergy. And the amendment was no joke, no trifle, no matter of secondary importance. The bishop, in his protest, a solemn protest, commencing with the invocation of God's Name, had censured the practices of the catholic church in the usual mild way of calling them "corrupt," &c. But this was not enough for the majority, and the insertion of the still gentler epithet "idoltrous," was voted into the document. Now we should suppose (I mean we catholics) that a bishop in passing formal judgment upon the great catholic church would have worded his sentence conscientiously, according to the matured decision of his calm reflections. He would have gone as far as justice permitted it. For it was clearly a hostile, a severe document, at least meant to be so. But from "idoltrous" to "not idoltrous," there is a monstrous leap: the whole gulf between heathenism and christianity must be crossed by it: the entire space from death to life is there. Did the bishop, when he penned the protest, believe that the catholic religion could be qualified as idoltrous, or not? If he did, how came he to omit the most important of all grounds of protest? if he did not, could he allow himself to admit it on vote of any majority? Or was it so trifling a matter, that it was all the same which way it went? Had the votes been equal, would it have been settled by *tossing up*? Really a charge of idolatry in a formal document issued by a bishop and his clergy is no trifle; no trifle for those who take upon themselves to advance it. Thank God, it falls very lightly on the church's shield.

This is not the only humiliating occurrence in that diocesan synod. Not only was another amendment carried over the bishop's head, in the prepared Address to the Queen, but when the bishop presented himself to the meeting to address it, he was received with tumult, and "signs of disapprobation." Fancy St. Charles Borromeo, or indeed any Catholic bishop, receiving from his clergy convoked by himself, marks of their disapproval! But enough of this; if from such a small matter we may judge of greater, what unanimity would there be in a convocation, or national synod, if in this almost family meeting of the clergy, the bishop had not control?

But to return—with a system so thoroughly divided

within itself, so disorganised as to all determination of what "true religion" is, with dissent in every form springing out of it, and surrounding it, it is truly marvellous to hear the great body of bishops petitioning the Queen to restrain the catholic church, because it "fosters religious divisions" (a thing unknown within its pale) and "impedes the labours of the Anglican clergy from diffusing the light of *true* religion." If the Queen has thus to interfere, let us ask, do the bishops who spoke thus believe that the Dissenters "foster religious *unity*," or "*help* to diffuse the light of true religion?" If they do, we congratulate them on this new alliance, and condole with Dissenters that it was not sooner discovered. If they do not, will the next step be, in consistency, to address the Crown, to "discountenance by all constitutional means, their claims" also, "by which religious divisions are fostered, &c.?"

At present there is no danger of this: Anglicanism has long panted after unity, and rejoices in having at length found it. It has failed in uniting by love, but it has succeeded in doing so by hatred. It has obtained no union in faith, but a hearty one in uncharitableness. The newspapers have exulted at the proofs afforded by the motley clerical meetings, of the protestantism of England being thoroughly roused. They have chuckled at such religious fraternity as the following would exhibit.

"Resolution the first.—Moved by the Rev. A. B. (the Rector) and seconded by the Rev. C. D. (Wesleyan minister) 'That this meeting views with infinite abhorrence, &c.'

"Resolution the second.—Moved by the Rev. E. F. (one of the curates) and seconded by the Rev. G. H. (minister of Ebenezer chapel) 'That the glorious principles, &c.'

"Resolution the third.—Moved by the Rev. I. J. (Primitive Methodist) and seconded by Mr. K. (a Unitarian) 'That the anti-social doctrines, &c.'

"Resolution the fourth.—Moved by Mr. L. (a churchman) and seconded by the Rev. M. N. (minister of the christian church worshipping in Zion chapel) 'That Lord John Russell, &c.'

"Resolution the fifth.—Moved by the Rev. O. P. (pastor of the Reformed Scottish seceders) and seconded by Mr. Q. (an influential member of the Hebrew persuasion) 'That a petition be presented, &c.'

"The doxology having been sung, during which Mr. K. and Mr. Q. walked out, the meeting dispersed in excellent humour."

We have seen many reports of meetings very like this, and can well imagine the pains and sacrifices required for getting them up: the expanding smile, and improving bow of the bland incumbent, as he passed, then met, then stopped, at successive times, the various preachers of other denominations; the flattered ear that listened to the unusual courtesy of salutation, the brightening eye that read the superscription in clerical hand, brought into the shop, with the title of "Reverend" prefixed to the name, within which was the invitation to attend the preliminary meeting at the Rectory or school-house, and accept a resolution on "Papal aggression" at the great forthcoming "Protestant demonstration:" all this we can fancy, as well as the momentary importance given, and the subsequent relapse into cold indifference, and mortified expectations, which are sure to ensue.

But we doubt the power of the Anglican Establishment to right itself after the heavy additional weight which it has taken into its boat. Dissent may prove to be like Sinbad's old man, not so easy to shake off the back again. The Westminster Magistrate, whose admirable pamphlet we recommend to every reader, has well thrust this point home, in the following passage:

"And what shall I say of the allies whom you have roused, and with whom you are now associated? Have you no misgivings as to the language your new friends use on your behalf? When they talk with scorn of the 'Italian Priest,' did it ever occur to you to observe upon which word they lay the emphasis? But I must conclude.

"You may, as you have done, exhibit yourselves to the world as agitators; you may, as you have done, avail yourselves of the aid of your natural enemies, the Dissenter, the latitudinarian, the sceptic, the infidel, the Jew; you may, for a time, parade your heterogeneous army as an exhibition of Protestant strength and unity; but your present allies have no intention that *you* should profit by the contest, they will not be contented with the lean and meagre game which you have marked for them, but will, and that soon, turn upon the stronger scent of your own rich preserves, upon your luxurious foundations, upon your colleges and universities, in the soft retirement of which, having shared with you the labours of the fight, they will feel themselves entitled to share also your repose.

"The first, the immediate result of your present movement will be the opening of the Universities, and then you will perceive that Dr. Cumming's emphatic declaration, that 'Churchmen cannot do without Dissenters, nor Dissenters without the Church,' had a bitter significance.

"And now I take my leave of you ; the storm you have raised, *for you did raise it*, will, sooner or later, cease, the waters will subside, and then you will be at leisure, like the inhabitants of a mountain valley overwhelmed by an inundation, to survey the debris, to reconstruct your land-marks, and seek your scattered flocks ; but be sure of this, your fences will never again stand where they did, nor will all your sheep be found."—Pp. 21, 22.

But add to this the rousing which has been caused of the great mass of irreligious, and unreligious people to the consideration of the uses of an Establishment, to the comparison of different hierarchies and priesthoods, and to the exercising of their own judgment as to the preference to be given to the voluntary principle, or to compulsory endowments. "Down with the parsons" has been gradually replacing, "No Popery." "No State Church" is becoming as common on the walls, as "No Cardinal." The difference will be this:—the Catholic Hierarchy has nothing worldly to lose, it can wrestle with the world ; the other will find that it has a tangible, earthly existence, by which it can be caught. It has put the wheel in motion ; can it stop it ? It has set the stone a-rolling ; can it arrest it ? We think not. And we will conclude our homily by a fable well known to the cultivators of German literature.

A certain magician had a servant, who, however, was kept in ignorance of his master's charms. At length he got hold of a spell, by which he could make the broom carry into the house a pail of water. "This is just the thing," he exclaimed, delighted ; "I shall be saved a world of trouble. The broomstick, stupid thing ! shall do my work. But I must try my spell quietly next time my master is out." The opportunity soon came ; and he imperiously gave his commands to his new servant, to fetch water. To his great delight, the broomstick most briskly obeyed, and seizing up a bucket, ran to the well, returned with it full, and poured it on the floor. Another, and another, and another ! He rubbed his hands in ecstasy. But the experiment was fully tried, and it was successful : the house was quite enough washed out. "Enough !" he cried ; "that will do." But the infatua-

ted broomstick went on fetching pail after pail, and inundating the premises most wofully. He swore at it, he struck it; but in vain, it seemed frantic in its energy. He seized a hatchet, and cut it in two, when each piece caught up a bucket, and worked double tides. He then bethought himself, that though he had found the spell to set the broomstick in motion, and raise a flood, he had not got possession of the charm by which they either could be arrested. When the magician came back, he found his house washed away, his servant drowned, and the broomsticks in possession.

It will be seen, that our object in this paper is not to go over the controversial or legal, or political discussion of the Hierarchy question. This has been done most effectually in the publications, many of them most able, to which we have called attention, by prefixing them to our article. Cardinal Wiseman's Appeal will be found to give the outline of the catholic case, like the opening speech in court: upon which follow Mr. Bowyer's elaborate legal argument, Dr. Errington's theological development—the Magistrate's home-appeal to the Anglican clergy, and the various legal and political pamphlets, several by members of the bar, concluded by way of peroration, by a gem, compounded of strength and gracefulness, such as ever characterise Dr. Newman's eloquence. To this noble body of pleading we may fairly entrust our cause before the public tribunal, so soon as the ghastly dream of terror shall have passed away. But we must call attention to two most useful compilations. The first is Gilbert's series of pamphlets on the Catholic cause, purged as it has been of some objectionable matter that had crept in. It embodies many documents, which would have to be otherwise sought, with great labour, in newspaper files. The other contains, what will be most useful in parliament, Lord John Russell's views on the question of religious liberty, chiefly relative to Catholics, from the commencement of his parliamentary career. It will be a most useful book of reference, should his Lordship attempt to wind up his liberal course by re-enacting penal statutes.

Our purpose in this article has been, before the closing of the year, the eventful year 1850, to record the impressions made upon our minds by the public mode of dealing with the hierarchy question. We have spoken of the Establishment, though we have not expressed one quarter of

our thoughts upon its unchristian mode of proceeding in regard to catholics. But the press, as it is called, has been the great instrument in provoking wrath and ill-will, in a manner that will scarcely be credible in, perhaps, a few months. We could almost hope that some one would go to the distasteful trouble of collecting the articles of a great many papers on the opposition side; we believe that since the days of Martin Luther, and out of his works, the collection could not be matched in religious vituperation and polemical scurrillity. We must do justice, however, to those papers which have fearlessly and consistently taken more just and temperate views. The *Chronicle*, ever since Lord John Russell's letter, has been steadily the opponent of religious intolerance, and of the narrow policy of persecution. It has given freely admission to letters and paragraphs favourable to, or defensive of, Catholics; and has, in fact, been the only fair organ for giving explanations of misrepresentations elsewhere gladly circulated. This has been our only ally in the daily press; and we trust that Catholics, who take a daily paper, will know how to show their sense of this liberal course. The weekly press has been more just, with some exceptions. We regret indeed, that the able articles in the *Weekly Dispatch* should have been sullied with irreligious language, which made it impossible often to recommend their perusal; but often this blot has been withheld, and then, indeed, we have been gratified by the bold, uncompromising, and truly masculine eloquence, with which the charlatanism of Cumming and the "atrocities" of Mac Neile have been lashed, and the hypocrisy of canting illiberality unmasked. The *Leader* and the *Economist* have been impartial and just. The provincial papers too have helped to enlighten the people, and keep down the ferment. The *Hull Advertiser*, for instance, the *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Portsmouth Gazette*, the *Manchester Times*, and almost all the Birmingham papers, have done themselves honour by their independence of the London press, and by showing that they possess higher views, and more freedom from prejudice, bigotry, and servility, than the supposed genius and education, which pretend, through it, to rule public opinion. We hope that Catholics, who subscribe to local papers, will have spirit enough to cast aside those which have pandered to the vile passions of religious agitators,

and encourage such as have proved themselves friends in need.

But after this scanty list of exceptions, the Catholics, as well as their hierarchy, have now had to sustain, for more than two months, an unceasing attack. Almost every daily, and many weekly papers, have been, as the French say, a *bouche de feu*.

As to the latter, some are scarcely worth a notice. That "unscrupulous" compound (its own epithet to others) of bad drawing and bad writing, the *Illustrated London News*, which hitherto had been innocently amusing, must needs have its fling at Catholics. We must not omit, however, one anecdote relative to it. There was given in it a view of the grand papal Guy Fawkes procession at Salisbury; but the artist, by way of showing what sort of gentry composed it, represented one of the banner-bearers as picking a pocket. This was altered in the engraving. There is another weekly, the delinquencies of which have cost it dear. *Punch* was once the playful companion of everybody's railway journey. Those who did not wish to be crammed with often doubtful jokes, could glance with pleasure over the pages, richly dight with the "Manners and Customs of the English," or the adventures in travel, of three early associates of our school-boy days. The practised eye ran eagerly through the sheet, to catch a glimpse of that cocky little bird that perched on two twin letters; and where that was, the sight was sure to rest; for there was certain to be found a new and original combination of strong artistic skill, rare humour, infinite variety, delicate fancy, and deep observation of human nature and national character, the whole set forth by a masterly touch, and an unerring pencil. Alas! the little bird, the very genius of *Punch*, which occasionally had been seen to hop down from its literary perch on to the ground, has now flown clean away, and has left a blank not easily to be filled up. And why? Because *Punch* had become old and drivelling, had taken to preach and be a saint, had lost all his good-humour, had turned sulky, and then pugnacious, and ill-tempered; and not content with this, had come down to his old street occupation of playing the hangman. *Punch* was before Mac Neile in wishing Catholic bishops to be sentenced to death, and then mercifully transported as felons. Was not this gentle and sweet of him? But jesters seldom know, that, under real wit,

and wholesome cheeriness, and brilliant genius, there may lie deep in the heart a sacred honour, and solemn convictions, which, as they elevate and purify, in their exercise, those gifts, so are they prized more highly by their possessor. It was in a Catholic breast that the bright talents of Mr. Doyle were lodged; and he has given the world a proof, rare in our generation, that there are principles, even in the young and aspiring, which can triumph, not only over considerations of honourable profit, but over the pleasure of pleasing, and the encouragements of early fame.

The *Examiner* has played a strange and inconsistent part. We do not think it worth while commenting on it; because we cannot find what principle can have guided it, in its changeful views. It may amuse a later age, to reconcile with itself that liberality which deprecated judicial or legislative proceedings against Catholics, and in the same page gently insinuated the propriety of a personal attack by the mob, as in the gallant assault upon the unarmed Haynau. This illiberality of the liberal press, as exhibited also in the *Daily News*, may appear surprising to persons not acquainted with a common experience, that none are less liberal than those who make a parade of liberality, so soon as their own ideas are departed from. Where liberal principles are only a stalking-horse, or a sign-board, they may be, and often are, combined with most narrow selfish views, with ungenerous and sectarian judgments of others. Where especially scepticism is the basis of liberality, it contracts the affections so thoroughly in regard to the morally great, and the virtuously beautiful, as to make these objects of dislike. Hence whatever is mechanically powerful or materially grand, is to it an object of adoration: but the sublime influences of religion, its exacted sacrifices, its spiritual rule, its unity of faith, its intentness upon the eternal future, are all to it unrealities, and obstacles to worldly progress. Hence liberality generally excludes Catholicism from its predilections. Liberality means freedom for all, with one exception.

There is another paper, which we should not care to glance at, but for one sad reason. When we have read, occasionally, articles of the *Globe* upon the late agitation, the brilliancy of illustration, the richness of apt quotation, the wit of reckless satire, and the inaccuracy of detail,

confirmed what we had heard, that they are the productions of a pen, once more innocently employed on the literary forgeries of Father Prout. It strikes us with a melancholy regret, to witness the prostitution of talents apparently destined for a nobler cause; to think of the heart, in which the convictions of early education and a sacred vocation, are day-by-day made objects of derision, and what has been taught as holy, is scoffed at, as absurd. One so engaged we must leave to grace, acting perhaps through present remorse; we can only say, that though generally these have been the most *telling* articles against us, we have felt them the least. In other writers we saw that there was often the conviction of a hearty bigotry; in these there was the hollowness of the mere vanity to dazzle.

Passing over any claims to notice of more fashionable, and less influential, organs, we will confine ourselves to the *Times*, which boasts of a power somewhat imperial. And whatever that power may be, against us it has been all put forth. So unusual has been its virulence, so unsparing its language, so lawless its argumentation, that many have thought it worth while to enquire, what peculiar object it had in view, and what motive so powerfully guided it. For our parts, we believe that the solution of the difficulty would be probably best found in its ledger—the illiberal and violent line paid best. The *Times* is a speculation, and a speculation has no conscience. Who that has followed its chequered career, seeing it now on the white, now on the black upon the board, sometimes shifted by the easy glide of queen or rook, now jerked equivocally by a knightly move, has not long known, that in every case it is playing a game, and is only intent on winning? We well remember when it was the organ of orangism, and in highest favour with the ultra-protestants of Ireland, how Mr. Hume read to the House of Commons, amidst roars of laughter, a secret letter of older date, from a leader of that party, which spoke of “that filthy concern, the *Times*.” We remember too when it patronised Puseyism, and wrote articles in favour of the semi-popish recreations of young high-churchmen, till the offertory provoked its master’s wrath, and it began after scarcely a few days’ decent pause, to unsay what it had said, and refute what it had been inculcating. To study, therefore, the motives which may have impelled its editorial council to make

catholics its present game, and hunt them down mercilessly, would be to throw good time and thought away upon a very useless pursuit. It will continue the same course so long as it finds it profitable ; it will change its tack when another answers better. The line of argument which it has pursued has been each day contradictory of the preceding ; and it would be easy to make every assertion refute itself, were it worth while re-producing what is by most now forgotten. When argument had failed, the daily repeated lesson was : " it matters not how law or precedent may stand, the people of England wish for the extinction of the catholic hierarchy, and who shall gainsay this sovereign will ? "

" Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas. "

Against *this* argument, the principle of all tyranny, we have nothing to oppose. Is it, however, gravely thought, by the editors of that paper, that the English constitution is quite so near being brought to

" The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can ? "

Once a great minister said that England had just been within a few hours of barter ; are we now within a few days or weeks of barbarism ?

Twice, of late, the *Times* has failed in a persevering attempt to crush ; for in this lies its great power. Its constructive faculties are by no means great. It did its utmost, last year, to annihilate Lord Palmerston ; it struck out on its anvil, article after article ; but it all proved a failure. Then came the effort to remove the great Exhibition from Hyde Park ; and this too proved unsuccessful. It has done all that violence, perseverance, and bitterness can do against us. It has admitted every thing that could be made to tell against us ; but has denied insertion to our answers. It has kept no measures with us or with its own anger. We await calmly the result. Whatever legislative enactments may be preparing, however much they may be owing to the commotion so much excited by the press, we do not anticipate the slightest check to our religion, or the smallest disturbance to our ecclesiastical polity. We shall not be crushed.

Now let us take our leave of this topic ; the country has been long enough agitated by it, and we all want rest.

A *Tauromachia* has always been a favourite pastime with John Bull; and he seems to have been determined to get one up. Unfortunately, it has been discovered that the Bull on which the sport had to turn, has no more reality than the plaintiff in the celebrated case, to be found in Martinus Scribloerus's Reports of "*Bullum, v. Boatum.*" The Pope unfortunately has sent no Bull at all over to England. An immense quantity of wit and declamation has been based on the supposed existence of this uncongenial document. Most of the street caricatures, and at least half of Punch's, are decidedly taurine; and the Catholic hierarchy could hardly have been got up for them, without a hat and a bull. But if the Pope has failed in providing this requisite for the sport, there are other means of supplying the deficiency. The celebrated letter of a statesman to a bishop is one of the greatest bulls, the most practical bull, that has come before the public for a long time. Let that be baited; as no doubt it will be. And after all, poor old honest John has had to pay as usual, out of his pocket, for all the anti-popery row, for all the faggots and tar-barrels, for all the squibs and crackers, for all the popes and cardinals, and friars, and torchmen, for all the vans and carriages, for all the lectures and meetings, and for all the printing and chalking. So John Bull finds, to his cost, that he has been made already to pay heavily for "*papal aggression,*" and that for every purpose, he is, ever will be, and always was, the first and last to be victimised.

"———Maxima TAURUS
Victima."

ADDRESS OF THE CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND TO HIS EMINENCE,
CARDINAL WISEMAN, ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

The following address was presented to the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, at his residence in Golden Square, on the 28th of December, 1850, by the Right Hon. Lord Petre, the Right Hon. Lord Dormer, the Hon. Charles Langdale, attended by a throng of other distinguished Noblemen and Gentlemen.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EMINENCE,

The arrival amongst us of your Eminence, bearing in your own person a distinguished proof of the paternal kindness of the Holy Father for this portion of his flock, and charged with the highest place in that Catholic Hierarchy, the restoration of which we most gratefully welcome, affords itself a sufficient occasion for us to offer your Eminence the most respectful and most affectionate assurances of the gratitude we feel for the part which your Eminence has taken in this great work, and of the gratification with which we hail your return amongst us.

An additional motive for thus publicly testifying these feelings is found in the misrepresentations that have prevailed, and in the unprovoked insults which have been offered to our Holy Father, and your Eminence, on this, to us, most auspicious event.

Your Eminence has nobly expressed your desire to stand between the Holy Father, and the vituperation cast upon his act. In this generous rivalry we cannot consent to be omitted. We do not claim to share in the merit of reconstructing the Catholic Hierarchy, but we will not forego our right to share in all the odium which has been excited by it.

It is our ardent wish that our Holy Father, Pope Pius the Ninth, should be assured of the heartfelt gratitude which we feel towards him for the great blessing which he has bestowed upon us, in establishing the Hierarchy in our beloved country. We therefore beg your Eminence to make known our sentiments to his Holiness, and to assure him, whilst as British subjects we yield to none in loyalty and attachment to our Sovereign, that as Englishmen we will assert our right to the free exercise of our religion, and that, as Catholics, under all circumstances, we will, by the aid of God, stand fast by the See of Peter.

That your Eminence may long be spared to enjoy the dignities so deservedly conferred upon you, and that you may long continue to govern your Archiepiscopal See of Westminster, to the glory of God, the advancement of religion, and the salvation of the souls committed to your charge, is our most fervent prayer.

(*Signed*)

| | |
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| Lord Stourton | Simon Fraser |
| Lord Vaux of Harrowden | Francis Stonor |
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| Lord Arundell | Philip Stourton |
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When Lord Petre, who read the address, had concluded, his Eminence returned the following answer :—

My Lords and Gentlemen—I cannot adequately express the feelings of gratification with which I receive this address of congratulation on the establishment of our hierarchy. Were it an expression only of kindness and attachment towards myself, I might be flattered by the public manifestation of sentiments of which I have had so many individual proofs. But far more do I value the declaration which you have here embodied of much higher and more sacred feelings, those of inviolable fidelity to the great principles of holy religion, and of filial love and reverence for our supreme and venerable pontiff. When, however, I see the names attached to this address, and know how many of them represent families as noble by ancestral religion as they are by their unblemished escutcheons—families which have remained faithful to God and to their Sovereign through ages of proscription, in spite of fine and confiscation—families which have proved their religious sincerity and steadfastness in the prison, as well as their unshaken loyalty in the field—I cannot be surprised at finding those who now bear those illustrious names at the head of the Catholic laity, when circumstances call them forward to avow their religious principles.

and their attachment to the Church. I have great pleasure in announcing that yesterday I received a letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Palermo, which proves how readily and cordially he would have joined his name to yours had he been amongst us. His lordship is enthusiastic in his expressions of satisfaction at what the Sovereign Pontiff has done. It will be a gratifying duty for me to lay at the feet of our Holy Father the expressions of your filial attachment, and of your gratitude for the restoration of our hierarchy, and to join to it my testimony that the Catholic laity of England have been found equal to the crisis created through that event, by their zeal, devotedness, and noble bearing. And on my own behalf, again tendering to you my sincere thanks, I earnestly pray God to bestow on you and your families every temporal and eternal blessing.

We had prepared various Notices of works which, under peculiar circumstances, we postpone until our next Number, when there will appear among others, Notices of *Dr. Murray's Miscellany*; the *Greek Church*, by the author of *Proposals for Christian Union*; *Macanæ Encidium*; Mrs. Thompson's recent admirable novel of Mount St. Lawrence—Catholic Annual Register—The appeal to Rome—The Remonstrance to the Westminster Clergy—Chubb on Locks and Keys—Mc'Gauley's Natural Philosophy—Freeman's Llandaff Cathedral—Letters on the Inquisition—Father Faber's Lives of the Saints—Marsland's Regeneration—The Mission of Sympathy—Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, &c., &c.

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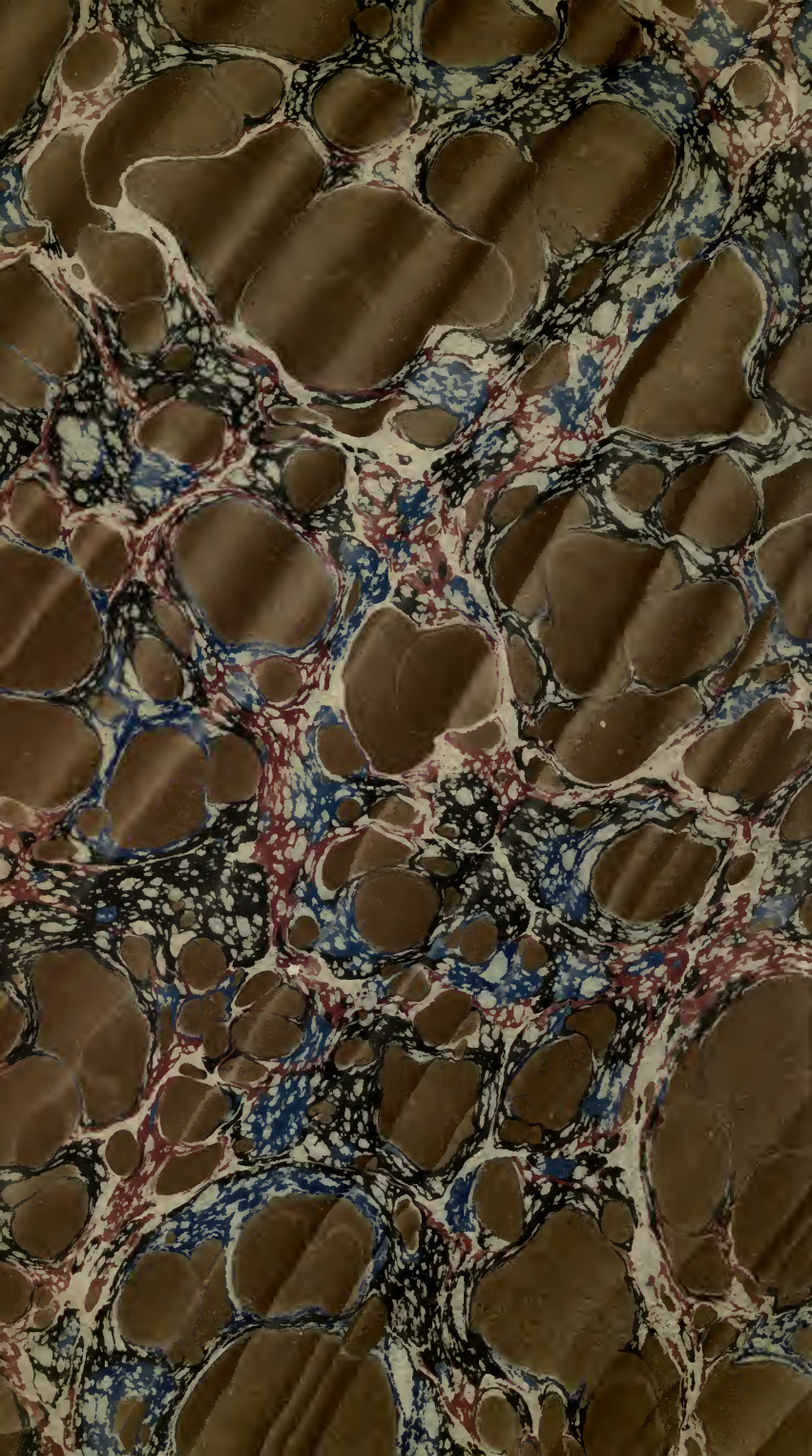
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